GEORGE PRINCE OF DENMARK

G. Kneller pinxit. At Kensington Palace. J. Houbraken sculps. Amst. 1743.

Impensis J. & P. Knapton, Londini.

THE CONTINUATION OF Mr Rapin de Thoyras's HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

Revolution to the Acceſſion of King GEORGE II.

BY

N. TINDAL, M.A. Rector of Alverſtoke in Hampſhire, and Chaplain to the Royal Hoſpital at Greenwich.

ILLUSTRATED

With Thirty-ſix HEADS of the KINGS, QUEENS, and ſeveral Eminent Perſons; alſo with Twenty MAPS and SEA-CHARTS.

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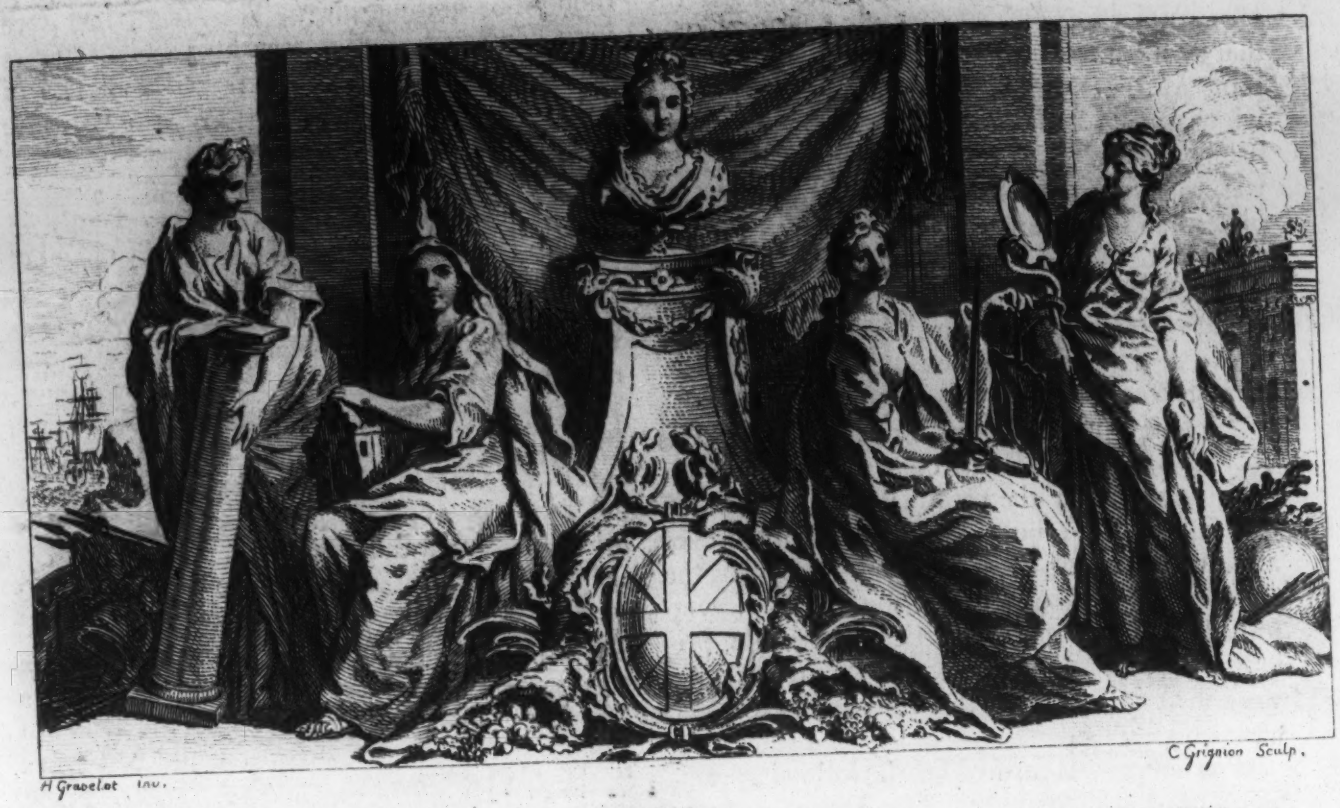

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THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XXVI.

SECT. II.

From the UNION to the End of the Reign of Queen ANNE.

29. ANNE.

1707. *Expectations of the enſuing campaign not anſwered.* Hare.

THE unparalleled ſucceſſes of the Allies, in the glorious and ever-memorable year 1706, and the many eminent misfortunes to the *French* King in one campaign, raiſed great expectations from the next, and made it concluded, that the time was come, in which the perfidy, tyranny, and cruelty of that King's long and bloody Reign were going to be repaid him with the ſame meaſures wherewith he had formerly treated others. But the events of the enſuing campaign produced a contrary effect, and proved very unfortunate to the Allies. The offers of peace, made by *France*, had been indeed rejected by *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, but the inclination (as hath been obſerved) expreſſed by ſome perſons to come to a treaty with the *French*, upon the terms offered, was thought to have raiſed, in the Imperial Court, a ſtrong jealouſy, that the maritime powers were tampering with *France*, and making terms for themſelves, to which the intereſt of *Auſtria* was to be ſacrificed. And this jealouſy was ſuppoſed to have put that Court upon meaſures, that had a fatal influence on the campaign of this year, and to have occaſioned the two moſt unfortunate events that happened during the whole war. For the concluſion of a treaty with the *French*, for evacuating the *Milaneſe*, without the privity of *England* and *Holland*, gave the *French* an opportunity of ſending immediately into *Spain* a great body of good veteran troops, to the aſſiſtance of King *Philip*, whoſe army had by that means the ſuperiority over the Allies, and gained the battle of *Almanza*. And the expedition to *Naples* was the chief cauſe of the ill ſucceſs of the deſign again *Toulon*.

1707.

The Milaneſe *evacuated.* Burnet.

As to the affair of the *Milaneſe*, the *French* were loſing place after place in *Lombardy*. *Cremona*, *Mantua*, and the citadel of *Milan* were the only places, that were left in their hands.

1707. It was not poſſible to maintain theſe long without a greater force, nor was it eaſy to convey that to them. On the other hand, the reducing thoſe fortreſſes was like to be a work of time, which would fatigue thoſe troops, and would bring a great charge with it. A capitulation was therefore propoſed for delivering up thoſe places, and for allowing the *French* troops a free march into *Dauphiné*. As ſoon as this was ſent to *Vienna*, it was agreed to, without communicating it to the Allies, which gave juſt cauſe of offence. It was ſaid in excuſe, that every General had a power to agree to a capitulation; and conſequently the Emperor, in this caſe, was not bound to ſtay for the conſent of the Allies. This was true, if the capitulation had been for one ſingle place; but this was of the nature of a treaty, being of a greater extent. By this the *French* ſaved ten or twelve thouſand men, who muſt have all been, in a little time, made priſoners of war. They were veteran troops, and were ſent into *Spain*; the ill effects of which were quickly ſent.

The deſign was formed for the following campaign after this manner: The Duke of *Savoy* undertook to march an army into *France*, and to act there, as ſhould be concerted by the Allies (1). Some propoſed the marching through *Dauphiné* to the *Rhone*, and ſo up to *Lyons*; but, an attempt upon *Toulon* being thought the moſt important thing which could be deſigned, that was determined. Marſhal *de Teſſe* was ſent to ſecure the paſſes, and to cover *France* on that ſide. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* dying this winter little eſteemed and little lamented, the Marquiſs of *Bareith* had the command of the army on the *Upper Rhine*, from whom leſs was expected; and he was ſo ill ſupported, that he could do nothing. The Court of *Vienna* was ſo ſet on the reduction of *Hungary*, that they thought of nothing elſe. The *Hungarians* were very numerous, but they wanted both Officers and Diſcipline. *Ragotzki* had poſſeſſed himſelf of almoſt all *Tranſilvania*; and the *Hungarians* were ſo alienated from the Emperor, that they were conſulting about chuſing a new King. 1707.

Affairs in Spain. M. S. Friend. Brodrick.

The campaign was opened very fatally in *Spain*. It has been related, that in a Council of war held at *Valencia* in *February* 1706-7, (at which were preſent the Earls of *Peterborough*, *Galway*, and *Rivers*, and General *Stanhope*) it was reſolved to act offenſively, ſeek out the enemy, and endeavour to bring them to a battle, on the ſtrength of the reinforcement arrived from *England* under Earl *Rivers*. This reſolution was not generally approved, for the Earl of *Peterborough*, though diſmiſſed from the command of the army (which, upon the departure of Earl *Rivers*, was devolved to Lord *Galway*) gave his opinion in writing againſt an *offenſive war* in *Spain*, urging, "That the Confederate troops in "*Italy*, under the command of the Duke of "*Savoy*, and Prince *Eugene*, could only give "the mortal blow, by entering *France*. That "the difficulties of ſubſiſting armies in *Caſtile* "were ſufficiently apparent in the laſt campaign. "That the dangers were evident, of putting "the whole upon the riſque of paſſing to *Ma*-"*drid*, before an army ſuperior in cavalry: And "that, above all things, the defence of *Cata*-"*lonia*, *Arragon*, and *Valencia*, was neceſſary." However, the contrary reſolution being taken, the Earl of *Galway*, the more to ſtrengthen the Confederate army, ſent orders to the Lord *Tyrawley*'s regiment, and the two battalions of marines, who were quartered in *Catalonia*, to march and join him. But the Vice-roy of that Principality would not ſuffer them to march from their quarters, or part with any troops out of the Province, without the King's orders, which was often

(1) In the *Memoirs of* Chriſtian Cole, *Eſq*; p. 432. *is the following project concerted with the Duke of* Savoy.

Her Majeſty the Queen, having obſerved with pleaſure, that his Royal Highneſs was entirely bent to conform himſelf to the deſign ſhe has long had, to execute the enterprize againſt *Toulon*, as ſoon as the affairs of *Italy* would permit it, has ordered her Miniſters to hold Conferences with thoſe of his Royal Highneſs about this expedition, in which was regulated and reſolved upon what follows:

1. Her Majeſty will furniſh forty ſhips of the line at the time and place fit for the enterprize of *Provence*, with a ſufficient number of tranſport-ſhips, to carry proviſions and ammunition from *Oneglia* and the coaſts of *Genoa* to that of *France*, when the army ſhall be there.

2. His Royal Highneſs will be pleaſed to let it be known, as ſoon as poſſible, about what time, and at what place, the fleet ſhall come, that ſo we may here take infallible meaſures, that it may be ready and furniſhed with every thing; and his Royal Highneſs is deſired not to let the fleet come to the place of meeting, but juſt at the time he ſhall judge it to be indiſpenſably neceſſary to let it act; and then the fleet ſhall be abſolutely under his orders, and the Admirals ſhall have poſitive orders to obey him, and ſhall be entirely at his diſpoſition, during the time he ſhall remain with the army in *Provence*.

3. Whilſt we wait for the time, that is proper for theſe operations, there will be ſhips enough in the ſeas of *Italy*, to keep the enemies in their ports, and hinder the tranſports on the coaſts of *Italy*; and, according to the advices we ſhall receive of armaments at *Toulon*, theſe ſhips ſhall be reinforced from time to time.

4. His Royal Highneſs is deſired to take care to have certain advices of the armaments, that ſhall be made at *Toulon*, and to let Admiral *Shovel*, who commands the fleet, know them; and afterwards to have the goodneſs to let us know here, what he may have wrote to Admiral *Shovel*, who will conform himſelf to his orders and advice.

5. The Admiral is to furniſh as many cannon for the batteries, as his Royal Highneſs ſhall judge to be neceſſary for the expeditions in *Provence*; but his Royal Highneſs is to furniſh the carriages, that are neceſſary, the fleet carrying none that are fit for the land.

6. His Royal Highneſs is alſo to furniſh the mortars with their carriages, as alſo the bombs, lead, and the bullets of that ſize which he ſhall judge neceſſary, there being cannon of all ſorts on board the fleet; all which he may cauſe to be brought out of the *Milaneſe* to the coaſts of *Genoa* and *Piedmont*, and to *Oneglia*, as he ſhall think proper to be afterwards brought by the tranſport-ſhips, where he ſhall order it.

7. The ſhips ſhall furniſh ſome quantity of powder.
N. B. This article is to be farther explained.

8. His Royal Highneſs will have the goodneſs to take care of eſtabliſhing magazines for proviſions, and oats, and other things neceſſary for the army, in the places, which he ſhall judge moſt proper for the enterprize; as alſo to find voitures and mules to paſs the mountains, and to ſerve in the army during the campaign, as well in *Provence*, as in *Dauphiné*.

9. The Queen and the *States-General* will, upon this project, continue the twenty-eight thouſand men in

1707. often ſollicited, but could not be obtained. King *Charles* towards the end of *February*, declared, to the Generals of the Allies, his intention of going into *Catalonia*; and a few days after, proceeded in his journey thither, taking with him the regiment of dragoons of *Winterfeldt*, conſiſting of five ſquadrons, with Count *Talais*'s regiment of *Dutch* foot. But, at his departure, he promiſed the Confederate Generals, that whenever it ſhould be thought proper to march to *Madrid*, he would be ready to join them, with the troops from *Catalonia* (1). 1707.

The battle of Almanza.

Whilſt Earl *Rivers* * was gone to the Council of War at *Valencia*, all the troops, both *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, began to march under Lieutenant-General *Erle* to join Lord *Galway*, and with them the regiments of Lord *Montjoy*, Colonel *George*'s and Colonel *Alnott*'s. Brigadier *Farrington*'s regiment was reduced, and the men put into *Southwell*'s and *Breton*'s. The Marquis

* *This account is taken from the manuſcript.* Vol. I. p. 761.

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in their pay; and they will take care to have them fully recruited, and that early; and the Court of *Vienna* will leave the whole body of troops, which was employed during the laſt campaign in *Piedmont*, in *Lombardy*, to ſerve in the expedition of *France*, and will recruit it as they have promiſed, which will make thirteen thouſand recruits of foot, and four thouſand new horſe, which body of troops is to be in a condition to act in the month of *April*.

10. His Royal Highneſs will, on his ſide, uſe all his endeavours to reſtore and augment his troops to the number mentioned in the treaty.

11. As to the troops, his Royal Highneſs is to chuſe thoſe he ſhall think proper to enter into *France*, or to remain in *Piedmont* and *Lombardy*, and no General ſhall be allowed to make any difficulty to obey his orders; and her Majeſty and the States-General will obtain from the Princes, to whom the troops in their pay belong, expreſs orders to their reſpective Generals, ſo that his Royal Highneſs may have the abſolute command of them.

12. It is deſired, that his Royal Highneſs may enter into *France*, with the greateſt number of forces, which the conjunctures of the times, and the ſituation of the enemies may require, and all within the month of *May*, if it be poſſible, having always this principal aim upon *Toulon*, which is to be the firſt object of the campaign.

13. Forty thouſand pounds Sterling will be furniſhed for the extraordinary expences: And, if that ſum be not ſufficient, we will give the ſurplus, which ſhall be judged neceſſary by his Royal Highneſs, in whom we place an intire confidence.

N. B. After the return of the Courier this article was changed, and the Queen ſent fifty thouſand pounds Sterling immediately to the Duke of *Savoy*, with a promiſe, that if the deſign upon *Toulon* ſhould ſucceed, ſhe would pay bills, which the Duke of *Savoy* might draw, for fifty thouſand pounds Sterling more.

14. There will be no troops for a debarkment on board the fleet, while the affairs of *Spain* will not permit it.

15. The expedition of *Naples*, that was propoſed, is excluded, as being judged at preſent impracticable and hurtful to the campaign in *France*.

If his Royal Highneſs has any thing to object or to add to theſe articles, he is deſired to do it by an expreſs, that ſo a final reſolution may be taken about his remonſtrances, and be ſent him by the ſame expreſs at his return.

(1) Biſhop *Burnet* ſays (Vol. II. 475.) "That "King *Charles* pretended there was an army coming "into *Catalonia* from *Rouſſillon*, and that it was ne- "ceſſary for him to march into that Country. The "dividing a force, when the whole together was not "equal to the enemy's, has often proved fatal. He "ought to have made his army as ſtrong as poſſibly "he could, and to have marched with it to *Madrid*, "for the reſt of *Spain* would have fallen into his "hands upon the ſucceſs of that expedition. But he "perſiſted in his firſt reſolution, and marched away "with a part of the army, leaving about ſixteen "thouſand men under the Earl of *Galway*'s com- "mand. They had eaten up all their ſtores in *Valen- "cia*, and could ſubſiſt no longer there; ſo they were "forced to break into *Caſtile*. The Duke of *Ber- "wick* came againſt them with an army not much "ſuperior to theirs; but the Court of *France* had ſent "the Duke of *Orleans* into *Spain* with ſome of the "beſt troops, that they had brought from *Italy*; and "theſe joined the Duke of *Berwick* a day before the "two armies engaged." Dr. *Freind* obſerves, p. 181, *&c.* that ſoon after the Earl of *Peterborough* had given his opinion in writing in the Council of war at *Valencia*, on the 4th of *February* 1707, *N. S.* againſt an *offenſive war in* Spain, he left that Kingdom, and went a ſecond time to *Italy* and *Turin*, from which City he wrote a letter on the 21ſt of *April* 1707, to the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador, in which he preſſed more earneſtly, and explained more at large, the advice, which he had given in the Council of war. But, before his ſcheme could reach *Spain*, the Confederate Generals had entered upon other meaſures. Mr. *Boyer* tells us, p. 291, "That King *Charles*, with his *German* and "*Spaniſh* Generals and Miniſters, and Count *Noyelles*, "concurred with the Earl of *Peterborough*; but were "over-ruled by Brigadier *Stanhope*, the Queen's Mi- "niſter, who declared in her name, *That her poſitive "orders were, that they ſhould ſeek the enemy, march to* "Madrid, *and not divide the forces upon any occaſion "whatſoever*." The Earl of *Galway* in his *Narrative* gives this account: "I joined with thoſe, that were "of opinion, that it was by no ways convenient to "divide the troops, as may appear by a copy of that "opinion ſigned by my Lord *Tyrawly*, and by me, "bearing date the 15th day of *January* 1706-7. But "I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that this was not the "deciſive Council for the operations of the campaign, "for many ſubſequent Councils were held in the "King's preſence more important than this; and, "though in them there might have been ſome variety "of opinions as to the manner, yet almoſt all the "Generals and Miniſters, that aſſiſted at thoſe Coun- "cils, agreed perfectly in the ſubſtance, which was, "that we ſhould join our troops, and march to *Ma- "drid*. Some indeed were for paſſing through the "plains of *la Mancha*, and croſſing the *Tagus*; but "this opinion was over-ruled, becauſe of the hazard "in paſſing the river, if the enemy oppoſed us, and "of the ſcarcity of proviſions in the *Mancha*, which "had been exhauſted by the enemy's winter-quarters: "For which reaſons it was, after many debates, "agreed, that we ſhould take the way of *Valencia* "and *Arragon*, paſſing the *Tagus* at its head, to avoid "all oppoſition. But, leſt the Kingdom of *Valencia* "might by this means be any ways expoſed, it was "likewiſe reſolved, before we ſhould begin our march "to deſtroy all the enemy's magazines of proviſions "and forage in the country bordering upon the fron- "tier of *Valencia*, to prevent them from making any "incurſions; and I do take upon me to aver, that "nothing was ever tranſacted, during the time I had "the honour to command the Queen's troops, contra- "ry to the poſitive reſolution of any General Coun- "cil, or Council of war, unleſs that reſolution was "afterwards repealed by ſome ſubſequent Council.

"So ſenſible was every one of our being already too "weak, that it was reſolved to deſire my Lord *Rivers* "(who was lately arrived at *Lisbon*) would join us with "the troops, that came under his command from "*England*, which his Lordſhip did not long after.

"For the better execution of what had been re- "ſolved for our march through *Valencia* and *Arragon*, "proper Commiſſaries and Officers were diſpatched "to provide bread and forage ſufficient for the troops

1707. quis *de Montandre*'s regiment, in its march from *Alicant* to join the reſt, was ſurprized, and almoſt all killed or taken priſoners. The two regiments of Sir *Charles Hotham* and Colonel *Syburg* were left to garriſon that town and caſtle, though very weak, and *Syburg* was appointed Governor, Sir *Charles* chuſing to follow the army. It was the 30th of *March* before we all could join the great camp, having met croſs the country with many difficult paſſes, and an incredible ſcarcity of proviſions both for men and horſes; and above all, very cold and wet weather, eſpecially for thoſe that were reduced to lie in the field. The whole army under the Lord 1707.

" in all places where it was deſigned the armies " ſhould paſs. I went with the Marquis *das Minas* " to the frontiers towards the latter end of *March*, and " we took the field the beginning of *April*. We ruined " part of the Country bordering upon the frontiers " of *Valencia* before the enemy could join their troops, " particularly *Yecla*, where they had their largeſt ma- " gazines; and, judging it neceſſary to take in the caſtle " of *Villena*, to prevent the army from being maſters " of one of the moſt conſiderable inlets into the King- " dom of *Valencia*, ſat down before that place. But " it proved ſtronger than was expected; and, after " we had ſpent ſome days there, we had notice the " enemy had aſſembled their troops at *Almanza*. Up- " on this advice a Council of war was held, where " it was unanimouſly reſolved to fight the enemy; " which we were the rather induced to, becauſe it " it was judged impoſſible to ſubſiſt upon the *defenſive* " in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; for the Country had " already been ſo much exhauſted by our winter-quar- " ters, that there was not two days proviſion to be " found for the army; and we could not have been " able to have ſubſiſted there ſo long as we did, but " for the ſupply we found in the enemy's magazines in " *Yecla*. Nor did we think it proper to purſue the " once intended march through that Kingdom and " *Arragon*, leſt proviſions ſhould be wanting, leaving " the enemy ſo near, and in a condition to follow us; " for, though Commiſſaries had been employed, there " was reaſon to apprehend the towns, we were to paſs " through, would ſhut the gates againſt us, whilſt " we were cloſely followed by the enemy, and perſe- " cuted by the peaſants of the country, who, grown " deſperate by ſeeing themſelves abandoned, would " naturally be up in arms in the mountains. Beſides, " we had certain advice, that there was already a bo- " dy of *French* troops, conſiſting of eight thouſand " men in *Spain*, and upon their march to reinforce " the enemy. Thus, as the army muſt inevitably " have periſhed without fighting, it was thought rea- " ſonable to run the hazard of a battle, wherein we " had an equal chance to come off victors; which " was accordingly done two days after, on the 25th " of *April* 1707, *N. S.* but with ill ſucceſs."

The Earl of *Peterborough*, in *anſwer* to the *fourth queſtion* of the Committee of the Houſe of Lords, ſaid, That ſeveral Councils of war were held in the " month of *January* 1706-7 at *Valencia* about the " time that intelligence was brought, that the forces, " under the Earl *Rivers*, were entered into the *Me-* " *diterranean*, in order to adjuſt the meaſures for the " enſuing campaign. That the matters therein deba- " ted were principally, whether the army ſhould march " towards *Madrid*, and ſeek the enemy. That, in " the debates upon this ſubject, the Earl of *Galway*, " Mr. *Stanhope*, and the Lord *Tyrawley* ſupported " thoſe meaſures with the *Portugueſe* General; and " that the King, the Count *de Noyelles*, the *Spaniſh* " Generals and Miniſters, with himſelf, argued " ſtrongly againſt thoſe meaſures, as highly dangerous " and impracticable; and this in repeated Councils of " war, till, at laſt, the Earl of *Peterborough*, ſollicited " by the King of *Spain* to renew the debate, deſired " the King, that he would order all called to the " Council to bring their opinions in writing, that eve- " ry bodies opinion and reaſons for that opinion might " appear, and be known to the world; which, ac- " cording to the King's commands, were put in wri- " ting, and delivered at the Council."

The Earl of *Galway*, in his reply, or *obſervations upon the Earl of* Peterborough's *anſwers to the five queſtions*, ſays thus: " In reply to this aſſertion, I " would beg leave to appeal to your Lordſhips memo- " ry, whether, upon the firſt mention of theſe reſo- " lutions in this moſt honourable Houſe, the Earl did " not as poſitively affirm, *That the concluſive Council* " *for the operation of the enſuing campaign was held on* " *the 15th of* January? And whether he did not offer " to depoſe on oath, that in that very Council no " perſon whatever was of opinion for making an *of-* " *fenſive war*, and againſt dividing the troops, but the " Lord *Tyrawley*, Mr. *Stanhope*, and I? Soon after " indeed, upon further recollection, he was pleaſed to " add the Marquis *das Minas* to our number; and I " obſerve he has ſince given himſelf a much larger la- " titude, both as to the time of holding that Council, " and as to the perſons, who voted for an *offenſive* " *war?* His Lordſhip is now ſo far from confining " himſelf to a day, that he has taken in a whole " month; and, by accuſing us more modeſtly for ha- " ving oppoſed only the King, Count *Noyelles*, him- " ſelf, and the *Spaniſh* Generals and Miniſters, leaves " half the Council on our ſide; for, ſuppoſing all " the *Spaniſh* Generals and Miniſters to have aſſiſted " at that Council, there could only have been twelve " perſons there, *viz.* Prince *Lichtenſtein*, Count *Oro-* " *peza*, Count *Corſana*, Count *Cardona*, Count *Noy-* " *elles*, my Lord *Peterborough*, the Marquis *das Mi-* " *nas*, Count *d' Aſſumar*, my Lord *Tyrawley*, Mr. " *Stanhope*, Monſieur *Freiſheim*, and I. The laſt ſix " his Lordſhip has plainly left on our ſide; but my " Lord *Tyrawley* poſitively affirms Count *Oropeza* was " of the ſame opinion, and believes Count *Corſana* " was ſo too. Thus, taking the matter as the Earl of " *Peterborough* is pleaſed to ſtate it, we had an equali- " ty, and, as my Lord *Tyrawley* remembers, the " greater number of our party. Perhaps, when " my Lord *Peterborough* contended ſo poſitively to " prove that Council, of the 15th of *January*, *con-* " *cluſive*, he was led into that error by the miſtake in " my Lord *Sunderland*'s letter, in anſwer to one of " Mr. *Stanhope*'s of *January* 15. But he has ſince " been pleaſed to allow, that the Council of the 15th " was not *concluſive*, and that many more ſubſequent " Councils were held, which determined the opera- " tions of the enſuing campaign, wherein he voted " himſelf for marching to *Madrid* by the way of *Ar-* " *ragon*, which, I ſhould have imagined, had left no " further room to mention our opinions of the 15th. " But, becauſe he is ſtill reſolved to make good his " charge againſt Lord *Tyrawley*, Mr. *Stanhope*, and " me, he affirms to your Lordſhips, *That the occaſion* " *of that change in the ſubſequent Councils was, be-* " *cauſe the opinion of the majority had been over-ruled* " *by a Miniſter of her Majeſty, aſſuring, that the Queen* " *had given him orders to declare in her name, that her* " *poſitive orders were, that they ſhould ſeek the enemy,* " *march to* Madrid, *and not divide the troops upon any* " *account whatſoever.*

" I muſt confeſs I do not conceive, that it imports " me much to reply to this part of the Earl's *anſwer*; " nor ſhall I attempt to make an imperfect defence " for an abſent man; for, if Mr. *Stanhope* was here, I " doubt not he would be able ſufficiently to juſtify his " own conduct in this affair. Yet I cannot help ſay- " ing, that even malice itſelf has never yet ſuggeſted, " that my Lord *Tyrawley*, Mr. *Stanhope*, and I, did " not act on that occaſion with great integrity, ac- " cording to the beſt of our underſtandings; nor ſhall " I ever be aſhamed to own an opinion, which was " then

1707. Lord *Galway* (1) and the Marquis *das Minas* (conſiſting of about four thouſand five hundred horſe, and eleven thouſand foot) being joined, moved the next day to a camp at *Caudeta*, and the day after marched upon two columns, and the baggage upon a third, expecting to engage the enemy in the plain of *Yecla:* But they were diſappointed, for the Duke of *Berwick* had, upon the approach of the Confederate army, left that town with great precipitation, though he had made there large magazines of wheat and barley, beſides a great quantity of wines, and all other ſorts of proviſions, as cattle, fiſh, *&c.* all which fell very ſeaſonably into our hands.

The Generals concluding, from the Duke's precipitate retreat from this place, that his army was weak, and that the *French* ſuccours (conſiſting of eight thouſand men, and which were daily expected) had not joined him, reſolved to go and ſurprize him in his camp at *Montalegre*, a few miles from *Yecla*, where they had certain intelligence, that part of his army was incamped. Purſuant to this reſolution, *April* 3, at nine in the evening, our army marched without noiſe, leaving only two battalions to ſecure the camp at *Yecla*. During two days, the whole army had leave to take what proviſions they wanted both for horſes and men, out of the plentiful magazines in this place, and the reſt was ordered to be burnt. On the 7th, the army marched to *Villena*, a little caſtle on a high rock, defended by five hundred men, under a reſolute governor. It lies in the road between *Valencia* and *Caſtile*, and would have greatly annoyed our convoys. As ſoon as the army was come before the caſtle, the Governor was ſummoned to ſurrender; but he returned a proud anſwer, on which ſome field-pieces were ordered to fire againſt it, but, as they did very little execution, the Engineers were commanded to work 1707.

" then not only the common ſenſe of the army, but " agreeable to the deſires and intereſt of the whole " Kingdom of *England*.

" In the Earl of *Peterborough*'s farther *anſwer* to " this *queſtion*, he is pleaſed to ſay, *That, notwithſtanding this, the Earl of* Galway *brought the army into the plains of* Valencia, *a directly contrary route to that of* Arragon, *and into all thoſe dangers, which he was to avoid by marching by the head of the* Tagus. In " reply to this anſwer I ſhall only obſerve, that I had " not the command of that army (which conſiſted of " three ſeparate bodies, *Engliſh*, *Portugueſe*, and *Dutch*) " but the Marquis *das Minas*, from whom I always " received orders; and the battle of *Almanza* was " fought by the unanimous approbation of a Council " of war: Nor could the reſolutions of that Council " have ever been executed, had there been the leaſt " difference in opinion, becauſe each Commander of " a ſeparate corps might have refuſed to march.

" For the occaſion of our moving towards *Almanza*, I muſt beg leave to refer to my narrative, where " I have mentioned more at large, that, in order to " execute the reſolutions of thoſe Councils of war, " where it was agreed we ſhould march to *Madrid* by " the way of *Arragon*, but firſt to deſtroy the enemy's " magazines on the frontiers of *Valencia*, I went with " the Marquis *das Minas* in the beginning of *April* to " *Yecla*, where the enemy's chief magazines lay, and " from thence to *Villena*, where we had advice of their " troops being aſſembled at *Almanza*; upon which " that Council was held, wherein the battle was unanimouſly reſolved on.

" The Earl of *Peterborough* is pleaſed to add a reaſon for his opinion, *That the Duke of* Savoy *and Prince* Eugene *had declared their ſentiments for a* defenſive war *at that time in* Spain, *and had communicated their thoughts to* Charles III. *upon that ſubject, to the certain knowledge of the Earl of* Peterborough, *as he can make appear by authentic papers from the King of* Spain. I ſhall not take upon me to deny a " matter of fact, which his Lordſhip ſo poſitively affirms; but I have been credibly informed, that the " Duke of *Marlborough* and my Lord *Godolphin* did, " both of them, aſſure this moſt honourable Houſe, " that the true project againſt *Toulon* was not concerted by the Earl of *Peterborough*, Prince *Eugene*, and " the Duke of *Savoy*, but firſt ſet on foot by the " Duke of *Marlborough* with Count *Maffei* in *Flanders*, and finiſhed in *England* with the Counts *Maffei* " and *Briançon*; but did not require, that any troops " ſhould be ſent from *Spain*, nor was ever communicated to the Earl of *Peterborough:* Which indeed " his Lordſhip ſeems to be aware of, when he ſays " not long after, *That the project againſt* Toulon, *as ſettled by him, had been ſo altered, that the Duke of* Savoy *publickly declared his diſlike of engaging in it.* " And yet it is moſt certain, that his Royal Highneſs " did engage in an attempt againſt *Toulon*, purſuant to " the project concerted in *England*. And, though that " attempt did not prove intirely ſucceſsful, it had a " very good effect; for thereby a great body of the " enemy's troops were diverted from acting elſewhere, " and a conſiderable damage was done to the fleet and " magazines of *France*."

The Author of the *Impartial Inquiry into the management of the war in* Spain, having quoted the abovecited paſſage from the Earl of *Galway*'s *narrative*, obſerves, p. 238, " That hence we are informed of the " true reaſons, why all the Generals of the Allies unanimouſly reſolved to fight the battle of *Almanza*, " for which my Lord *Galway* and the late Miniſtry " have been ſo ſeverely cenſured, though his Lordſhip " was not Commander in chief there, nor did the Miniſtry ſend him orders to fight, as has been very ridiculouſly ſuggeſted; for neither could they have " been capable of giving, or his Lordſhip of obeying " any ſuch directions at that diſtance, unleſs he had " thought them apparently neceſſary, and for the benefit of the common cauſe. Though the ſucceſs of " this action proved different from what might have " been wiſhed, it is certain the ill fate of that day " cannot, with the leaſt colour of juſtice, be imputed " to the Earl of *Galway*, ſince it is notoriouſly known, " both his Lordſhip and the troops immediately under " his command, as well as the *Dutch* that were preſent, did their duty to admiration; but wanting " near five thouſand of the King of *Spain*'s forces, " with part of the *Dutch*, that had been detached, " contrary to my Lord *Galway*'s opinion, to *Arragon*, " and being oppreſſed by unequal numbers, part of " our army were forced to give way, and the reſt to " ſurrender priſoners of war upon honourable terms. " Yet as many regiments as we loſt at *Almanza*, and " as much noiſe as this misfortune has made in the " world, it is certain it only reduced us to a neceſſity " of acting upon the *defenſive*."

(1) *Engliſh* regiments preſent at the battle of ALMANZA.

HORSE.	Number.
Harvey,	227
DRAGOONS.	
Killigrew,	51
Pearce,	273
Peterborough,	303
Guiſcard,	228
Carpenter, *Eſſex*, by detachments,	292
	1147

FOOT.

1707. work with the Miners. The Governor being told, from under the wall, what was doing, gave as bold an anſwer as he had done to the ſummons. There was then no thoughts of coming ſoon to a battle, for the Lord *Galway* gave leave, on the 9th, to the Queen's Royal regiment of dragoons, to go as far as *Denia* for their cloathing, and to refreſh their horſes; and ordered Brigadier *Carpenter*, with all the new-landed dragoons, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, to go into quarters of refreſhment above ten miles off, to try to recover their horſes, which were almoſt dead by the fatigues of the ſea, their long marches from *Alicant*, and the ſcarcity and difference of forage, having, inſtead of hay and oats, only ſtraw and barley (the feed of the country) which was not thought good for the large *Engliſh* and *Dutch* horſes. But the Brigadier received orders to return the very day he marched from the camp, upon an intelligence received by the Lord *Galway*, that the enemy had aſſembled all their forces, received the ſuccours expected from *France*, and were marching, as they gave out, to attack us. This intelligence was brought to Lord *Galway* (who was ſo able an examiner of all *French* deſerters, that he could not eaſily be impoſed on) by two young *French* Gentlemen of a good Proteſtant family, who had been educated in the principles of the Reformed Religion by the care of their parents, a practice very common in *France* after the perſecution. They told him, they had entered as Volunteers into the *French* ſervice, in a regiment that was coming to *Spain*, in hopes of meeting with an opportunity to come over to the *Engliſh*. Lord *Galway*, after a very long converſation, was ſo well ſatisfied with the truth of what they ſaid, that he gave full credit to their intelligence, and took his meaſures accordingly (1). He ordered that night a new camp to be marked out in a 1707. plain, not far from *Villena*, deſigning to meet the enemy there, if they came to attack us. But, as they did not, it was reſolved to go in ſearch of them. The whole army marched in three columns, the 13th of *April*, from *Villena*, to *la Torre de Bougarres* near *Caudeta*; with an eager expectation to meet the enemy, but none appeared. News being brought, that the enemy were near the town of *Almanza*, a great Council of war was held, in which it was unanimouſly agreed to go the next day, and give them battle. Accordingly, about three in the morning, we began to march in four columns, till we had paſſed the hilly country, which was computed at ſix long miles, and then, coming into better ground, the army formed, and marched the other three miles in order of battle. About twelve, we ſaw, from ſome riſing grounds, the town of *Almanza*, and ſoon after the enemy drawn up, and ready to receive us. They began to fire very briſkly with two or three batteries, and we returned their fire with one. Lord *Galway*, having ſeen the diſpoſition of the right and of the center, came to the left, which he commanded, as general *Erle* did the center, and the Marquis *das Minas* the right. He ordered the enemy's advanced guard to be attacked by a party of a hundred dragoons, who put them to flight. Being purſued beyond their ſecond line, they left the army, and took to the high-road with ſuch haſte upon a full gallop, that they were ſoon got ſome miles from the field of battle; and meeting with the Duke of *Orleans*, who was coming to take the command upon him, told him, their army was beat, and all was loſt. This put the Duke upon going back till night, when he received other news. Lord *Galway* viewed the right of the enemy, whoſe

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Foot.	Numb.
A battalion of guards,	400
Lord *Portmore*,	462
Southwell,	505
Stewart,	467
Hill,	472
Blood,	461
Lord *Mordaunt*,	532
Wade,	458
George,	616
Lord *Montjoy*,	508
Maccartney,	494
Breton,	428
Alnott,	412
John Caulfield,	470
Lord *Mark Kerr*,	429
Count *Naſſau*,	822
	7536
	8910

Regiments in Quarters, Garriſons, and Priſoners.

In Quarters and Garriſons.

Dragoons.

Royal at *Culera*,	302

Foot.

Royal Fuzileers, and two battalions of foot at *Girone*.	1200
Hotham, *Syburgh*, and *Bloſſet*, and a battalion of marines at *Alicant*,	1200
Elliot and *Watkins* at *Gibraltar*,	800
A detachment from the army in *Denia*,	200
Priſoners.	3702

Dragoons.

Part of *Cunningham*'s, afterwards *Killigrew*'s, regiment taken at *Elche*,	150
A detachment from the garriſon of *Alicant* at *Elche*,	300
Lord *Dungannon*'s regiment on their march from *Alicant*,	400
Several other priſoners taken at different times and places, above	1000
	1850
To which is to be added the Commiſſion, Non-Commiſſion Officers, and the Officers and Servants of the ſix regiments of *Farrington*, *Mohun*, *Hamilton*, *Allen*, *Brudenell*, and *Toby Caulfield*, which were reduced a little time before the battle of *Almanza*,	1189
	15641

(1) Both theſe young Gentlemen were afterwards provided with Enſigns Commiſſions in our army. *M. S.*

(1) Biſhop

1707. whoſe line was extended far beyond ours, having many more ſquadrons than we had in our left, and ſent for Count *Attalaia*, who commanded in the ſecond line, to bring up all the horſe (which were eleven ſquadrons of *Portugueſe*) and draw them up ſo on our left, as far as the center, that they might prevent the enemy's flanking us. Then he commanded *Carpenter*'s and *Eſſex*'s ſquadrons to go and attack the battery over-againſt our left, which did very much gall our horſe. This was inſtantly executed very gallantly, but with ill ſucceſs. Here the battle began about two. The battery was placed upon a ſteep riſing ground, which covered every thing behind it; ſo that when the two ſquadrons came up with it, the guns were in a moment drawn away by the mules that continued faſtened to them, and eight or ten ſquadrons of their beſt horſe fell upon our two with incredible fury, and cut them all to pieces. Then they and the reſt of their horſe attacked our *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſquadrons, who maintained a very obſtinate and bloody fight near two hours, but were at laſt overpowered by their far ſuperior number, and ſo cut off, that not above four or five officers, and ten or twelve private men, were left in each ſquadron. The ſquadron of *Guiſcard*'s dragoons ſtood their ground the longeſt of any, and no wonder, for they had thirty-four Officers in their front rank, moſt of them veterans, who had ſerved in all King *William*'s wars. They had charged three times, but, when they ſaw their friends were gone, the ſtandard was ordered to be ſecured; after which they attacked three ſquadrons that faced them, having the Lords *Galway* and *Tyrawley*, and Brigadier *Carpenter*, at their head, of whom the Commander begged, as they came ſeparately to him, that they would be pleaſed to take the command of the ſquadron, which they all declined. So the brave old Colonel *la Fabreque* (whoſe name ought to be mentioned with honour for his courage and conduct) having theſe three great Voluntiers with him, fell upon the three ſquadrons with ſo much intrepidity, that he routed them, and retired in good order from the field of battle with the three Generals. Lord *Galway* received, in this laſt bold attack, a cut over his eye (having before loſt his right hand, with which he might have parried the blow) and with ſuch a long ſword, as wounded his Aid de Camp in the forehead at the ſame time.

The center, that is, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, were engaged all this while, and drove the enemy with great ſucceſs before them. They had puſhed the firſt line upon the ſecond, ſo that, though our left was routed, we ſtill had ſome hopes, in caſe the *Portugueſe* horſe in the right behaved well, to get the day. But our hopes were ſoon defeated; for, as ſoon as the enemy marched up to them, and ſome battalions gave them a fire, they all galloped away, and the foot ran into ſome neighbouring woods upon our right, in which flight many of them fell, tho' none were killed in charging. The Duke of *Berwick*, having nothing to fear from our right and left, ordered all his horſe to come and ſuſtain his foot, who had been very ſeverely beaten by ours, during three or four hours. The Generals to prevent their being ſurrounded, ordered all the battalions to form themſelves into a hollow ſquare, which ſo well anſwered the deſign, that the enemy could gain no advantage of them, and by that means they retired from the field of battle with little or no loſs, though ſtill purſued till night parted them. And, if they could have continued their retreat a few miles farther, the enemy would have had no great reaſon to boaſt of a victory, nor would the battle of *Almanza* have been ſo much talked of, to ſay no worſe, as it has been in this Nation. But the loſs of twenty-three battalions *Engliſh* and *Dutch* was too great to be eaſily repaired at ſo great a diſtance. How theſe brave men, after having fought ſo gallantly for ſo many hours, and made ſo glorious a retreat, could at laſt come to the reſolution of ſurrendering to an enemy that was ſome miles from them, and reckoned them quite out of his reach, is not ſo eaſy to be accounted for, unleſs their excuſe be admitted, which was, that the ſoldiers, after marching nine hours without any refreſhment, and fighting about ſix, could march no farther: They had ſpent all their ammunition, and had not ſo much as bread and water to refreſh themſelves with: They were all ſtrangers to the country, and did not know of any place to retire to: Beſides all this, they thought themſelves in danger of being purſued and attacked the next morning by the enemy's whole army, againſt which they could not pretend to defend themſelves, being abandoned by all the horſe. Upon theſe conſiderations, after a long conſultation, in which were very warm debates, they came to the reſolution of ſurrendering themſelves, as the *French* infantry had done at *Blenheim*, and of ſending to the Duke of *Berwick* to deſire honourable terms, which were gladly and readily granted; namely, that they ſhould be priſoners of war, till they could be exchanged: That they ſhould be all diſarmed but the Officers, who ſhould keep their ſwords: And that they ſhould have liberty to ſend for their baggage, before they marched any farther. 1707.

The Duke of *Berwick* is ſaid to have been aſtoniſhed, and could hardly believe the Officer who brought him this welcome meſſage, which did compleat his victory. For till then it might have been called a drawn battle, the number of the ſlain being reckoned very equal, our baggage ſafe, and only a *Portugueſe* train of twenty field-pieces loſt. But twenty-three battalions, carried priſoners into *France*, were marks of a triumph to all the places through which they paſſed. To their long and obſtinate reſiſtance, the ſafety of our baggage was certainly owing; for, had the enemy detached a thouſand men to ſecure the very difficult paſs of *Pont de la Guiera*, through which all the *Portugueſe* horſe made their eſcape, and the baggage after them, they muſt have all fallen into their hands. Two Officers of dragoons, that were taken priſoners by the fall of their horſes, aſſured the Author of this account, that, when they were carried towards the town of *Almanza*, they found it in our hands, and above a thouſand priſoners in it, the enemy's foot being puſhed far beyond it by ours. *Almanza* was in the center of the field of battle, and the enemy's ſecond line was on both ſides of the town (1).

The

(1) Biſhop *Burnet*, p. 475, ſays, That the Confederates had about ten thouſand killed or taken priſoners.

1707. The next day the *Portugueſe* horſe, and part of the *Engliſh*, got into *Xativa*, with the foot that guarded the baggage; and the day after to *Alcira*, a very ſtrong town on a river defended by almoſt inacceſſible mountains. Here our broken army aſſembled, and Lord *Galway* joined it from *Obtinaute*, with the dragoons that had ſecured his perſon and retreat (1).

From *Alcira* the worſt of the wounded, and the baggage of the Officers killed in the battle, were ſent to the grove of *Valencia*, to be embarked for *Barcelona*. Here a Trumpet arrived, with the ſhocking news of all our infantry having ſurrendered, and ſeveral letters from the Officers, with the articles and the before-mentioned apology for their conduct, which was not much reliſhed; for a great difference was made between the *French* battalions at *Blenheim*, and ours in the neighbourhood of *Almanza*. The *French* were ſurrounded by a victorious army in a village, and could not pretend to fight their way through it: But ours were in the open field, without any enemy near them. However, their baggage and money were ſent to them. Many of our foot liſted among the enemy, deſigning to come back to us as ſoon as they 1707.

Among the wounded and ſlain, theſe were the moſt remarkable: The Lord *Galway* was wounded in the face: Brigadier *Killigrew*, being wounded in the firſt aſſault, ſtill kept the field, and was killed in a ſecond charge: Lieutenant-Colonel *Roper* (of Major-General *Harvey*'s horſe) Lieutenant-Colonel *Lawrence* (of Brigadier *Carpenter*'s regiment) Lieutenant-Colonel *Dormer* (of the Lord *Eſſex*'s) Lieutenant-Colonel *Deloches* (of Colonel *Pierce*'s) and Lieutenant-Colonel *Green* (of the Lord *Peterborough*'s) were killed at the head of their reſpective ſquadrons, having behaved themſelves with extraordinary reſolution and undauntedneſs: And Colonel *Pierce*, and Mr. *O Hara*, ſon of the Lord *Tyrawley*, were wounded. Of the foot, Lieutenant *Auſtin* of the Guards, Lieutenant-Colonel *Mac-Neale*, (of *Southwell*'s) Lieutenant-Colonel *Woollet*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Withers* (of *Blood*'s) Lieutenant-Colonel *Ramſey* (of *Macartney*'s) Lieutenant-Colonel *Erskin* (of Lord *Mark Kerr*'s) were among the ſlain; and Lord *Mark Kerr* was wounded in the arm, and Colonel *Clayton* in the body.

Father *Daniel*'s account of the action is to this effect: The action began at three in the afternoon, and the victory ſtood long doubtful. The regiment of *Mayne* diſtinguiſhed itſelf upon this occaſion. Marſhal *Berwick* ſhewed a great preſence of mind, and a vaſt capacity in the art of war, by providing remedies wherever they were wanting, and guarding againſt all inconveniences. The enemy was purſued about two leagues. Thirteen battalions were made priſoners in the purſuit, beſides five others, which were taken in the field of battle. Six Marſhals de Camp, ten Brigadiers, twenty Colonels, and eight hundred other Officers were taken with all their artillery, and ſix-ſcore colours and ſtandards. Near five thouſand men were killed on the ſpot, beſides the wounded, which were very numerous, and, among the reſt, the Lord *Galway* and the Marquis *das Minas*, General of the *Portugueſe*. The Conquerors loſt two thouſand men, and, among others, the Marquis *de Sillery* and Monſieur *de Polaſtron*, Brigadiers; and, among the wounded were the Duke of *Salerno*, General of the *Spaniſh* guards, who received eleven wounds with a broad ſword, the Marquiſes *de St. Clair* and *de Silly*, Marſhals de Camp: The Duke of *Orleans*, who was lately arrived from *France*, and was to have commanded the armies of the two Crowns, though he made all poſſible haſte, after he had heard, that the two armies were not far diſtant from each other, could not come up till the action was over. The Marquis *de Feuquieres* in his *Memoirs* obſerves, that this *was an action of the firſt ſpecies, ſince the two armies charged through the whole extent of their front*; and that the Confederates were maſters of the two entire Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Arragon*, and of all *Catalonia*, and were preparing to enter *New-Caſtile*.

" A few days before the battle (continues the Mar-
" quis) they had received a powerful reinforcement
" from *England* and *Holland*, and were determined to
" improve the time of the firſt campaign. With this
" intent they paſſed the *Xucar*, and advanced near
" *Almanza*. The Duke of *Berwick* marched up to
" them without the leaſt heſitation, and the armies
" engaged. The *Portugueſe* infantry being entirely broke
" in the firſt charge, and our cavalry having thrown
" that of the enemy into diſorder, we remained ab-
" ſolute maſters of the field of battle. The Duke of
" *Berwick* likewiſe purſued with his cavalry thirteen
" of the enemy's battalions, who were retreating in
" good order through the mountains, with an inten-
" tion to repaſs the *Xucar*, and retire to *Valencia*;
" but, as the body of infantry was extremely fatigued
" and deſtitute of bread, they were obliged to halt
" before they could arrive at the *Xucar*. This diſ-
" continuance of their march gave our infantry time
" to approach them; and they were all made priſo-
" ners of war. The recovery of the Kingdoms of
" *Valencia* and *Arragon* was owing to the ſucceſs of
" this battle." Dr. *Hare*, *in a letter to a Tory-Member*, p. 13, fourth Edition, tells us, " That it was owing to
" the reinforcement ſent the Duke of *Anjou* after the
" evacuation of *Milan*, that we owed the loſs of the
" battle of *Almanza*, which proved ſo fatal to our affairs
" on that ſide. If theſe troops had not joined, we had
" been ſuperior to the enemy; and that battle had either
" not been fought, or it had been won, and *Spain* with
" it, conſidering the ill condition the Duke of *Anjou*'s
" affairs were then in; and the true reaſon we ven-
" tured that battle was to prevent the junction, which
" we did not know, or, at leaſt, did not believe, was
" made at the time we fought; a miſtake, we may
" think, very eaſily made in *Spain*, when it is known,
" we owe the victory of *Ramillies* to the *French* ma-
" king the very ſame miſtake in *Flanders*, where they
" thought the *Engliſh* had not at that time joined the
" Confederate army, and reckoned for certain, that
" the *Danes* at leaſt neither had nor could. And
" this perſuaſion made them venture a battle, which
" the *French* had ſo much reaſon to remember, with-
" out waiting for a conſiderable body of troops, that
" were coming to them from the *Rhine*, the head of
" which were actually at *Namur*, when Monſieur *Vil-
" leroy* began his march towards the Confederates. But
" to return, it is plain the *French* had not gained the
" battle of *Almanza* without that reinforcement from
" *Italy*, and even with it, though the battle was fought
" in *April*, and our army was in a manner ruined by
" that blow, all they did that year was only to take
" *Lerida*."

(1) And here (ſays our Author) I had the pleaſure of being eaſed of a very troubleſome burden, which had much endangered my life by the imprudence of the Officers, who had given me their purſes at the head of the three ſquadrons; and very large they were, by the management of Earl *Rivers*, who, unwilling to carry the treaſure back to *England*, had obliged the Paymaſters of the regiments to take four months ſubſiſtence in advance, which, it was ſaid, was no ſmall perquiſite to his Lordſhip, upon the account of the high price gold was at in *Spain*. When I returned their purſes to the Officers, it was computed I had no leſs than fifteen hundred pounds about me, beſides ſome gold watches: So that I ſhould have been a good booty for ſome deſperate deſerter, which the owners of the money were more afraid of than myſelf. *Manuſcript account of the war in* Spain, *from* 1706 *to* 1712, *by a Chaplain in the army*.

(1) *Which*

1707. they found an opportunity, which indeed hundreds of them did in a very ſhort time, the *Valencians*, *Arragoneſe*, and *Catalans*, who were all very zealous in King *Charles*'s intereſt, aſſiſting them in their eſcape and march to us.

The day after the battle, the Duke of *Orleans* came to *Almanza*, and took upon him the command of the enemy's army, which, as will be related, was of ſome ſervice to us. What foot we had left, remained at *Aſcira* and *Xativa*, and we marched all our horſe through the city of *Valencia*, and ſome other towns, as far as *Tortoſa*. The enemy followed us, but very civilly, for they generally encamped in the evening on the ground we left in the morning, till we came to the *Ebro*, and marched over the bridge of *Tortoſa*, to a camp about two miles from the City, up the river. The army did not continue here long, for, on the 11th of *May*, the enemy appeared on the hills, and an advanced party came down into the plain, a mile from the town, where they ſtaid all that day in ſight of our Horſe-guard. The next day their whole army came down, and, having puſhed in our Horſe-guard, encamped in a long line over-againſt the town. Upon this we burnt the ſuburbs on that ſide the water, and manned a half-moon at the bridge-foot on the ſame ſide, whilſt our cannon from the caſtle made a continual fire on their camp. The night of the 13th, they brought down ſome gabions and lodged themſelves near our half-moon; but we made a ſally and deſtroyed that work, which they ſoon replaced, and firing continued on both ſides many days. There being no proſpect of any ſuccours to enable us to keep that advantageous poſt, the Lord *Galway*, after putting a good garriſon into *Tortoſa* and *Gironne*, and leaving the reſt of the foot in *Tarragona*, marched up the river with the horſe, and the Duke of *Orleans*, at the ſame time, ordered moſt of his cavalry to obſerve and follow us on the other ſide of the *Ebro*. We continued for three months in marches and counter-marches, obſerving one another's motions, our great care being to prevent the enemy paſſing the *Cinea*, which would have been of very bad conſequence to us; for the country about *Tarragona* muſt have fallen into their hands, unleſs we were in a condition to make a vigorous ſtand, which we were not. But the Duke of *Orleans* proved a very pacific General for ſome time, having private views, and a very extraordinary ſcheme for a peace (1). Mr. *Stanhope*, the Queen's Envoy Extraordinary, came to our camp near the *Cinea* to viſit the General. During his ſtay the Duke of *Orleans* ſent a letter to the Lord *Galway*, to deſire he would ſend 1707. two truſty perſons, by whom he had ſome propoſals of the higheſt nature to make to him. Mr. *Stanhope* was not long in ſuſpenſe, but gladly accepted the offer Lord *Galway* made him of being one of the two, and the General's Aid de Camp was appointed for the other (2). Theſe two Gentlemen went to the place aſſigned for a Conference, which laſted ſome hours, and was managed in ſuch a manner, and with ſo much ſecrecy, that no one ſuſpected any thing in either army. Lord *Galway* was not a little ſurprized at the overtures that were made, and diſpatched his Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Orleans*, with the ſame anſwer in ſubſtance, General *Stanhope* had given him. This advantage we reaped from the Conference, that we lived ſome weeks like good neighbours, the enemy on the one ſide, and we on the other, of the river *Cinea*, and at a very ſmall diſtance from one another; but not without great fatigue on both ſides, for they made many motions to paſs the river, which alarmed our camp, and kept us always, chiefly in the night, upon our guard, ready to mount, and our baggage to be loaded.

Brigadier *Carpenter* took this opportunity to have his own ſquadron, *Eſſex*'s and *Guiſcard*'s, ſent to *Manreſſa*, to refreſh their horſes, now almoſt dead, and unfit for ſervice (3). From hence we ſoon marched to *las Borgues*, where we remained ſome time. About the beginning of *Auguſt*, the enemy detached a good number of horſe and foot for *France*, and the Duke of *Berwick* quickly followed them. On the 30th of that month, they marched from *Belpuis* towards *Lerida* (having plundered ſeveral villages without ſparing the Churches) and, paſſing the *Segre*, they inveſted the town the next day on both ſides. General *Wills* commanded the garriſon, with the Prince of *Heſſe Darmſtat*. The Duke of *Berwick* returned to the army, but without any forces; and it was the 21ſt of *September* before they opened the trenches, and the 27th before they erected their batteries. Whilſt the ſiege was carried on, all the forces, that could be drawn from all parts of *Catalonia*, the Lord *Galway* aſſembled at *las Borgues*, and encamped within a few miles of *Lerida*, with a reſolution to attempt the relief of that place. But, before this reſolution could be executed, news came that the garriſon had capitulated, who marched out of *Lerida*, on the 2d of *November*, with all the marks of honour cuſtomary after a brave defence (4). In a few days, the horſe went into winter-quarters, under the command of Major-General *Carpenter* (who had lately

(1) *Which ſcheme* (ſays our Author) *I do not think prudent to divulge.* His ſcheme, it is ſaid, was to be made King of *Spain* himſelf, for which he offered very advantageous terms to *England*. But this is only conjecture.

(2) A man (ſays our Author) of tried capacity and integrity, who afterwards died Deputy-Governor of *Guernſey*.

(3) *Manreſſa* is a fine and rich town, in the mountains of *Catalonia*, famous for giving birth to *Ignatius Loyala*, founder of the order of Jeſuits. The whole town is entirely devoted to that Saint, who had borne arms many years. The houſe where he was born is turned into a Nunnery, where the Inhabitants affirm, that on every *Whitſunday*, when the Magiſtrates and all the religious orders in the town make a proceſſion to that Cloyſter, the Holy Ghoſt appears, as a white dove, and perches a good while upon the croſs on the top of the Chapel. This miracle, which is managed by the Prieſts, is firmly believed by theſe poor Mountaineers, who are pleaſed, beyond meaſure, to have ſo remarkable a token of the divine favour to boaſt of above their countrymen. *Manuſcript account*, &c.

(4) *Burnet*'s account of this affair is as follows: The Duke of *Orleans*, being reinforced with troops after the deſign upon *Toulon* had miſcarried, ſat down before *Lerida*, in the end of *September*, with an army of thirty-thouſand men: The place was commanded by a Prince of *Heſſe*, who held out above forty days: After ſome time, he was forced to abandon the town, and to

1707. lately received a Commiſſion from King *Charles*, appointing them to that rank) and the foot under Major-General *Wills* marched to the City of *Tarragona*. The *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* marched likewiſe into their quarters, all in *Catalonia*, between *Lerida* and *Barcelona*. And thus ended this long and unfortunate campaign, which had been ſo unſucceſsful, that the principality of *Catalonia* was all that remained in King *Charles*'s obdience. The Lord *Galway*, General *Erle*, and the Marquis *das Minas*, with three other *Portugueſe* Generals embarked at *Barcelona* for *Liſbon*, and *Carpenter* remained Commander of the *Engliſh*.

The Allies in *Spain* were in hopes the *Portugueſe* would have favoured them with a diverſion, but were diſappointed. For, on the contrary, the *Spaniards*, under the Duke of *Oſſuna*, took *Serpa* and *Moura*, and at the ſame time, the Marquis *de Bay* poſſeſſed himſelf of the bridge of *Olivenza*, threatning, with the aſſiſtance of the Duke of *Oſſuna*, to lay ſiege to that place. The *Portugueſe*, being reinforced with four *Engliſh* regiments(1), began to move on their frontiers. Upon which the Marquis thought fit to lay aſide his enterprize, and, deſtroying part of the bridge of *Olivenza*, retired to *Badajox*. The *Portugueſe* excuſed themſelves for the little reſiſtance, they made, by their feebleneſs, ſince their beſt troops were in *Catalonia*.

1707. *Treaty of commerce with King Charles.* Lamberti.

Mr. *Stanhope*, who, beſides his poſt of Brigadier, had alſo the character of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, took the opportunity of King *Charles*'s broken affairs, to conclude with him a treaty of commerce, which would have been of great advantage to the *Engliſh* Nation, had that Prince remained quiet poſſeſſor of the *Spaniſh* Throne. In order to effect this, Mr. *Stanhope* ingratiated himſelf with the Counteſs of *Oropeza*, a Lady of great wit, whoſe huſband was one of the chief Grandees of *Spain*, but, who having abandoned all his great employments and vaſt eſtate, to follow King *Charles*'s fortune, was reduced to extreme indigence; and therefore was the more liable to be managed by a Lady, for whom Mr. *Stanhope* had obtained a conſiderable preſent from the Queen. This Nobleman, who had the greateſt weight in King *Charles*'s *Spaniſh* Council, being gained, and appointed one of his Catholic Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries, together with the Prince of *Litchſtenſtein* and Count *de Cardona*, Admiral of *Arragon*, a treaty was concluded and ſigned by them and Mr. *Stanhope* at *Barcelona*, on the 10th of *July*(2).

After the ſigning of this treaty, King *Charles* was made ſenſible, that the conceſſions granted therein to the *Engliſh* Nation were too large, and ſuch, as would not eaſily paſs with his own ſubjects, in caſe he ſhould ever be poſſeſſed of the *Spaniſh* Throne; and therefore it was not with

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to retire into the caſtle; the army ſuffered much in this long ſiege. When the Beſieged ſaw how long they could hold out, they gave the Earl of *Galway* notice, upon which he intended to have raiſed the ſiege; and, if the King of *Spain* would have conſented to his drawing, out of the other garriſons, ſuch a force as might have been ſpared, he undertook to raiſe it, which was believed might have been eaſily done; and, if he had ſucceeded, it would have given a new turn to all the affairs of *Spain*. But Count *Noyelles*, who was well practiſed in the arts of flattery, and knew how much King *Charles* was alienated from the Earl of *Galway*, for the honeſt freedom he had uſed with him, in laying before him ſome errors in his conduct, ſet himſelf to oppoſe this, apprehending that ſucceſs in it would have raiſed the Earl of *Galway*'s reputation again, which had ſuffered a great diminution by the action of *Almanza:* He ſaid, this would expoſe the little army they had left them to too great a hazard, for, if the deſign miſcarried, it might occaſion a revolt of the whole principality. Thus the humours of Princes are often more regarded than their intereſt; the deſign of relieving *Lerida* was laid aſide. The *French* army was diminiſhed a fourth part, and the long ſiege had ſo fatigued them, that it was viſible the raiſing it would have been no difficult performance, but, the thoughts of that being over, *Lerida* capitulated in the beginning of *November*.

(1) Theſe four regiments, namely, *Pearce*, *Newton*, *Sankes*, and *Stanwix*, were embarked at *Cork* for *Portugal*, about the latter end of *April*, and arrived at *Lisbon* the 4th of *June*, conſiſting of two thouſand nine hundred men. Theſe were all the forces then in the Queen's pay in that Kingdom.

(2) The ſubſtance of which was, "1. That there "ſhould be an univerſal and ſincere peace between the "Queen of *Great-Britain* and the King of *Spain*, "their Heirs, Succeſſors, and the Subjects of both "Nations. 2. That all the treaties of peace, friend-"ſhip, confederacy, free commerce and navigation "between both Crowns, ſhould be held to be as firm-"ly renewed and eſtabliſhed, by virtue of this preſent "treaty, as if they were inſerted therein *verbatim*, "provided they were not contradictory to one an-"ther, nor any way leſſen the force of theſe preſent "articles: And that the Royal Cedulas or Patents, "which contain divers privileges granted by *Philip* the "Fourth, confirmed by the treaty of *May* $\frac{13}{23}$ 1667, "and all other grants formerly made by any King "of *Spain*, ſhould have the ſame force and effect "with this preſent treaty. 3. That all the Subjects "on both ſides, who had been made priſoners by "either, whether in *America*, or any where elſe, ſhould "be reſtored, and ſet at liberty, as ſpeedily as poſſible, "without charge or ranſom. 4. That all merchan-"dize and goods, which the Subjects of *Great-Bri-"tain* might bring and import into the Dominions of "*Spain*, for which any *Cuſtoms* under the name of "*Conſumption*, or other tolls uſed to be demanded, "ſhould not be obliged to pay the ſaid tolls till ſix "months after the unlading, or ſale and delivery of "the ſaid goods. 5. That the Subjects of *Great-"Britain* might bring and import into the Dominions "of *Spain* all ſorts of goods, wares, manufactures "and fruits, the produce of the Dominions of *Mo-"rocco*; nor ſhould any greater toll be demanded "for the ſame than uſual. 6. That books of rate, "commonly called *Fueros*, containing an exact ac-"count of the cuſtoms agreed on by the Commiſſio-"ners from the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the King "of *Spain*, ſhould be adjudged and eſtabliſhed within "twelve months after the ſigning of this treaty, and "be publiſhed through all the *Spaniſh* Dominions. "Nor ſhould the *Britiſh* Subjects be obliged to pay "any greater duties than what is therein ſet down; "and for all other goods not mentioned in theſe ta-"bles, the rate of ſeven *per cent.* ſhould be demand-"ed upon the credit of the inſtrument, declaring the "charge and prizes of the merchandize and goods, "which ſhould be exhibited by the Merchant or Fa-"ctor, confirmed by witneſſes on oath. 7. That all "goods taken as prize by ſhips of war, ſet out "either by the Queen or private Subjects of *Great-Bri-"tain*, ſhould, without any difference, be eſteemed "as merchandize and goods of the produce of the "*Britiſh* iſlands. 8. That the Queen of *Great-Bri-"tain* and the King of *Spain* ſhould confirm and ra-"tify theſe articles within ten weeks." To this treaty was

1707. without reluctance, and merely in compliance with the neceſſity of his affairs, that he confirmed and ratified the articles of it on the 9th of *January* 1707-8, ſix months after they had been concluded and ſigned. The perſon, who was intruſted to carry this important treaty to *London*, having embarked for *Barcelona* on board a ſmall veſſel for *Genoa*, that veſſel was unlukily taken by a *French* frigate. The Expreſs, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, threw his mail over-board; but it being taken up by ſome divers, was tranſmitted to the Marquis *de Torci* at *Verſailles*, who took care to ſend privately a copy of the treaty to the *States General*, in order to excite their jealouſy of the *Engliſh*, who were endeavouring by it to engroſs the trade of the *Weſt-Indies* (1).

Affairs of Germany. Brodrick.

The affairs of the *Upper Rhine*, this campaign, were attended with no greater ſucceſs to the Confederates than thoſe of *Spain*. For the *German* forces were ſo inconſiderable in their numbers, and ſo ill provided, as not to be able to ſtand a ſudden irruption of the enemy. Marſhal *de Villars*, who had with great diligence and ſecrecy aſſembled his army early in *Alſatia*, reſolved to paſs the *Rhine*, and committed the execution of his deſign to the Marquis *de Vivans* and the Count *de Broglio*. To this end, he cauſed a brigde of boats to be laid over an arm of the *Rhine*, and, having landed a great number of Grenadiers on the Iſland over-againſt *Newbourgh* the Count *de Broglio* advanced to the *Germans*, and attacked them with conſiderable ſucceſs. After that Marſhal *de Villars*, *May* 22d, advanced to the lines of *Buhl* with forty ſquadrons and ten battalions; and in his march intirely defeated the *Germans* advanced guard of horſe. On the 23d, at break of day, a fog made it difficult to diſcover whether the *Germans*, whoſe tents were ſtanding, and who fired ſome cannon-ſhot, continued behind their intrenchments: But, as ſoon as it was cleared up, it appeared, that they had abandoned them, for fear of being attacked in the rear, having notice, that the whole body, commanded by the Marquis *de Vivans* and the Count *de Broglio* had paſſed the *Rhine*; ſo, at five in the morning, Marſhal *de Villars* entered, without loſs, thoſe lines, which had been eſteemed the rampart of *Germany*, and in which he found a great many pieces of cannon, and vaſt quantities of ammunition and proviſions. The ſame day he advanced to *Raſtadt*, took poſſeſſion of the caſtle belonging to the Princeſs of *Baden*, and prepared 1707. to

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was annexed a *ſecret* and moſt important article, importing, "That the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the "King of *Spain* being deſirous to knit the ties of the "friendſhip and alliance now concluded in ſuch a "manner, as that the mutual advantages of it might "redound ſo viſibly to the benefit of the Subjects of "both Crowns, that their common intereſts might "cement an eternal and indiſſoluble Union between "them; and conſidering, that the moſt effectual and "proper means to this end would be to form a Company of commerce to the *Indies*, whereby theſe "vaſt and rich Provinces of the Dominions of his "Catholic Majeſty would inable the Monarchies of "*Great-Britain* and *Spain* to make ſuch diſpoſitions "of force, as ſhould, by curbing their enemies, ſecure to their Subjects an univerſal and laſting tranquillity: It was therefore agreed, that ſuch a Company of commerce ſhould be formed, conſiſting of "the ſubjects of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, in the Dominions of the Crown of *Spain*, in the *Indies*. But, "becauſe it was not poſſible, at preſent, to enter into "the particulars of ſuch a ſettlement, becauſe the "Duke of *Anjou* was, at this time, poſſeſſed of "thoſe Provinces of *Spain*, which are the principal "ſeats of trade, it was reſerved to ſettle the form of "the ſaid Company of commerce to the *Indies*, till "his Catholic Majeſty ſhould be poſſeſſed of the "Court of *Madrid*. But, in caſe unforeſeen accidents ſhould hinder the ſettlement of ſuch a Company, his Catholick Majeſty obliged himſelf, and "promiſed for himſelf, and all the Kings, his Succeſſors, that he would grant to the Subjects of *Great-Britain* the ſame privileges, and the ſame liberty of "a free trade to the *Indies*, which his Majeſty's own "*Spaniſh* Subjects ſhould enjoy; a previous ſecurity "being given for the payment of the Royal duties. "That his Catholic Majeſty likewiſe obliged himſelf, "that from the day, that the general peace ſhould be "ſettled, and conſequently, that he ſhould be in poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Indies*, to the day that the "ſaid *Company of commerce* ſhould be ſettled, he would "give licence and permiſſion, that the Subjects of "*Great-Britain* might ſend every year to all the ports "and other places of the *Indies*, under the Dominion of the Crown of *Spain*, ten ſhips, of five "hundred tons each or more, or fewer ſhips, provided their whole burden did not exceed in all five "thouſand tons; in which they ſhould be at liberty "to tranſport, ſell, and traffick for all the merchandizes and commodities, which the *Spaniſh* Subjects "were permitted to tranſport and traffick for; provided, that they pay all the Royal duties, and that "the ſaid ten ſhips ſhould be regiſtered in the port of "*Cadiz*, or in ſuch other port of *Spain*, as his Catholic Majeſty ſhould appoint, ſetting out from ſuch "port to ſail to the *Indies*, and giving an obligation, "that from the *Indies* they ſhould return to the ſame "port in *Spain*, without touching before at any other port of *Spain*, *Great-Britan*, or *France*, except "in caſe of being forced to do ſo by ſtorm. That his "Catholic Majeſty would likewiſe permit, that the "ſaid ten ſhips of trade be accompanied by ſuch a "number of *Britiſh* ſhips of war, as ſhould be neceſſary for their greater protection and ſecurity, provided, that, on board the ſaid ſhips of war, there "might not be loaded any kind of merchandize: His "Catholic Majeſty declaring likewiſe, that he would "not cauſe to be paid, or demand any indulto's, or any "other kind of donative, on account of the trade of the "ſaid ſhips, contenting himſelf barely with the punctual "ſatisfaction of the Royal duties. And the Queen of "*Great-Britain* offered and promiſed on her part, "that the ſaid ſhips of war ſhould, both in going to, "and in returning from the *Indies*, take under their "convoy ſuch ſhips belonging to his Catholic Majeſty, "returning the ſame to the perſons, to whom they "ſhould be conſigned. That it being evident to all "men, that the forces, with which the Crown of "*France* had diſturbed *Europe*, had been furniſhed and "ſupplied by the great treaſures it had drawn from "the *Spaniſh* Dominions in the *Indies*, by the fraudulent introduction of their commodities, and their "trade in thoſe Countries; it was therefore agreed, "that from this time forward, for ever, all *Frenchmen*, being Subjects of *France*, ſhould be intirely "excluded, as well out of the ſaid *Company of commerce*, as out of all other kind of trade, within the "Dominions of the King of *Spain*, obliging themſelves never to conſent, by any treaty, public or "private, to any matter, which ſhould be repugnant "to this excluſion of the ſubjects of *France*."

(1) Dr. *Swift* means this treaty in his *Conduct of the Allies and of the late Miniſtry*, p. 38, fifth Edition, in the following paſſage: "Our trade with *Spain* was "referred the ſame way: But this they will pretend "to be of no conſequence, becauſe that Kingdom "was to be under the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and we "had already made a treaty with King *Charles*. I "have

1707. to follow the *Germans* with all poſſible expedition. The Marſhal having proceeded ſucceſsfully thus far, continued four days at *Radſtadt*, waiting for his waggons and artillery, and to give neceſſary directions; and, on the 28th, marched with his main army, and incamped at *Etlingen*, where he found a conſiderable quantity of proviſions. The ſame day, the Marquis *de Vivans*, whom the Marſhal had ſent out with fifteen hundred horſe on the road of *Pfortzheim*, having information, that a body of *German* horſe were coming towards him, advanced to meet them, who, at his approach, poſted themſelves behind a rivulet; but he charged them ſo vigorouſly, that they were broke and intirely defeated, a hundred and fifty of them being killed, eighty made priſoners, particularly a Major of Count *Merci*'s regiment, who commanded them, and Count *de Berlo*, together with all their officers, and above a hundred and fifty horſes were taken. The *Germans* not being able to ſtand their ground, Marſhal *de Villars* advanced to *Pfortzheim*, and there halted to wait for a convoy of bread and meal from fort *Louis*; and, on the 31ſt, marched before with the horſe of the right wing, and all the dragoons, to follow the *Germans*, and obſerve their motions; and, on the firſt of *June*, advanced within two leagues of *Stutgard*, where he made and had his own demands. The contributions of the Duchy of *Wirtemberg* were regulated, at two millions and two hundred thouſand livres, payable in three months; thoſe of the little Imperial City of *Etlingen* on the *Neckar*, at one million and one hundred thouſand, and ſix hundred thouſand livres were demanded of the City of *Baden*. In *Stutgard* they found a magazine of four thouſand Sacks of meal, beſides ten thouſand furniſhed by the Regency; and Marſhal *de Villars*, not being able to come up with the flying enemy, marched towards *Schorndorf*, which he cauſed to be inveſted by the Marquis *de Fremont*. The next day, the Marſhal came before the place with his whole army; but though the town was pretty ſtrong, both by its fortifications and advantageous ſituation; yet, the inhabitants refuſing to aſſiſt in the defence of it, the garriſon, to the number of about five hundred men, ſurrendered the place, upon condition of their being conducted to the Imperial army. The *French* found in the place two mortars, fifty-four pieces of cannon, and a conſiderable quantity of ammunition and proviſions. After this ſucceſs, the Marſhal being informed, that three thouſand *Germans*, commanded by General *Janus*, had intrenched themſelves near *Lorch*, very advantageouſly, he attacked, and totally defeated them. *Janus* made a brave reſiſtance; but, being overpowered, his troops were broke, and purſued almoſt as far as *Gemund*, with the loſs of about ſix hundred men killed, and as many taken priſoners, and among the latter General *Janus* himſelf, and twenty-ſeven Officers. The Marſhal afterwards did ſome execution on the rear of the Imperial army, who thought it proper to retire towards *Hailbron*. 1707.

June 6. N. S.

The Marſhal *de Villars* had certainly greater deſigns in view, no leſs than reſtoring the Elector of *Bavaria* to his Dominions. But, having been obliged to ſend conſiderable detachments towards *Provence* in *France*, he durſt not venture further, nor undertake any conſiderable ſiege. While the Empire was thus expoſed, all men's eyes turned toward the Elector of *Hanover*, as the only perſon that could recover their affairs out of thoſe extremities, into which they were brought. The Emperor preſſed him to accept of the ſupreme command. This was ſeconded by all the Allies, but moſt earneſtly by the Queen and the *States*. The Elector uſed all the precaution that the embarking in ſuch an affair required, and he had ſuch aſſurances of aſſiſtance, from the Princes and Circles, as he thought might be depended upon; ſo he undertook the command. His firſt care was to reſtore military diſcipline, which had been very little conſidered or ſubmitted to for ſome years paſt; and he eſtabliſhed it with ſuch impartial ſeverity, that the face of affairs was ſoon changed. But the army was too weak, and the ſeaſon too far ſpent to enter on great deſigns. One conſiderable action happened, which very much raiſed the reputation of his conduct. Being informed, that the *French* had ſeven regiments of horſe and dragoons incamped near *Offenburg*, under the command of the Marquis *de Vivans*, he detached fourteen hundred men, and one hundred grenadiers under Count *Merci*, to ſurprize the enemy. That General executed his orders with great conduct; and attacked the Marquis, *Sept.* 24, by break of day, and intirely defeated them, killing ſeveral Officers, and eight hundred private men. As the *French* knew nothing of the march of the *Germans*, they had appointed that day for a forage, which facilitated their defeat. The General made his eſcape with no ſmall difficulty, and his men finding themſelves cloſely purſued, quitted their horſes, and made their retreat through the hedges; ſo that the *Germans* brought away four ſtandards, a hundred and fifty priſoners, and near thirteen hundred horſes, having had only two Lieutenants and thirty private men killed. Soon after, Marſhal *de Villars* took the opportunity to repaſs the *Rhine*, by the way of fort *Louis* and fort *Kehl*; and the Elector of *Hanover* ſeparated his army, and diſpoſed them ſo conveniently in their winter-quarters, that they might aſſemble in forty-eight hours upon any emergent occaſion.

The Duke of Marlborough *goes to the King of* Sweden, April 17, N. S.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, who had made ſo glorious a campaign the laſt ſummer, merited this year the public attention, chiefly by his important negotiations. Upon his arrival at the *Hague*, he had a Conference with the Deputies of the *States-General*, wherein, among other particulars, he told them, "That the troubles of "*Saxony*

"have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. *Stan-*
"*hope* with that Prince for ſettling our commerce
"with *Spain*. But, whatever it were, there was ano-
"ther between us and *Holland*, which went hand in
"hand with it, I mean that of *Barrier*, wherein a
"clauſe was inſerted, by which all advantages propo-
"ſed for *Britain* are to be in common with *Holland*."
The Doctor's aſſertion in this paſſage is a very groundleſs one; for the treaty of commerce with *Spain* and the *Barrier treaty* could not *go hand in hand*, ſince the former was ſigned on the 10th of *July* 1707, and the other on the 29th of *October* 1709.

(1) This

1707. "*Saxony* occaſioning a great diſtraction in the "Empire, which brought infinite prejudice to "the common cauſe; the Queen, his Miſtreſs, "had thought fit to ſend him thither, to pay "a compliment to the King of *Sweden*, and en-"deavour to engage him to remove the juſt "jealouſies, which his long ſtay in the heart of "*Germany* gave to ſome of the high Allies. "for which purpoſe he had the neceſſary powers "from her Majeſty, and deſired the ſame from "the *States*." The Penſionary having acquainted the *States* of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friſeland* with the neceſſity of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s journey, the matter was thought of ſo great importance to the common cauſe, that they readily concurred in thoſe meaſures, and the Duke immediately ſet our for *Leipſick* by the way of *Hanover*. Monſieur *Auverquerque*, Velt-Marſhal of the *States* forces, having had ſeveral Conferences with the Duke of *Marlborough*, ſet out the ſame day for *Bruſſels*, in order to aſſemble the Confederate troops, and obſerve the *French*, who began to be in motion about *Namur*.

Apr. 20. N. S.

The Court of *England*, it ſeems, had been adviſed by the Elector of *Hanover* to ſend the Duke of *Marlborough* to the King of *Sweden*. It was thought this would pleaſe him much, if it had no other effect. That King ſtill remained with his army in *Saxony*, to the great oppreſſion of that Country, and to the terror of the Court of *Vienna*, who were apprehenſive of his quarrelling with them. His deſigns were kept ſo ſecret, that they could not be penetrated, which made the Allies very uneaſy. The King of *Sweden* was very remarkable on many accounts. He affected a neglect of his perſon, both in cloaths, lodging and diet; all was ſimple, even to meanneſs; nay, he did not ſo much as allow a decent cleanlineſs: He appeared to have a real ſenſe of Religion, and a zeal for it, but it was not much enlightened: He ſeemed to have no notion of public liberty; but thought Princes ought to keep their promiſes religiouſly, and to obſerve their treaties punctually: He rendered himſelf very acceptable to his army, by coming ſo near their way of living, and by his readineſs to expoſe his own perſon, and to reward ſervices done him: He had little tenderneſs in his nature, and was a fierce enemy, too rough and too ſavage: he looked on foreign Miniſters as ſpies by their character, and treated them accordingly; for he kept himſelf on great reſerves with them, nor would he ſuffer them to come near him, except when they had a particular meſſage to deliver. He uſed his own Miniſters rather as inſtruments to execute his orders, than as Counſellors.

Character of the King of Sweden. Burnet.

Whilſt the King of *Sweden* was in *Saxony*, the Czar over-ran *Poland*, ſo that King *Staniſlaus* was forced to fly into *Saxony* to the King of *Sweden*, for protection. Both he and his Queen ſtaid there all the winter of 1706, and a great part of this ſummer. The Czar preſſed the *Polanders* to proceed to the election of another King, but could not prevail with them. It was therefore generally believed, that they were reſolved to come to a treaty with King *Staniſlaus*, and to ſettle the quiet of the Kingdom, exhauſted by a long and deſtructive war. The Czar tried, if it were poſſible to come to a peace with the King of *Sweden*, and made great offers to that purpoſe; but that King was implacable, and ſeemed reſolved to pull him down as he had done King *Auguſtus*.

Robinſon's *letter to the Earl of* Manchester.

To diſcover this King's intentions was the chief aim of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s journey to *Alt-Ranſtad*, about two *German* leagues from *Leipſick*, where the King of *Sweden* had his head-quarters. The Duke was accompanied by Mr. *Robinſon*, the Queen's Envoy Extraordinary, and Monſieur *Cronenburg*, the *Dutch* Miniſter. Being informed on the way, that the King could not give him an audience till the next day, the Duke thought fit to go directly to Count *Piper*'s quarters (1). The Count made ample proteſtations, how acceptable his coming would

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(1) This is the account of Mr. *Robinſon*, afterwards Biſhop of *London*, in his letter from *Leipſick*, of *May* 1707, to the Earl of *Mancheſter*. But Monſ. *Voltaire*, in his *Life of* Charles XII. *King of* Sweden, affirms, "That, as ſoon as the Duke of *Marlborough* arrived "at *Leipſick*, where King *Charles* then was, he made "his application privately, not to Count *Piper*, the "firſt Miniſter, but to Baron *Gortz*, who began to "have a ſhare in the King's confidence with Count "*Piper*. He told *Gortz*, that the deſign of the Al-"lies was, in a ſhort time, to propoſe to the King of "*Sweden* his being once more Mediator between "them and *France*. His motives for this were his "hopes of diſcovering the King's intentions by *Gortz*'s "anſwer, and becauſe he would much rather have "had *Charles* for an Arbitrator, than an enemy." Mr. *Lediard*, in his *Life of the Duke of* Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 457. ſecond Edition, obſerves, That this piece of private Hiſtory of Monſieur *Voltaire*'s is mentioned by no other Hiſtorian, and ſeems very improbable. "I was, *ſays he*, that night in the City of "*Leipſick*, and the next morning in the camp; but "no ſuch thing ever came to my knowledge. Is it "probable, that ſo remarkable an incident ſhould "eſcape the knowledge of every one, but Monſieur "*Voltaire*'s Informant? Were not the eyes of every "one on the Duke at his arrival? Could this inter-"view be ſo privately managed, as not to come to "Count *Piper*'s knowledge? Would not this have "raiſed a jealouſy in him, that muſt have put a ſtop "to, or very much intangled, the whole negotiation? "And can it be believed, that ſo great a Stateſman, "as the Duke was, would have thrown ſuch a ſtum-"bling-block in his own way, as this would have "been, at the very beginning of his treaty? Baron "*Gortz* began indeed at this time to riſe in the King's "eſteem and confidence; but he was not yet arrived "to that height in his favour to be a rival to *Piper*, "or to dare to enter into a ſecret negotiation without "his knowledge." Monſieur *de la Motraye*, in his *Remarks on* Voltaire, carries the matter yet farther againſt that Writer, and ſays, "That *Gortz* was out "of the queſtion, he being then Grand-Marſhal of "the Biſhop of *Lubeck*, Adminiſtrator of the Duchy "of *Holſtein*, and was certainly then very little known "to the King of *Sweden*." But it is evident from Mr. *Robinſon*'s letter to the Earl of *Mancheſter* abovecited, that the Duke had a Conference, on the 28th in the afternoon, with Baron *Gortz*, as well as with Count *Piper*; though he limits that Conference with the Baron to the affairs of *Holſtein*, in which, he ſays, *things were concerted to mutual content*. Monſieur *de la Motraye* mentions a remarkable incident upon the authority of a Gentleman, who was in the coach with the Duke, when he went to the audience he had demanded of Count *Piper*: "The Duke, *ſays he*, co-"ming to the gate of Count *Piper*'s quarters preciſe-"ly at the time appointed, ſent in his meſſage, but "was anſwered the Count was buſy. The Duke "waited a good half hour before he came down; "but

1707. would be to the King, his Maſter, and appointed eleven of the clock the next morning for his repairing to the head-quarters, when his Majeſty came from Church. The Duke went thence to the quarters prepared for him about an *Engliſh* mile and a half from the King's; and the next morning, at the time appointed, went to wait upon his Majeſty. The Intendant of the Court and other Officers received him, and in the Anti-chamber Count *Piper*, who conducted him into the Cabinet, where the King was, with ſeveral Senators, Generals, and other Officers about him. The Duke made a ſhort compliment in *Engliſh* (1), which was interpreted by Mr. *Robinſon*, as the King's anſwer was by Count *Piper* (2). Afterwards the Duke ſpoke in *French*, which the King underſtood, but did not ſpeak; and the converſation was general for about an hour, when his Majeſty took the Duke with him to dinner, placing him on his right hand, and Count *Piper* on his left. After dinner the Duke returned with the King to the audience-room, which, after a little while, was voided by the reſt of the Company; and then the Duke ſpoke at large, his Majeſty giving great attention to what was ſaid, with all appearances of much content. Count *Piper*, who, together with Mr. *Harmelin*, ſtaid with the King, could not refrain from ſhedding ſome tears at the very pathetic expreſſions, which the Duke uſed to aſſure the King of her Majeſty's friendſhip, and, on the King's part, made ſuitable returns (3). Thoſe diſcourſes, and others about military matters, took up an hour and a half, when his Majeſty went again to Church. Afterwards the Duke made a viſit to the Counteſs *Piper*, and had then a conference with the Count, and from thence went to ſee the Veldt-Marſhal *Reinſchild*'s Lady. On the 28th he went to *Leipſick*, to wait on King *Auguſtus*, with whom he had a private Conference of about half an hour, and then returned to Count *Piper*'s quarters, where he dined. He had that afternoon a Conference with Count *Piper* and Baron *Gortz* about the affairs of *Holſtein*, in which things were concerted to mutual conſent. In the evening he ſupped with Velt-Marſhal *Reinſchild*. On the 29th he was viſited by Count *Piper*, Veldt-Marſhal *Ogilvy*, and many others; and, after having dined with Baron *Gortz*, had his audience of leave of the King of *Sweden*. Before it was ended, notice was given, that King *Staniſlaus* was in the Anti-chamber; whereupon the Duke ſaying, that he had no objection againſt his coming in, the King of *Sweden* went and brought him. Some civilities paſſed between that King and the Duke, who ſoon after took his leave, and went to *Leipſick*, and thence, without making any ſtay, proceeded on his journey to *Berlin*. On the 30th of *April*, he arrived at *Charlottenburg*, the King of *Pruſſia* having ſent Monſieur *Grumkaw* to deſire him to paſs that way. He ſupped that night with the King, and was lodged in the apartment belonging to the Margrave. The next day, being *Sunday*, he accompanied the King to Divine Service, and Monſieur *Lenfant*, the Author of the *Hiſtories of the Councils of* Baſil *and* Conſtance, by his Majeſty's particular order, preached in *French* on that occaſion. On the 2d of *May* the Duke left *Charlottenburg*, in order to proceed towards *Hanover*, where he arrived on the 3d; and, the day following, had a private Conference with the Elector. In the afternoon he ſet out for the *Hague*, where he arrived on the 8th, having received the higheſt marks of honour and eſteem in the ſeveral Courts, through which he had paſſed ſince his departure from thence. 1707.

The next day, the Duke was in Conference with the Deputies of the *States-General*, to whom

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" but he no ſooner ſaw him at the gate ready to re-
" ceive him, than he came out of his coach, and,
" putting on his hat, paſſed by the Count without ſa-
" luting him, and went aſide, as if to make water;
" and then, after having made him wait longer than
" was neceſſary for that purpoſe, he went up to him,
" and addreſſed him with that eloquence and polite-
" neſs, which every one knows was natural to him."

(1) This is Mr. *Robinſon*'s own account, who was preſent, and interpreted it; and therefore Mr. *Boyer* is miſtaken in aſſerting, that the Duke made his compliment in *French*. *Lamberti*, Vol. IV, p. 434, ſays, that it was in *Engliſh*, and to this purpoſe:

SIR,

" I preſent to your Majeſty a letter, not from the
" Chancery, but from the heart of the Queen, my
" Miſtreſs, and written with her own hand. Had
" not her ſex prevented her from taking ſo long a
" journey, ſhe would have croſſed the ſea, to ſee a
" Prince admired by the whole univerſe. I eſteem
" myſelf happy in having the honour of aſſuring your
" Majeſty of my regard; and I ſhould think it a great
" happineſs, if my affairs would allow me to learn
" under ſo great a General as your Majeſty what I
" want to know in the art of war."

(2) It was, according to *Lamberti*, to this effect:

" The Queen of *Great-Britain*'s letter and your
" perſon are both very acceptable to me; and I ſhall
" always have the utmoſt regard for the interpoſition
" of her Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, and the intereſts
" of the Grand Alliance. It is likewiſe much againſt
" my will, that I have been obliged to give the leaſt
" umbrage to any of the parties engaged in it: But
" your Excellency cannot but be convinced, that I
" had juſt cauſe to come into this country with my
" troops. On the other hand, you may aſſure the
" Queen, my ſiſter, that my deſign is to depart from
" hence as ſoon as I have obtained the ſatisfaction I
" have demanded, but not ſooner. However I ſhall do
" nothing, that can tend to the prejudice of the com-
" mon cauſe in general, or to the Proteſtant Religion
" in particular, of which I ſhall always glory to be a
" zealous Protector."

Monſieur *de Limiers*, in his *Life of* Lewis XIV, tells us, that the King of *Sweden* added, " That he was
" not accountable to any one for his actions; and that
" he would diſcover his deſigns, when he ſhould think
" proper." This indeed agrees pretty well with the
" King's general character, but his whole deportment
" to the Duke ſeems to be a contradiction to it.

(3) Monſieur *Voltaire* ſays, " That the Duke, who
" was never haſty in making propoſals, and had learn-
" ed by a long experience the art of penetrating into
" the minds of men, as well as of diving into the ſe-
" cret connexion between their inmoſt thoughts and
" their actions, geſtures, and diſcourſe, fixed his eyes
" attentively upon the King. When he ſpoke to him
" of the war in general, he imagined, that he ſaw in
" his Majeſty a natural averſion towards *France*, and
" that he took a ſecret pleaſure in ſpeaking of the
" conqueſts of the Allies. He mentioned the Czar to
" him, and took notice, that his eyes kindled when-
" ever he was named, notwithſtanding the modera-
" tion

1707. whom he communicated the aſſurances he had received from the King of *Sweden*. This intirely diſſipated the jealouſies, which ſome of the Allies had conceived of his *Swediſh* Majeſty's deſigns, which were induſtriouſly fomented by the emiſſaries of *France*, who, on the other hand, uſed all their endeavours to engage that King in an open rupture with the Emperor; for which he did not want plauſible pretences. For, about this time, an unlucky quarrel happened between Baron *Strahlenheim*, Envoy of *Sweden*, and Count *Zobor*, an *Hungarian* Lord, ſon-in-law of Prince *Adam* of *Lichtenſtein*. The occaſion was this: Being both at dinner at the Count *de la Tour*'s, and diſcourſing of the affairs of *Europe*, Count *Zobor* ſaid, *Three knaves occaſioned a great deal of miſchief in the world.* He named indeed only Prince *Ragotſki* for one, and King *Staniſlaus* for another, but he made uſe of ſuch expreſſions, as evidently ſhewed, that he meant the King of *Sweden* for the third: Upon which the *Swediſh* Envoy thought himſelf in honour obliged to give him a box on the ear. The company prevented any farther miſchief at that time, and Count *Zobor* was at firſt confined by order of the Emperor, and ſhortly after ſent priſoner to the caſtle of *Gratz* in *Stiria*; the Commiſſaries, appointed to make enquiry into that affair, having reported, that he had been guilty of diſreſpect towards the King of *Pruſſia*. Baron *Strahlenheim* having informed the King, his Maſter, of what had paſſed, his *Swediſh* Majeſty ordered him to declare, that he approved his conduct; and that he had orders to abſent himſelf from Court, till he had received a juſt ſatisfaction, as well on that account, as for the affront offered to ſome Officers of his troops, who, being liſting men at *Breſlau*, were inſulted by the people. The Imperial Miniſters ſhewed a willingneſs, at this critical juncture, to give the King of *Sweden* all reaſonable ſatisfaction: But, with regard to Count *Zobor*, they thought, that, Baron *Strahlenheim* having given a blow to a perſon of his quality, and his Imperial Majeſty having ſince confined him cloſe priſoner, the *Swediſh* Court ought not to inſiſt upon farther ſatisfaction.

The French try to engage the King of Sweden in a quarrel with the Emperor.

This was not, however, the moſt material point, that made the Court of *Vienna* uneaſy; for the *Swedes* had ſtarted other pretenſions of a more delicate nature; and, in a declaration, which Count *Piper* had communicated to Count *Zinzendorf*, his *Swediſh* Majeſty inſiſting on the delivering up of the *Muſcovite* troops, which, when they eſcaped the year before out of *Saxony*, were entertained in the Imperial army on the *Upper Rhine*. Theſe troops being informed, what was in agitation with regard to them, diſbanded themſelves, and marched off, in parties of about twenty, through *Bohemia* and *Moravia* into *Poland*. This ſo exaſperated the King of *Sweden*, that he renewed and ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon his demand of the ſurrender of thoſe troops; adding, that he expected a more ample ſatisfaction, as well for the affront offered to Baron *Strahlenburgh*, as for the recruits, which were raiſed for him in *Sileſia*, and had been taken from his Officers at *Breſlau*. The very day that theſe demands, which were made to Count *Zinzendorf*, were communicated by him to the Imperial Court, Baron *Strahlenheim* received orders from the King, his Maſter, to repair to him, without taking leave of that Court. He was prevailed upon to ſtay four days, that he might carry with him the Emperor's anſwer to his Maſter's demands; but, that anſwer not being then ready, he left *Vienna*, and ſet out for *Saxony*. Two days after, the anſwer was, however, ſent, and imported, in ſubſtance, "That the "Emperor could not deliver up the *Muſcovites*, "they not being in his power: That Count "*Zobor* ſhould be proſecuted as a criminal in "the courſe of law; and, as for what had hap"pened in *Sileſia*, with reſpect to the levies for "his *Swediſh* Majeſty, ſufficient ſatisfaction "ſhould be made, after due examination into "the matter of fact." To give further ſatisfaction to his *Swediſh* Majeſty, the Imperial Court ſoon after declared, that ſome troops had been detached in purſuit of the *Muſcovites*, in order to their being delivered up to the King of *Sweden*, but had not been able to overtake them; and, farther, ſolemnly averred, that the *Muſcovites* made their eſcape from the *Rhine*, without their connivance or participation. This declaration was, however, contradicted by Baron *Strahlenheim*, who, in his way from *Vienna* to *Saxony*, meeting ſome of thoſe troops, and pretending to be Count *Wackerbaert*, a General in the ſervice of King *Auguſtus*, they frankly owned, that their eſcape was concerted with the Imperial Court. This, being intirely believed by the King of *Sweden*, 1707.

"tion of the Conference. He moreover remarked, "that the King had a map of *Muſcovy* lying before "him on the table. This was ſufficient to deter"mine him in his judgment, that the King of "*Sweden*'s real deſign and ſole ambition were to de"throne the Czar, as he had already done the King "of *Poland*. He found, that he had no other views "by remaining in *Saxony*, than, by that means, to "impoſe ſome hard terms on the Emperor of *Germa*"*ny*. He knew his Imperial Majeſty would comply, "and that thus matters would be eaſily brought to a "concluſion. The Duke left *Charles* XII. to his na"tural inclination; and, being ſatisfied with having "diſcovered his intentions, he made him no propo"ſal." Monſieur *de la Motraye*, in his remarks upon this paſſage of Monſieur *Voltaire*, ſays, "I never "heard theſe circumſtances mentioned; nor do I "know it was ever ſurmiſed, that the Duke, by a "bare view of the map of *Muſcovy* lying before the "King of *Sweden*, penetrated into the real deſign of "that Monarch, which you yourſelf afterwards own "the *Swedes* themſelves were ignorant of, even when "they were actually on their march." In anſwer to which Monſieur *Voltaire* refers to Monſieur *Fabricius* as his Author, and an eye-witneſs. Monſieur *de la Motraye* adds: "I had the honour to be frequently in "the preſence of *Charles* XII, during his ſojourning "at *Bender*; but I never knew him ſhew any averſion "towards *France*. On the contrary, he always em"ployed *Frenchmen* in his army, preferably to all other "Foreigners, and could not conceal his concern for "them, when he heard of their loſſes. I never knew "a *Swediſh* Officer, but what wiſhed well to *France*; "and I never heard any complaints, but only that "*France* had forſaken them in their misfortunes, and "had never paid one penny of the ſubſidies ſtipulated "between them after the battle of *Pultowa*." To this Monſieur *Voltaire* anſwers; "Cabinet Meſſengers "are admitted to the preſence of their Sovereigns, "and are the Bearers of their ſecret Councils, and "yet are never the better informed of them."

1707. *Sweden*, irritated him the more, and made him inſiſt peremptorily upon full ſatisfaction, with regard to all the three points, before he left *Saxony*. The Emperor dreading the conſequences of a rupture with the *Swedes*, who might eaſily have over-run his hereditary countries; and having nominated Count *Wratiſlau* to go to the King of *Sweden*, to adjuſt all differences, that Nobleman wrote to Count *Piper*, to know whether he ſhould meet with a favourable reception. But Count *Piper* let him know, "That, if he came with power to give his "Maſter real ſatisfaction, he would be welcome; but that, if he only came to enter in- "to a diſcuſſion of his *Swediſh* Majeſty's pre- "tenſions, he might ſave himſelf the trouble "of that journey." Upon this, the Imperial Court ſent orders to Count *Zinzendorf* to urge Count *Piper* to declare, what ſatisfaction his Maſter inſiſted upon, ſince he refuſed to allow his Miniſter to diſcuſs it, and to aſſure him, that the Emperor was ready to refer the controverted points to the arbitration of the Queen of *Great-Britain* (1). Her Majeſty wrote likewiſe to the King of *Sweden*, to exhort him to forbear all hoſtilities; but his anſwer was, "That, ſeeing "the Emperor did not give him the ſatisfaction "he expected, he ſhould be obliged to take it, "ſince his delaying to do himſelf juſtice had "encouraged people to offer him new affronts:" Which laſt expreſſion related to the eſcape of the *Muſcovites*. The Imperial Court not only complied with the King of *Sweden*'s demands, as to the delivering up both Count *Zobor*, and the Imperial Officers, who hindered the raiſing of the *Swediſh* levies in *Sileſia*, as preliminaries to the admiſſion of Count *Wratiſlau* as Envoy from the Emperor; but declared likewiſe, that the City of *Breſlau* ſhould pay four thouſand crowns to the widow of a *Swediſh* Corporal, who was killed in that City, in a ſcuffle, occaſioned by the ſeizure of thoſe levies. But this forced compliance did not fully ſatisfy the King of *Sweden*, who, upon Count *Wratiſlau*'s arrival at *Alt-Ranſtadt*, refuſed to admit him to his audience. This Miniſter was therefore obliged to content himſelf with conferring with Count *Piper* and Monſieur *Hermelin*, concerning the eſcape of the *Muſcovites*, which the Imperial Court now thought was the only important point, that remained unadjuſted. But they were deceived.

The King of Sweden *gets the Proteſtant Churches in* Sileſia *to be reſtored.*

It ſeems the Proteſtants in *Sileſia* had their Churches, and the free exerciſe of their Religion, ſtipulated to them by the treaty of *Munſter*, and the Crown of *Sweden* was the Guarantee for the obſervation of this article. Now, theſe Churches being taken from them, the King of *Sweden*, upon their application, very readily embraced the opportunity, which had been long neglected or forgotten by his father, to reſtore them to their juſt rights and privileges. To this end, having ſent four regiments of *Swediſh* horſe into that Country, he multiplied his demands into the following articles: "I. That the "Emperor ſhould give it under his hand, that he "knew nothing of the march of the one thouſand "two hundred *Muſcovites*, who eſcaped through "the Hereditary Countries. II. That he ſhould "forthwith decide the affair of the election of "*Lubeck* in favour of the Duke Adminiſtrator "of *Holſtein*, and confirm the agreement be- "tween that Houſe and the Chapter for the "two next Generations. III. That the Coun- "try of *Hadeln*, on the river *Elve*, be ſequeſ- "tered into the hands of his *Swediſh* Majeſty, "till the right of all the Pretenders to it be "decided. IV. That the Proteſtant Religion "in *Sileſia* be reſtored according to the treaty "of *Weſtphalia*. V. That his Imperial Majeſ- "ty ſhould renounce all pretences to the quota, "which the King of *Sweden* had not furniſhed "towards the preſent war, and ſhould draw no "conſequences from the Crown of *Sweden*'s not "having done homage for the Dominions they "have in the Empire, ſince the year 1664. "VI. That the whole *Swediſh* army, in their re- "turn through *Sileſia* into *Poland*, ſhould be main- "tained at the Emperor's charge." There were about the ſame time certain other articles handed about privately in *Holland*, which, it was inſinuated, the King of *Sweden* deſigned to propoſe to the diet, the chief of which were: "1. That the "Elector of *Bavaria* ſhould be reſtored, or, at "leaſt, his Electorate given to the King of "*Sweden*, and he be declared Elector in his "room, as being his neareſt relation. 2. That, "for the future, the Election of Emperor "ſhould be alternately out of the three Reli- "gions, ſince the Electoral College was compo- "ſed of them. 3. That the Proteſtant "Churches ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in *Sileſia*, "*Moravia*, *Bohemia*, *Hungaria*, *&c.* on the "ſame foot they were on at the time of his "great Predeceſſor, *Guſtavus Adolphus*. 4. That "the King of *Sweden* ſhould have the Sove- "reignty of the City of *Bremen*." Theſe articles were probably forged in *France*; but, with

(1) This is confirmed by the following paſſage, in a letter of the Earl of *Mancheſter* to the Earl of *Sunderland* from *Vienna*, *May* 14, 1707, printed in *Mr.* Cole's *Memoirs of affairs of State*, p. 447.

"The Miniſters (ſays Lord *Mancheſter*) have ſpoke "to me of the proceedings of the King of *Sweden* "towards this Court. This Envoy has again re- "newed with ſtrong expreſſions his demands of hav- "ing the *Muſcovites* delivered to him by the Emperor, "and ſatisfaction for what has paſſed between the "Count *Zobor* and his Miniſter, which he carries ſo "high, as to make it a capital crime, as alſo repara- "tion in the matter of *Breſlau*; and, in caſe he has "not immediate ſatisfaction, he has orders to go away. "Theſe things make them very uneaſy here, they "lying ſo expoſed. All this he has done within theſe "few days; and ſince the Duke of *Marlborough* has "been in *Saxony*, which they hoped had made all things "eaſy. I believe, they have not yet determined what "meaſures to take; but I believe they have wrote this "whole matter to *England*, and I cannot tell whether "it will not ſtop the detachment for *Naples*, though "by this time it ſhould be marched. I do believe, "that they wrote this whole matter to *England*, to "be laid before the Queen; and I hear they have alſo "ſent an expreſs to *Holland*. I wiſh it may not be "the occaſion of recalling ſome troops out of *Italy* "for their own preſervation." Here the Earl of *Mancheſter* ſeems doubtful, whether the Duke of *Marlborough* had been ſo effectually ſucceſsful, as had been hoped; but the Earl of *Sunderland*, in a letter to his Lordſhip from *Whitehall*, *May* 6, 1707, ſays, "Lord "*Marlborough* has, I hope, left matters with the "King of *Sweden* in as good a way as one could ex- "pect, which will be a great eaſe on that ſide."

1707. with regard to the other ſix articles, they occaſioned ſeveral Conferences between Count *Wratiſlau* and Count *Piper*; and the former, being convinced of the neceſſity of preventing a rupture, which would have proved fatal to the common cauſe, paſſed over ſeveral formalities, and granted ſome points, which, at any other time, would have been rejected by the Court of *Vienna*. The confirmation of the treaty between the Chapter of *Lubeck* and the Ducal Houſe of *Gothorp* in the year 1647, and the reſtoration of the exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion in *Sileſia*, were the two articles of hardeſt digeſtion with the Imperial Court, and therefore met with the greateſt difficulty. The *Swedes* inſiſted, that they ſhould be allowed to keep ſome troops in *Sileſia*, till the Churches of the Proteſtants ſhould be rebuilt, which the Imperial Court would not agree to; and, on the other hand, they refuſed to approve and ratify the treaty about the Biſhoprick of *Lubeck*, till that affair was fully examined. But the Guaranty of the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General* removed all obſtacles, and on the 1ſt of *September*, *N. S.* all matters were agreed upon.

The King of Sweden *leaves* Saxony.

The next day the King of *Sweden* decamped very early from his quarters at *Alt-Ranſtadt*, and Count *Wratiſlau*, having waited upon him, the treaty was ſigned at *Wolkwitz* that very day; and the Imperial Miniſter ſet out, on the 3d, for *Vienna* to have the agreement ratified.

King *Auguſtus* being indiſpoſed, the King of *Sweden* went to *Dreſden*, and made him a viſit, with whom he had a long Conference. His *Swediſh* Majeſty, being returned to his army, continued his march for *Sileſia*, where the Imperial ratifications of the Convention, ſigned by Count *Wratiſlau*, were delivered to him. That Prince was ſo well pleaſed with the diſpatch uſed at the Imperial Court in this affair, that he reſolved to quit *Sileſia* immediately, and march into *Poland*, ſo that all his forces were on the other ſide of the *Oder* before the 25th of *September*. However, his *Swediſh* Majeſty left the Baron *de Strahlenheim* in *Sileſia* to ſee the execution of the treaty; and, before his departure from *Leibnitz*, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee ſeveral Churches reſtored to the Proteſtants, which was no ſmall mortification to the Jeſuits and Popiſh Prieſts, who made great oppoſition to the performance of what had been ſtipulated; but the Imperial Court would not provoke a Prince who they thought was ſeeking a colour to break with them. It is obſervable, that the Biſhop of *Breſlau*, fearing the reſentment of the Pope, took a pretence to abſent himſelf from that City, to avoid ſigning the orders given for reſtoring the Proteſtants to their former rights. But the King of *Sweden*, being diſpleaſed with that Prelate on this account, ſignified, that he expected, that he ſhould ſign and approve thoſe orders; which formality he thought neceſſary, becauſe the Biſhop of *Breſlau* is the chief perſon in the Regency of *Sileſia* next to the Emperor; and therefore his refuſing to ſubſcribe the orders might afterwards have been drawn into ill conſequence againſt the Proteſtants. As for Count *Zobor*, whom the King of *Sweden* had ſent priſoner to *Stetin*, he was upon his humble ſubmiſſion ſet at liberty with great marks of generoſity. Upon theſe proceedings the King of *Sweden* was highly magnified, and great endeavours were again uſed to engage him in the Alliance; but he was ſo ſet againſt the Czar, whom he deſigned to dethrone, that nothing could divert him from it. 1707.

The campaign in Flanders *inconſiderable.*

To return to the Duke of *Marlborough*. He arrived at *Bruſſels* the 13th of *May*, *N. S.* and, having immediately held a Council of war with Monſieur *Auverquerque* and the Field-deputies of the *States*, orders were ſent to the Confederate troops to march to their rendezvous at *Anderlach*, near *Bruſſels*; from whence they moved to *Billengen* and *Lembeck*. Upon intelligence, that the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Duke of *Vendoſme*, who commanded the *French* army, were come out of their lines, the Allies marched to *Soignies*, with a deſign to engage them in the plain of *Flerus*: But being further informed, that the enemy were much ſuperior in number, and had drained all their garriſons, with a deſign to plunder the rich open cities of *Brabant*, in caſe the Allies ſhould undertake any ſiege; the Confederate Generals marched back from *Soignies* towards *Bruſſels*, and poſted themſelves at *Meldert*. At the ſame time, the *French* advanced to *Gemblours*; and ſo both armies continued above two months in their reſpective camps. At length, upon certain advice, that the *French* had detached thirteen battalions and twelve ſquadrons from their army towards *Provence*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, in concert with Monſieur *Auverquerque* and the Deputies of the *States*, reſolved to march from *Meldert* towards *Genap*, in order to attack the enemy with leſs diſadvantage, in their fortified camp at *Gemblours*. Accordingly, the diſpoſition was made for the army to paſs the *Zeule* at the Abbey of *Florival*; which being done, they marched towards *Genap*, where they incamped with their right at *Promelles*, and their left at *Davieres*. Here they had intelligence, that the enemy no ſooner received advice, that the army of the Allies was in motion, than they were extremely alarmed, and immediately ordered their troops to their arms. They likewiſe cut down ſeveral trees in the roads and paſſages, which led to their camp, and, having got certain information which way the Allies were moving, they began their march with all imaginable precipitation towards *Flerus* and *Heſpenay*, intending to be that evening at *Goſſeliers*, and take poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at *Pieton*. The Confederate Generals received advice, that the *French* army had made but a ſhort halt at *Goſſeliers*, and were advanced to *Seneff*, the Elector of *Bavaria* having taken his head-quarters in the caſtle of *Vanderbeck*, and the Duke of *Vendoſme* in the farm-houſe of *Rel*, between *Vanderbeck* and *Seneff*, with the river *Pieton* before them. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Monſieur *Auverquerque* having conferred together, it was reſolved to march directly to *Nivelle*, and attack the enemy; but, coming too late to attack them that day, and having reaſon to believe, that they would attempt to retire in the night, in order to gain the camp at *Cambron*, all poſſible diligence was uſed to prevent their effecting it. To this end, Count *Tilly*, with forty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, which were commanded, under him, by the Earl of *Albermarle*, and the Major-Generals Count *d'Erbach* and *Roſs*, and a detachment of between five and ſix thouſand grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Scholten* and Major-General *Zoutland*, was ordered to poſt himſelf between the two armies; and,

1707. and, in caſe the enemy decamped, to fall upon their rear, and keep them in play, till the whole army ſhould come up. Theſe troops, notwithſtanding they marched with all poſſible diſpatch, could not reach their poſts before midnight. The *French*, in the mean time, foreſeeing what was the Duke of *Marlborough*'s deſign, and perceiving, that it would not be poſſible for them to avoid an engagement, if they continued in their camp till the morning, reſolved to decamp in the night, and Count *Tilly*, advancing before break of day with his detachment, ſaw their army in full march, making their retreat in very good order from hedge to hedge, and obſerved the country to be ſo difficult, that it would be next to impoſſible to come at them. He gave immediate notice of this to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and informed him, that he was marching to endeavour to attack their rear, according to his orders. Upon this the Duke detached twenty battalions, and thirty ſquadrons, under the command of General Count *Lottum*, to ſupport Count *Tilly*; the horſe being commanded by Lieutenant-General *Dopf*, the Sieur *Schulenberg*, and the Earl of *Athlone*, Major-Generals; and the foot by Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, and Major-General *Welderen*. Count *Tilly* marched with all poſſible ſpeed, and had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the enemy's rear; but, having purſued them three or four hours, as far as the plains of *Marimont*, and obſerving, that it was to no purpoſe to fatigue the troops, he returned to the camp. The country was cut by many deep roads, which very much favoured the enemy's retreat; for there they poſted ſome of their infantry, which hindered the Confederate horſe from making openings to follow them. The Duke of *Marlborough*, who was advanced with a detachment, being returned to the camp, reſolved to remain there that day, to give the troops ſome repoſe, after the fatiguing march they had made; and, becauſe he was under an uncertainty, whether the enemy marched towards their lines, or to *Cambron*, Monſieur *Auverquerque* ſent one of his Aids de Camp, with one hundred and fifty *Huſſars*, to poſt himſelf on the hills of the *Great-Roulx*, from whence they diſcovered the enemy's march at about half a league's diſtance. That Officer reported, that the Vanguard was advanced to St. *Dennis*, having the river *Haiſne* behind them; which was confirmed by the ſpies, who added, that the Elector of *Bavaria* had his quarters at *St. Dennis*, and the Duke of *Vendoſme* at *Caſtiaux*. From this march the Generals concluded, that the enemy did not deſign to retire within their lines, but rather to poſſeſs the advantageous camp at *Cambron*: Upon which the Confederate army decamped from *Nivelle*; but, having the whole day a very violent rain, which made the roads almoſt unpaſſable, it was very late, when the right came to *Soignies*, and the left could not come up till the next morning, though a thouſand pioneers had been three days at work to repair the road from *Arquennes* to *Soignies*. The Confederate army ſuffered very much in this march, but the enemy laboured under much greater difficulties; for, having lain on their arms at *St. Dennis* all night, they purſued their march early the next morning with great precipitation, and in the ſame confuſion as before, to *Chievres*, where they arrived at the ſame time the Confederates came to *Soignies*. This haſty retreat, beſides the fatigue, occaſioned a very great deſertion among the *French*; for, their ſoldiers having been without bread for more than two days, and without reſt for three, not having time to put up their tents between *Seneff* and *Chievres*, about a thouſand of them went over to the Confederate camp, and as many more at leaſt to *Bruſſels* and other places. The enemy was, beſides, in want of all ſorts of neceſſaries, during their whole march from *Gemblours*, their baggage being ſent away from thence, with their artillery, to *Charleroy*, upon the firſt motion of their army to avoid an engagement. 1707.

The great rains, which continued for ſome days, having rendered the ways wholly unpaſſable, obliged the Duke of *Marlborough* to give over the purſuit of the enemy, and detained the Confederate army in the camp at *Soignies*. The enemy, in the mean time, fortified the avenues to theirs, as well as the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather would allow them; and though their army was ſoon after reinforced with ſix battalions and two regiments of horſe from the flying camp of Count *de la Motte*; yet they retired farther beyond the *Marque*, and incamped with their right at *Pont à Treſin*, and their left under the cannon of *Liſle*. Monſieur *Rouſſet*, in his account of this march, obſerves, that the Confederate army left their camp at *Soignies*, on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, and marched directly towards the enemy, who were at *Cambron*: That the Prince of *Orange*, as General of the Republic, put himſelf at the head of the *Dutch* infantry; but that the *French* had no ſooner advice of this march, than they quitted the camp at *Cambron* with great precipitation, notwithſtanding the advantageous ſituation, paſſed at length the *Scheld*, and retired behind their lines between *Liſle* and *Pont à Treſin*: That, if the Allies had begun their march an hour or two ſooner, they might have fallen upon the rear-guard of the *French* army, whom they ſaw following the body of it: And that the van of the Allies got into their camp, where they found beer, wine, and ſeveral other things, which the *French* had not time to carry away with them. The Allies advancing again towards them, the Duke of *Marlborough* had intelligence, that the *French* had made a diſpoſition to forage at *Templeuve* and the villages thereabouts: He therefore marched out by break of day with twenty thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, and twelve pieces of cannon, with a deſign to attack the guard, that covered them, and, by that means, endeavour to bring them to a general action; but the enemy, being informed of the Duke's intention, did not think fit to venture out of their camp. The Duke therefore ordered his troops to forage thoſe places, that the enemy might have no farther benefit from them; which was done without the leaſt oppoſition, though under the cannon of *Tournay*, within a league of the enemy's camp, and three from that of the Confederates; ſo fearful were the *French* of expoſing themſelves to any hazard, though with never ſo viſible an advantage. The Duke of *Marlborough* finding it impoſſible to bring the Duke of *Vendoſme* to an engagement, the *French* camp being covered with the *Scheld* and their intrenchments, he left the camp at *Helchim*, on the 4th of *October*, *N. S.* and went to the *Hague*, where he arrived, on the 6th, at nine in the morning, and immediately made a 1707.

1707. visit to the Grand Penſionary and Monſieur *de Slingerland*, Secretary of the Council of State. The ſame afternoon he had a Conference with the Deputies of the *States-General*, wherein he communicated the orders he had received from the Queen of *Great-Britain* to repair to *Francfort*, and confer with the Electors of *Mentz* and *Hanover* about the operations of the next campaign. The next morning he had another Conference with theſe Deputies, and, in the evening, ſet out for the army, to give the neceſſary orders for their marching into winter-quarters. Immediately after his arrival there, the troops, which were deſigned for the garriſons of *Menin*, *Courtray*, and *Oudenarde*, went into thoſe places; and, when the reſt of the army came to *Aſche*, they continued there till they heard the *French* army was ſeparated, upon which all the Confederate troops went into winter-quarters, being much the ſame as they had been the laſt year.

The armies ſeparate. Octob. 20.

The Duke of Marlborough *goes to* Germany,

The Duke of *Marlborough* ſet out for *Germany*, and was met by the Elector Palatine at *Bruck*, about a league from his caſtle of *Banſberg*; and, the next day, he arrived at *Francfort*, where the Electors of *Hanover* and *Mentz* being already come, they had ſeveral Conferences together, but nothing was concluded, till the arrival of Count *Wratiſlau*, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary; nor even then neither, becauſe the Count declared, that he was not fully inſtructed. Upon this the Conferences broke off; and the two Electors left *Francfort*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* returned to the *Hague*, attended by Count *Wratiſlau*, and arrived there on the 3d of *November*. During his ſtay, he communicated to the *States-General* what had paſſed at *Francfort*; and, their Deputies having had ſeveral Conferences with the Imperial Miniſters, the *States* reſolved to uſe all poſſible means to engage the Empire, to make greater efforts for the future than they had hitherto done. In order to this, they wrote a preſſing letter to the diet of *Ratiſbon*, wherein, after having repreſented the great deficiencies and delays of the *Germanic* body from time to time in the performance of what they were by treaty bound to, and the ill conſequences, which had hitherto attended them, they concluded with ſaying, "That their High "Mightineſſes would continue to contribute "their utmoſt towards bringing about the great "work, which they had, jointly with them, "undertaken; but that they expected the like "from his Imperial Majeſty and the Empire, "ſeeing they were obliged to it by their Al-"liances and the common Intereſt; and, in caſe "of non-performance, their High Mightineſſes proteſted againſt all the ill conſe-"quences thereof." 1707.

and returns to England.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, having ſettled ſeveral other affairs with the *States*, embarked for *England*, and came to *St. James's* on the 7th of *November*, *O. S.*

Campaign in Italy *and* Provence. Burnet. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

The Queen of *Great-Britain*, the *States-General*, and the Duke of *Savoy* had formed (as hath been ſaid) a project of invading *Provence* in *France*, in order to take or deſtroy *Toulon* and *Marſeilles*; which deſign, if it could have been effected, would have ruined the maritime power of *France*, and been of infinite advantage to *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, by ſecuring and enlarging their trade, and to the whole Confederacy, by depriving the enemy of means to carry on their profitable commerce to the *Weſt-Indies*, which alone inabled them to proſecute the war. But the Court of *Vienna* laid the deſign of reducing the Kingdom of *Naples*, which, as it tended to divide the Confederate army in *Italy*, claſhed with the other enterprize, and therefore was ſtrongly oppoſed by *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who paſſed thro' *Vienna* in his way to *Venice*, having remonſtrated againſt it (1). Theſe repreſentations having proved ineffectual, and the Court of *Vienna* inſiſting,

(1) In order to form a clear notion of this affair, it will be proper to tranſcribe ſuch paſſages from the letters written by the Earl of *Mancheſter* and to him, as relate to this ſubject.

The Earl of Sunderland *to the Earl of* Mancheſter.

Whitehall, *March* 7, 1706-7, *O. S.*

Having received by the laſt poſt an account of an agreement between Prince *Eugene* and the Prince of *Vaudemont*, for the withdrawing all the *French* troops out of *Italy*, and apprehending leſt the Court of *Vienna*, upon this, may be more intent than ever upon the deſign of ſending troops into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and Monſieur *Vryberge* having, in a memorial to her Majeſty, repreſented the ſame thing; her Majeſty has commanded me to acquaint your Lordſhip, that it is her pleaſure, that you haſten your journey to *Vienna* as much as poſſible; and that you do repreſent to that Court, in her Majeſty's name, how deſtructive any ſuch deſign would be to the carrying on the war in *Dauphine* and *Provence*, which is ſettled and concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*, and which is the only way, by which *France* can be affected, or a diverſion made in favour of King *Charles*.

The Earl of Mancheſter *to the Duke of* Marlborough.

Hague, *March* 25, 1707.

I have waited on the Penſionary, and I told him, that I had orders to make what haſte I could to *Vienna*; and that her Majeſty did intirely concur with the *States-General*, in relation to the project concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*. He ſeemed to think, that the agreement, that is made in *Italy*, for the *French* troops to retire to *Suſa*, may be of ill conſequence; and this he ſuppoſes is the reaſon, why her Majeſty nor the *States-General* were not made acquainted with it from the Imperial Court, leſt they ſhould have diſſuaded them from it.

Marquiſs de Prie *to Count* Lieghtenſtein.

April 8, 1707.

We are at laſt come to the favourable moment to be able to undertake the conqueſt of *Naples*, with all the appearances of a ſpeedy and happy ſucceſs. The Kingdom is intirely unprovided with troops; the people ſhew openly enough a good diſpoſition for the very Auguſt Houſe, and they are at liberty to follow it. The retreat of the enemies out of *Lombardy* will give ſtill more courage to the well-intentioned. We have even all the reaſon to believe, that *France* has already reſolved to renounce that Kingdom, which ſhe would, beſides, have difficulty enough to ſupport. The Cabinet of *France* will reflect without doubt, that the ſending a ſmall body of men would be ſacrificing them with the Country; and ſhe cannot ſend thither a great one without unarming the frontiers on the ſide of *Piedmont*, which is intirely open, after the demolition ſhe has made of *Nice* and *Montmeillan*, rather to ſatisfy her animoſity againſt his Royal Highneſs of *Savoy*, than to follow

1707. siſting, that the forces of the Allies were ſufficient to carry on both theſe enterprizes at once; Count *Thaun*, with a ſtrong body of Imperialiſts, marched from *Lombardy* through the Eccleſiaſtical State, and ſtruck no ſmall terror into the Court of *Rome*, as they paſſed near it. It was apprehended, that ſome reſiſtance would have been made in *Naples* by thoſe, who governed there under King *Philip*; but the inbred hatred, which the *Neapolitans* bore the *French*, together with the ſeverities of their Government, had put that whole Kingdom into ſuch a diſpoſition to 1707.

The conqueſt of Naples.

follow her intentions. Our army will be ſtronger and in a better condition to act, than that of the laſt campaign, which has ſurmounted ſo many obſtacles. All the troops of the Allies remain in *Italy*. The Imperial army will be reinforced conſiderably by the recruits and the remounting. That of his Royal Highneſs will be re-eſtabliſhed to the number of ſeventeen thouſand men. We are here almoſt ready to undertake the expedition of *Naples* and the entry into *France*, both at the ſame time. The enemies will not be able in this uncertainty to ſend troops into the Kingdom of *Naples*, which they would hereafter not be able to withdraw, or to reinforce, as ſoon as the fleet ſhall appear in the *Mediterranean*. On our ſide, we can carry on that war with all ſort of convenience and advantage. Our troops, and eſpecially our horſe, will go by land, whilſt *France* will be obliged to immenſe difficulties and expences to embark their cavalry. She may remember the conſequences of the engagements at *Meſſina*: The too great diſtance cauſed her ſo great a diverſion, that the Court of *France* was at laſt perſuaded to abandon, ſcandalouſly enough, that enterprize, at a time, when ſhe made war every where elſe with advantage enough. But, if ſhe would even make all ſorts of efforts, we ſhall be always able to make detachments from this army great enough to maintain a ſuperiority. So that ſhe will either ruin herſelf in ſupporting a diſtant war, full of expence and difficulty, or we ſhall have fair play; and we can finiſh the expedition in one march, and even make uſe elſewhere of the troops, that will not be neceſſary to guard the Country; whence we can eaſily embark the foot, and tranſport them in a little time to *Final*, or perhaps into *Provence*. We could even, in caſe of neceſſity, ſend them into *Spain*. I have made good uſe of theſe reaſons to perſuade the Miniſters of *England* and *Holland* of the facility of this enterprize. I have ſhewn, that it does not hinder us at all in any of the operations, and the view we have of entering into *France*, which they have much at heart; and, far from that, the conqueſt of theſe two Kingdoms will facilitate the means to puſh that war more vigorouſly, and to finiſh it perhaps more quickly, whilſt it may chance to determine the *Spaniards* to return to their duty, to preſerve the eſtates in *Italy* to their Monarchy. I have alſo endeavoured to confirm his Royal Highneſs in the firſt reſolutions, which were taken, and of which we formed the projects at the end of the laſt campaign, which were then ſent to *England*; whilſt he was very much attacked by the remonſtrances and difficulties, which the two powers made, and by the zeal he has to puſh his point vigorouſly on the ſide of *France*, according to the deſire and the inſtances of *England* and *Holland*, and the hopes we have to cauſe ſome commotions. His Royal Highneſs has declared, that he would ſubmit to what the Emperor ſhall order about it, and that he will be ready to execute it.

The Earl of Mancheſter *to Mr. Secretary* Harley.

Vienna, April 25, 1707.

I arrived here on the 21ſt, and had been here ſooner, had I not met with contrary winds on the *Danube*, tho' I find it would have been much the ſame thing, for this week every one is in devotion. I have, nevertheleſs, ſeen Monſieur *de Zinzendorf* and Monſieur *Wratiſlau*, and did not fail to take the firſt opportunity to ſhew them the ill conſequence to the intended deſign of proſecuting the war into *France*, ſhould they firſt undertake that of *Naples*; and I did acquaint them with the orders I had received from her Majeſty. As for Count *Zinzendorf*, he was not ſo poſitive as the latter; but they both agreed in this, that it would not in the leaſt prejudice that undertaking; for ſince the *French* were intirely out of *Italy*, there were troops ſufficient for both That Prince *Eugene* was to ſtay, though his preſence would have been of very great conſequence: That they had given their reaſons to Monſieur *Dopf*, which they hoped would ſatisfy her Majeſty; as alſo the *States-General*. I had a great deal of diſcourſe on that ſubject with the latter, who, I fear, has no great opinion of the project concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*. When I preſſed that matter, he did ſay, that, by the Grand Alliance, that of *Naples* was firſt to be undertaken; and that the Emperor was not able to ſuſtain this war without ſome aſſiſtance of that nature: That every thing was ready here, and they had reaſon to believe, they ſhould ſucceed with a ſmall number of troops. I do not doubt but her Majeſty is already informed of the reaſons they alledge; and I cannot but think, though they do not poſitively own it, that the orders are already gone to *Italy*.

The Earl of Mancheſter *to the Earl of* Sunderland.

Vienna, April 27, 1707.

Yeſterday I had my audience of the Emperor, when, after I had made him the uſual compliments on the part of her Majeſty, and told him how great a ſatisfaction it was to her, as alſo to her Allies, that his Majeſty had granted the inveſtiture of the Duchy of *Milan* to the King of *Spain*, and that her Majeſty had commanded me to receive his orders before I went to *Italy*; then I acquainted him, that the expedition into *France* was of the laſt conſequence, not only in relation to the common cauſe, but alſo to the ſecuring the Crown of *Spain* to the King: That her Majeſty did hope, that he had given all the neceſſary directions, in order to ſupport it as far as it is poſſible: That it was a matter, that ſo nearly concerned her Majeſty, in regard it related to the King of *Spain*, that ſhe did hope there would be no objections made to it. I alſo took notice of the orders I had received in relation to the Duke of *Savoy*. The Emperor anſwered me, in relation to her Majeſty, with all the acknowledgments imaginable; but did not touch on any thing of the inveſtiture of the Duchy of *Milan*. As to the Duke of *Savoy*, he ſaid, that he had done, and would do what remained, not only in regard to him, whom he ſpoke extremely well of, but alſo in regard to the Queen. I have again preſſed all the Miniſters to lay aſide for the preſent the ſending a detachment to *Naples*, &c.——Yeſterday arrived an expreſs from Count *Galas*. The letters are of the 9th inſtant, *O. S.* I perceive they do not pleaſe here, for they are much ſet on the expedition to *Naples*. I aſked Monſieur *Zinzendorf*, whether the reaſons they had given Monſieur *Dopf* had changed their minds in *England*, in the affair of *Naples*; but he ſeemed to own it had not.

Memorial of the Dutch *Envoy*.

The *States-General* of the *United-Provinces* have ordered the under-written Miniſter at the Imperial Court, under the date of the 11th of *April* 1707, to repreſent here, that they muſt judge, by the ſmall preparations that are made by the ſaid Court in *Italy*, for the concerted expedition againſt *France* from that ſide, that the Imperial Court takes the ſaid expedition very little to heart; but that it ſeems rather, that they think here only on that of *Naples*; which their High Mightineſſes can, however, not approve of, nor can they find the reaſons alledged on the part of the ſaid Court ſufficient to juſtify it, becauſe, the great aim of the war and the Alliance being to bring *France* to reaſon, the invaſion

1707. to revolt, that the ſmall party, which adhered to King *Philip*, found it not adviſeable to offer any reſiſtance, and had only time enough to convey their treaſure, and all their richeſt goods to *Gaeta*, and to retire thither. They reckoned, that they ſhould either be relieved from *France* by ſea, or obtain a good capitulation; or, if that failed, they had ſome ſhips and gallies, in which 1707.

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invaſion of *France* is the moſt certain and the moſt likely method to do it; and the more the forces, that are to be employed in this, ſhall be conſiderable, ſo much greater will be the effect hoped from it; whilſt the expedition for *Naples* deviates from it, and cannot but leſſen the ſucceſs of it, by leſſening the forces, without cauſing the enemy any diverſion; and whilſt we ſhall by this put ourſelves in danger of loſing *Spain*, which would be a loſs by no means to be made up by all the advantages, that can be obtained by the expedition of *Naples*. It is therefore, that their High Mightineſſes hope, that his Imperial Majeſty would ſtill be pleaſed to deſiſt from the ſaid enterprize to *Naples*; and they have ordered their under-written Miniſter to make the moſt preſſing inſtances, that all the forces, that are in *Italy*, may be employed in the expedition againſt *France*; and that all the neceſſary preparations for this may be forthwith made, with more ſerioufneſs and application, than could hitherto be perceived.

Vienna, *April* 25, 1707. J. J. HAMEL BRUYNINX.

The Earl of Mancheſter *to Mr. Secretary* Harley.

Vienna, *April* 30, 1707.

Here are no letters yet from *England*; ſo that I continue, as often as I ſee the Miniſters, to perſuade them to lay aſide the expedition of *Naples*, which I believe they will do, unleſs it be approved of by her Majeſty. What makes them more zealous in that matter is the apprehenſion, that in *Holland* they might be brought, at a general peace, to conſent to the diſmembering it from the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; and, if once they are in poſſeſſion of it, *England* will never conſent to it. They flatter themſelves, that, upon their appearing, the people will declare. As to the intended expedition into *France*, it is certain, that this Court has ſent the recruits they promiſed, as alſo the mounting for their horſe. They alſo aſſure me, that they are doing what is neceſſary in relation to their magazines; but I am confident, that in this they will fall ſhort; and I can eaſily perceive, that their meaning is, only till their troops can enter into *France*; and then they muſt ſubſiſt themſelves, or we muſt do it; which I find is the true reaſon, which makes them ſay, that of *Provence* is moſt practicable, becauſe, as I ſuppoſe, they think they can be ſubſiſted by our fleet. They aſſure me, that what is agreed on will be performed.

The Earl of Mancheſter *to the Earl of* Sunderland.

Vienna, *May* 4, 1707.

They are ſtill zealous for the expedition of *Naples*. Theſe troops, as they promiſe, ſhall not exceed ſeven thouſand men; and that, in caſe they do not ſucceed, they will not ſend a man more; but thoſe troops are to canton, and to keep their ground, till a more favourable opportunity. General *Thaun* is to command them, and under him General *Kriegbaum*, who ſet out yeſterday with orders to Prince *Eugene* to have the troops ready; and it may be to march, for there is no time to be loſt. But I am ſtill of opinion, they will wait till they ſee what the King of *Sweden* will do, and what aſſurances the Duke of *Marlborough* has. Here are letters come from thence, which mention, that his Grace was in conference with Count *Piper* for ſeveral hours; that my Lord Duke arrived there on the 26th, and was to go away on the 29th, but they could not tell any particulars. No expreſs is come here from the Emperor's Miniſters, which makes them fear here, that things are not right. The letters all agree, that they very much doubt it, which, I believe, will be the only inducement to prevent ſending a detachment to *Naples*. For the preſent, I take all occaſions to diſſuade them from it; but their anſwer is always what I have already mentioned; as alſo that there will be more troops left, after this detachment ſhall be made, than can be employed. The Emperor will have thirty-five thouſand men in *Italy*, and in our pay, as they ſay, twenty-thouſand. There ſhould be twenty-eight thouſand. But the *Heſſians*, *Saxe-Gotha*, and *Palatines* will not be compleat. The Duke of *Savoy* has thirteen thouſand. So that the army will conſiſt of about ſixty-eight thouſand men. Now the concluſion is, that, if ſeven thouſand out of this army go, there will ſtill remain troops ſufficient for garriſons, and a very great army for the expedition, and more than can be ſubſiſted. Theſe are the arguments they make uſe of, both to the Envoy of *Holland* and to myſelf. We ſtill perſiſt to perſuade them to lay aſide this expedition for the preſent. What they will do, time muſt ſhew; for nothing is certain here, as your Lordſhip cannot but know very well.

The Earl of Mancheſter *to the Earl of* Sunderland.

Vienna, *May* 7, 1707.

Here are no letters from *England* by the *Dutch* poſt; but the orders, the Envoy of *Holland* has received, continue the ſame in relation to the expedition of *Naples*, which, they continue to ſay, cannot fail to ſucceed, all things being prepared there for a general revolution, and that, if they ſhould not go, they would expoſe all their friends. Here are ſome perſons of quality of *Naples*, to whom they give penſions. Theſe are to go with the troops, but I do not find as yet, that they have any orders. The arguments here are ſtill, that the Duke of *Savoy* does not propoſe for this expedition more than thirty-five thouſand men: That there will be left a great body of men, after what is intended is executed: That they are very much ſurpriſed at our being ſo much againſt this expedition; but they give me to underſtand, that they know from whence all this comes: That there may be a particular view in a certain Prince, that the Duke of *Anjou* ſhould have *Naples* at a general peace. They are very well ſatisfied by what I have ſaid, that this can never be the intention of *England*, or that they can ever agree to it: I muſt confeſs, that, by all the informations I can get, I cannot ſee, but there will be ſeventy thouſand men in *Italy*; and if the detachment to *Naples* ſhould amount to ten thouſand men, and the garriſons in *Lombardy* to ten thouſand more, there will ſtill remain a very great army: What there is to be apprehended is, that there are not thoſe magazines prepared, as, in caſe this Court is to do it, are neceſſary.

The Earl of Mancheſter *to the Earl of* Sunderland.

Vienna, *May* 11, 1707.

I believe you will have received, before this comes to your Lordſhip, the certainty of the detachment's going to *Naples*. It conſiſts of five regiments of foot, and five of horſe, which, though not compleat, will amount to ten thouſand men, as you will ſee by the incloſed. They are at preſent in the *Modeneſe*; and, about the 16th inſtant, they begin their march to *Naples*. I have done all I could to perſuade them to defer it. Their arguments are ſtill the ſame; only they ſay farther, that Prince *Eugene* has wrote to *England* to ſatisfy the Queen, that it will not prejudice the great deſign againſt *France*. They have all often repeated, and do ſtill promiſe, that there ſhall not be a man more ſent, let the ſucceſs be what it will, till they ſee the event of the other expedition, which, as I can perceive, they have no great opinion of, though they agree, that it ought to be attempted.

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1707. which they might hope to escape. The Imperialists took possession of *Naples*, where they were received with great rejoicings. But their ill conduct quickly moderated that joy, and very much disposed the *Neapolitans* to a second revolt, but upon applications made to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, the excesses of the Imperialists, who carried their avarious disposition with 1707.

The Earl of Sunderland *to the Earl of* Manchester.

Whitehall, May 6, 1707.

I have the honour of your Lordship's letters of the 27th and 30th of *April*, *N. S.* and am very glad to find you have some hopes, that that Court will lay aside their thoughts of the expedition to *Naples*. It was always very unseasonable, but particularly so now, since our great misfortune in *Spain*.—Upon these accounts her Majesty would have your Lordship insist, in the strongest manner possible, against this expedition to *Naples*, as that, which will very much obstruct, if not totally defeat the main design of entering *France* by *Dauphine* or *Provence*, which seems to be the only means of bringing *France* to reason, and retrieving our misfortune in *Spain*.

Mr. Secretary Harley *to the Earl of* Manchester.

May $\frac{6}{17}$, 1707.

I received this morning the honour of your Excellency's letter of *April* 30. I am heartily glad your Excellency has had so much success, as to shake that Court from their speculative expeditic against *Naples*. But I am very sorry, that the misfortune of our army in *Spain* is an irresistible argument to lay aside wholly that project. The accounts we have of this disaster are only got from *France*; yet they bring too many marks of truth not to be credited so far, as that we have received a very great loss there. The Queen has done all that is possible on the sudden event, and in this great uncertainty. Orders are gone this night to encourage the King of *Portugal* to keep firm to the Alliance; and likewise to *Holland*, to consult with them the best way to recover the blow. But all will be to no purpose, unless the Emperor will exert himself upon this occasion, not only to lay aside the expedition to *Naples*, to push vigorously into *France*, but also to act offensively upon the *Rhine*. These are points, which the Queen hath so much at heart, that her Majesty hath wrote to the Emperor with her own hand, which I inclose herewith to your Excellency, that you may please to deliver it with all possible speed, and that you may be better apprized of it. I inclose also a copy for your own perusal. Your Excellency will inforce it with such arguments, as you will find, according to your great sagacity, may best incline his Imperial Majesty to comply with so reasonable a desire; and you will be pleased also to press the Emperor to send his Brother the King of *Spain* some troops. Without that, it will be hard for her Majesty to prevail with the *States-General* to join with her in sending more troops.

The Queen to the Emperor.

SIR, *my Brother*,

The advantage, which the enemy has now obtained in *Spain*, might have such dismal consequences, that I could not forbear to tell you, that it is of the utmost importance, that all your troops, that are in *Italy*, should be employed to make an invasion in *France*; and that, at the same time, the army in the Empire should act with vigour on the *Rhine*. *Spain* is so far from the countries, in which my troops, and those of the *States-General*, are, that there is no remedy so quick nor so powerful, as that of making this invasion. Your Majesty is too well informed, to amuse yourself with a little expedition for some member or dependency of that Kingdom, when the noble and principal parts of the Monarchy in question, the honour and welfare of my Brother the Catholic King, and in his person the dignity of the August House of *Austria*, are concerned. I promise myself therefore from your prudence, that you will think only on the re-establishment of the affairs of that Prince, by obliging his enemies to recal their troops for the defence of their own Dominions.

Kensington, May 6, 1707. I am

Your Majesty's most affectionate Sister,

ANNE R.

The Duke of Marlborough *to the Earl of* Manchester.

Brussels, May 17, 1707.

I did not receive the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 27th of last month, till my return from *Saxony* to the *Hague*, where I made so short a stay, that I hope you will excuse my not answering it sooner. I have seen by other letters from *Vienna* of later date, how obstinately they pursue the expedition against *Naples*, notwithstanding all the representations, that have been made to dissuade them from it. A jealous humour prevails so much at that Court, that they will not seriously weigh and consider their own interest, so that the best arguments are thrown away. I expect soon to hear, whether our misfortune in *Spain* has made such impression, as it ought, with them.

The Earl of *Manchester* received, on the 18th of *May* 1707, a note from Mr. *Hamel Bruyninx*, Envoy from the *States-General* at *Vienna*, to let his Excellency know, that he had received from the Prince of *Salms* an extract of a letter, wherein it was said, among other things, that the detachment for *Naples* was great enough to maintain a superiority, which the Envoy said would by no means please his Masters at the *Hague*. "It was then pretty plain, says Mr. Cole, "that the *Germans* had no great desire for *Spain*, but "wanted only *Italy*; and that they had not the expe- "dition of *Toulon* at heart, fearing the aggrandizing "the Duke of *Savoy*, whilst they did spread reports, "as if that Prince was not to be trusted, and prepa- "red to lay the blame on him, if, according to their "wish, the expedition should not succeed."

The Earl of Manchester *to the Lord-Treasurer* Godolphin.

Vienna, May 18, 1707.

I was unwilling to leave this place without acquainting your Lordship with the situation of affairs here, where there are so many Ministers, each opposing the other, that every thing, how reasonable soever the matter is, meets with delays, and sometimes fatal ones. This has made the Emperor fling himself more than ever intirely into the hands of the Prince of *Salms*, who is so troubled with the gout, that the Emperor comes to him. The whole business of the rest is to bring their own designs about through his means. I do not find one of them, but what was extremely bent on the expedition of *Naples*, and speaking very doubtfully of that of *France*, and of the difficulties it would meet with; not but they all agree, it ought to be attempted; and the Emperor did assure me he had given the necessary orders to Prince *Eugene*. I find, that the subsisting this army is still one of the arguments against that expedition, which makes me fear, that they do not intend, or cannot contribute much towards it.

The Earl of Sunderland *to the Earl of* Manchester.

Whitehall, May 9, 1707, *O. S.*

I have the honour of your Lordship's from *Vienna* of the 4th of *May*, *N. S.* and I am sorry to find that Court continues so obstinate in their wrong measures; but

1707. with them wherever they went, were ſomewhat corrected, ſo that they became more tolerable (1). As ſoon as a Government could be ſettled at *Naples*, they undertook the ſiege of *Gaeta*, which went on at firſt very ſlowly; ſo that thoſe within ſeemed to apprehend nothing ſo much as the want of proviſions, upon which they ſent the few ſhips they had to *Sicily*, to bring them ſupplies. When theſe were ſent away, the Imperialiſts, knowing what a rich booty was lodged in the place, preſſed it very hard, and, in concluſion, took it by ſtorm, and ſo were maſters of all the wealth that was in it. The garriſon retired into the caſtle, but they were ſoon after forced to ſurrender, and were all made priſoners of war. It was propoſed to follow this ſucceſs, with an attempt upon *Sicily*; but it was not eaſy to ſupply *Naples* with bread; nor was the *Engliſh* fleet at liberty to aſſiſt them; for they were ordered to lie on the coaſt of *Spain*, and to wait there for orders; which, when they arrived, required them to carry the Marquiſs *das Minas* and the Earl of *Galway*, with the forces of *Portugal*, to *Liſbon*: The thoughts of attempting *Sicily* were therefore laid aſide for this time; tho' the *Sicilians* were known to be in a very good diſpoſition to entertain it. A ſmall force was ſent from *Naples* to ſeize on thoſe places, which lay on the coaſt of *Tuſcany*, and belonged to the Crown of *Spain*; ſome of which were ſoon taken; but *Porto Longone* and *Port Hercole* made a better reſiſtance. 1707.

In the month of *June*, the deſign upon *Toulon* began to appear. The Queen and the *States-General* ſent a ſtrong fleet thither, commanded by Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*. Prince *Eugene* had the command of the Imperial army, which was to ſecond the Duke of *Savoy* in this undertaking, upon the ſucceſs of which the final concluſion of the war depended. The army was not ſo ſtrong, as it was intended it ſhould have been, on account of the detachment, which was ſent to *Naples*, and the ſtopping in *Germany* of eight or ten thouſand recruits, that had been promiſed to be ſent to reinforce Prince *Eugene*; for the Emperor was under ſuch apprehenſions of a rupture with *Sweden*, that he pretended it was abſolutely neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to keep a good force at home. Prince *Eugene* had likewiſe orders not to expoſe his troops too much; by which means they were the leſs ſerviceable (2). Notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, the Duke of *Savoy*, after he had for ſome weeks covered his true deſign by a feint upon *Dauphiné*, by which he drew moſt of the *French* troops to that ſide; as ſoon as he heard, that the Confederate *The deſign upon Toulon fails.*

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but I will ſtill hope, that the news of the fatal blow, we have had in *Spain*, will bring them to their ſenſes, ſo as not to divert their arms from the only part, where we may hope to retrieve that misfortune; at leaſt they muſt never hope to have the Queen's conſent to it; and this your Lordſhip will let them know in the ſtrongeſt manner, if you are yet there.

The Dutch *Envoy to the Earl of* Mancheſter.

Vienna, *May* 28, 1707.

I hope, that this will find your Excellency happily arrived at *Turin*. The Count of *Rochteren* arrived here the 25th inſtant; and though we have, according to our orders newly received from their High Mightineſſes, again oppoſed the expedition of *Naples*, and even proteſted againſt the bad conſequences, which it may have, eſpecially after the melancholy news of a defeat in *Spain*; we have not been able to obtain, that this expedition be countermanded; theſe Miniſters make uſe of the ſame reaſons, which they alledged, when your Excellency was here; which makes me wiſh the more to hear from your Excellency, how you have found things in *Italy*; and if the conjectures of this Court are true in their utmoſt extent; and, above all, whether there be ſo many troops, as they perſuade themſelves here; whether they apply themſelves with vigour to the expedition againſt *France*; whether they be ready; and agreed in regard to the magazines; when the paſſage of the mountains will be practicable; and whether the expedition to *Naples* will cauſe no prejudice to the other. They had even given out, on the part of this Court, in *England* and *Holland*, that your Excellency was intirely come into the ſame ſentiments with them in this affair, which their High-Mightineſſes can ſcarce believe, whilſt they have ſeen the contrary in my advices; and I do again this day juſtice to your Excellency upon that in writing to my Maſters.

The Earl of Mancheſter *to the Earl of* Sunderland.

Turin, *June* 8, 1707.

The Envoy of *Spain* preſſes for five thouſand men to be ſent to *Spain*; but ſince the detachment for *Naples* does proceed, according to the poſitive order from the Court of *Vienna* to Prince *Eugene*, I cannot ſee, that any can be ſpared from this ſide; neither do I think, that they will be inclined to ſend their troops, unleſs it be from *Naples*, if they ſucceed, as they imagine they ſhall. I received here your Lordſhip's of *May* 6, *O. S.* as alſo one of the ſame date from Mr. Secretary *Harley*. I am ſatisfied, that, had I been at *Vienna*, nothing could have prevailed with them to alter their deſign of *Naples*.—The Duke of *Savoy* is not in the leaſt pleaſed with the Imperial Court, of which I ſhall ſoon acquaint you more fully.

(1) The Earl of *Mancheſter*, in a letter to the Earl of *Sunderland*, dated at *Venice*, *Auguſt* 19, 1707, writes thus: "I fear the *Germans* begin to make the "moſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*. They laid a duty "on fruit and herbs, which ſo incenſed the people at "*Naples*, that there has been a tumult, which might "have had worſe conſequences, but was prevented by revoking it." And Mr. *Cardonnel*, in a letter to Mr. *Cole* from the camp at *Helchin*, dated *October* 2, 1707, and printed in the *Memoirs* of the latter, has theſe words: "It looks as if the *Germans* were re"ſolved to ruin the Kingdom of *Naples*, as they have "done the Electorate of *Bavaria*; but in all likeli"hood they may repent it, when it is too late. It is "a miſerable Council governs that Court of *Vienna*. "In the mean time we are ſufferers; for, inſtead of "aſſiſting the King of *Spain*, as the revenues of *Mi*"*lan* and *Naples* ought certainly to do, they do not "ſtick to ſay, it is none of their concern; and that "we muſt carry on the war in *Spain* for our own inte"reſt. God preſerve us hereafter from ſuch Allies."

(2) Mr. *Cole* informs us in his *Memoirs*, p. 457, that the Earl of *Mancheſter* told him, That he had been with the Duke of *Savoy*, when Prince *Eugene* made many difficulties about the expedition againſt *Toulon*, and the Duke of *Savoy* anſwered them all. When Prince *Eugene* was gone, his Royal Highneſs aſked my Lord *Mancheſter*, what he thought now of Prince *Eugene*. His Excellency anſwered, that he was ſorry to hear him make ſo many difficulties. Then the Duke ſaid, *I will tell you, my Lord, what I think of him and all the* Germans. *I believe they have no great mind to take* Toulon, *and their whole mind is ſet on* Italy. But his Excellency attributed this to the warmth of that Prince, and believed Prince *Eugene* would do his beſt.

1707. rate fleet was come upon the coaſt, he made a quick march through ways, that were thought impracticable, to the river *Var*, where the *French* had caſt up ſuch works, that it was reckoned theſe muſt have ſtopped his paſſing the river; and they would have done it effectually, if ſome ſhips had not been ſent in from the fleet into the mouth of the river, to attack theſe works where there was no defence, becauſe no attack from that ſide was apprehended. By this means
July 11. the works were abandoned, and ſo the paſſage over the river was free.

Upon this the Duke of *Savoy* entered *Provence*, and made all the haſte he could towards *Toulon*. The artillery and ammunition were on board the fleet, and were to be landed near the place, ſo the march of the army was as little encumbered as was poſſible; yet it was impoſſible to advance with much haſte in an enemy's country, where the proviſions were either deſtroyed or carried into fortified places, which, though they might have eaſily been taken, yet no time was to be loſt in executing the great deſign; ſo this retarded the march for ſome days: Yet, in concluſion, they came before the place, and were quickly maſters of ſome of the eminencies, that commanded it. At their firſt coming, they might have poſſeſſed themſelves of another called *St. Anne's Hill*, if Prince *Eugene* had executed the Duke of *Savoy*'s orders: He did it not, which raiſed a high diſcontent; but he excuſed himſelf, by ſhewing the orders he had received, not to expoſe the Emperor's troops (1). Some days were loſt by the roughneſs of the ſea, which hindered the ſhips from landing the artillery and ammunition. In the mean while, the troops of *France* were ordered to march from all parts to *Toulon*: The garriſon within was very ſtrong; the forces that were on their march to *Spain*, to proſecute the victory of *Almanza*, were countermanded; and ſo great a part of *Villars*'s army was called away, that he could not make any further progreſs in *Germany*. So that a great force was, from all hands, marching to raiſe this ſiege; and it was declared, in the Court of *France*, that the Duke of *Burgundy* would go and lead on the army. The Duke of *Savoy* loſt no time, but continued cannonading the place, while the fleet came up to bombard it: They attacked the two forts, that commanded the entrance into the mole with ſuch fury, that they made themſelves maſters of them; but one of them was afterwards blown up. Thoſe within the town were not idle: They ſunk ſome ſhips, in the entrance into the mole, and fired furiouſly at the fleet, but did them little harm: They beat the Duke of *Savoy*, out of one of his moſt important poſts, which was long defended by a gallant Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*; who, not being ſupported in time, was cut to pieces. This poſt was afterwards regained, and the fleet continued for ſome days to bombard the place, with ſo good ſucceſs, that a great number of houſes were deſtroyed, ſeveral magazines blown up, and eight men of war either burnt or rendered unſerviceable (2). But, in the end, the Duke of *Savoy*, whoſe ſtrength had never been above thirty thouſand men, ſeeing ſo great a force marching towards him, who might intercept his paſſage, and ſo deſtroy his whole army, and there being no hope of carrying the place, found it neceſſary to march home in time. Accordingly, having ordered all the artillery and the ſick and wounded to be embarked, he decamped in the night, retiring in very good order the ſame way he came, without being the leaſt inſulted by the enemy (3). After his return into *Piedmont*, he concluded the campaign on that ſide, with the recovery of his important place of *Suza*, which the *French* had left unprovided, 1707.

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(1) On the 3d of *Auguſt*, Mr. *J. Chetwynd* wrote the following letter from the camp there to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, printed in *Cole*'s *Memoirs*, p. 465: The ſituation of affairs here is ſomewhat changed ſince my laſt, but not ſo much as I could wiſh, or indeed as I did expect. This is the 9th day, that our army has been before *Toulon*; and all that we have done has been to oblige the enemies to quit us ſome ſmall poſts, where we deſign to make our batteries; but their camp before the town is in the ſame place where it was when we came, though moſt people will have it, that they might eaſily have been forced away. I do not know, my Lord, what is the meaning of it, but things do not go as they ought to do. Of our great men, I only find his Royal Highneſs hearty. I fear, if we do not make better haſte, that we ſhall paſs our time but ill, ſince we are informed, that the enemies are gathering together from all parts to drive us from hence.

(2) Namely, *Le Triumphant* of eighty-two guns; *Le Sceptre*, ninety; *Le Vainqueur*, eighty-ſix; *Le Neptune*, ſeventy-ſix; *L'Invincible*, ſeventy; *Le Serieux*, ſixty; *Le Laurier*, ſixty; and *Le Sage*, fifty-four.

(3) The progreſs of the ſiege will appear from the following *Journal* of Mr. *Chetwynd*, dated at the camp at *la Valetta*, *Auguſt* 20, 1707, and printed in Mr. *Cole*'s *Memoirs*, p. 470:

The 14th. My laſt to you was this day, ſince when I hear, that ſome deſerters from *Toulon* bring word, that the enemies have given out powder and ball to every ſoldier; upon which orders are now given to reinforce the guard upon the left of our line with three battalions, the right having already a reſerve of four battalions ordered for ſome days before. The 15th the enemies, as the deſerters had reported, marched all night to gain the hill above our camp upon our right, and that with ſo much diligence and ſecrecy, that they ſeized on our advanced guards, and began their true attack on our right by break of day, after having made their ſignal for the attack by firing three guns, making at the ſame time a falſe attack on our left. Our troops on the right received the enemies very well at firſt; but being over-powered by their ſuperiority, and the ſituation of the ground being ſuch, that the reſerve could not immediately come up, they were obliged to give way, and retire into the other poſts on the right, which they did in very good order, till the Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*, who was General of the day, was killed; and this, though they were expoſed to the fire of the place, and of three ſhips, which did not ceaſe firing during the whole action. The enemies endeavoured to puſh their good fortune farther; but, after a diſpute of about two hours, at a little caſine in the middle of our communication, they were obliged to ſtop in the poſt of *St. Catherine*, for fear the troops, which his Royal Highneſs and Prince *Eugene*, who arrived a little after the action was begun, had ordered to march to the top of the hills, ſhould cut off the retreat to the camp; which they had great reaſon to apprehend, ſince they could not but perceive our whole army in motion, which our Generals had ordered ſo, in view of a general action, upon the news we had received the day before, that the enemies had above ſixty battalions in their camp. But things went no further, and toward the evening the enemies abandoned all they had taken, after having ſet fire to our batteries, and ruined all the works we had made on the right.——A detachment of horſe we had in the

1707. vided, and which ſurrendered to him at diſcre-
Oct. 4. N. S. tion; by which means he ſhut up that inlet into his own Dominions, and opened himſelf a free paſſage into *Dauphiné*.

Remark on the expedition into Provence.

Thus ended the expedition into *Provence*, on which the eyes of all *Europe* were fixed, failed in the execution, chiefly by the Emperor's means (1). *England* and the *States-General* performed all that was expected of them; nor was the Duke of *Savoy* wanting on his part, though many ſuſpected him as backward, or at leaſt cold in the undertaking. But, though this great deſign 1707.

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valley of *Ardennes* on the right of our camp, with a ſmall body of foot, was attacked by the enemies at the ſame time, but came off without any loſs, Colonel *Pheffercorn*, who commanded them, having been killed the day before, as he went to reconnoitre the enemy. We do not know the loſs of the enemy in the attacks of our works on the right, but to judge by our own loſs, and the reſiſtance our troops made at firſt, methinks it cannot be leſs than two thouſand or fifteen hundred men. We had between five and ſix hundred men killed, wounded, or taken priſoners. Beſides the Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*, we had a Lieutenant Colonel of the *Heſſians*, a Major of the *Palatines*, with ſeveral Captains and Under-Officers killed; General *Efelt*, a *Palatine* Brigadier, with ſeveral Under-Officers wounded; a *Piedmonteſe*, and a *Saxe-Gotha* Colonel taken priſoners, with one or two Captains; beſides which, we loſt two ſmall field-pieces, which our gunner had forgot to carry off from the poſt of *St. Catherine*. At night we began to bombard the town with ſix mortars, which immediately ſet fire in two places. This evening the Fort *St. Margarite*, the outermoſt tear near to the ſea, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The garriſon was compoſed of a Lieutenant-Colonel, and three other Officers, with one hundred and thirty ſoldiers. We found in the place ſome proviſions, and fourteen pieces of iron cannon, four of which were forty-eight pounders. By the reddition of this caſtle our ſhips can come near the ſhore, and the artillery, *&c.* which was landed at *Hieres*, may be reimbarked here with much more eaſe, which was ordered to be done to-morrow, the ſiege of *Toulon* not being practicable, becauſe of the reinforcements the enemies have received ſince we are here, and by reaſon of the works they have had time to make. The 16th our batteries on the left continued to play againſt the town and ſhips, as alſo againſt Fort *Louis*, where the breach is near made. Our bombardiers flung ſeveral bombs laſt night, and all this day, into the town with very good ſucceſs; but no ſhip has yet been touched, as we know of. We continue to embark our artillery, *&c.* The Admiral commanded ſhips to attack Fort *Louis*, but the wind was ſo ſtrong, that our ſhips could do little ſervice. However they lay ſo near, that one of our ſhips had thirty men killed or wounded. This day the wind blew ſo hard, that the Royal *Anne* loſt one of her maſts, was drove from her anchor, and ran foul upon a *Dutch* man of war, who was ſomewhat damaged. The 17th drummers and trumpeters were ſent to and from *Toulon*, to inquire after ſeveral Officers and Soldiers; and the enemies did deſire to exchange their priſoners made at *St. Margarite*, to which his Royal Highneſs and Prince *Eugene* do conſent. The 18th the greateſt part of the artillery, which is not on batteries, and almoſt all the powder, balls, *&c.* are re-imbarked. Our bombs deſtroy the town of *Toulon* very much; but none have yet been flung into the baſin among among the ſhips. The breach of Fort *Louis* is practicable, and orders will be given to attack it to-night. All our ſick and wounded are ordered to *Hieres*, where they are to be embarked to be carried to *Nice*, *Oneglia*, and *Final*. The 19th laſt night we took the Fort *St. Louis*, the enemies having abandoned it as our grenadiers mounted the breach. By the fall of this place, I believe our bomb-veſſels may come to bombard the town and ſhips, which is the only hurt we can now pretend to do here.

Mr. *Chetwynd* likewiſe, in a letter to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, dated *Auguſt* 20, writes thus: All things have been ſo managed with us, that I had not ſpirit nor courage enough to write to you, knowing how much you had the good ſucceſs of our deſigns at heart. Our ſcene is not yet finiſhed, for we are to ſteal away as we can, and as ſoon as we can. Now every thing is in the greateſt confuſion, and I fear will continue ſo till we are got on the other ſide of the *Var*.

Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* wrote the following letter to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, dated on board the *Aſſociation* before *Toulon*, *Auguſt* $\frac{2}{12}$, 1707.

My Lord,

After all the hopes we had entertained of ſucceſs in our enterprize on *Toulon*, the enemy, on the $\frac{5}{16}$ inſtant, made a vigorous ſalley with a great number of troops, and attacked our works, and took great part of them, and kept them all that day, and deſtroyed what they had poſſeſſion of, and drew off four or five of our cannon into the town. The killed and wounded on our ſide is ſaid to be about one thouſand, and among the ſlain is the Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*; and ſince that time it has not been thought proper to carry on the ſiege; the enemies, as our army ſay, growing every day more numerous, and our troops continually deſerting. And the $\frac{6}{17}$ his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy* ſent to me to embark the ſick and wounded, and to take off the cannon, mortars, ammunition, proviſions, *&c.* in order to raiſe the ſiege, which is now only a cannonading and bombardment, and we are getting every thing a-board, his Royal Highneſs having informed me, he deſigns to decamp with the army to-morrow morning. Before the enemies had made this ſalley, and deſtroyed our works, they were ſo frightened, that they ſunk twenty of their ſhips; ten of them or more we reckon to be three-deck ſhips; and we believe ſome of them can never be recovered. The Duke has deſired me to accompany him back with the fleet, which I deſign to do as far as the *Var*.

P. S. Auguſt $\frac{11}{21}$, about ten in the morning.

Our ſea-bombs laſt night fired very briſkly, and beyond my expectation about midnight ſet the town on fire, which burnt very furiouſly all night, and is not yet extinguiſhed; and, in the opinion of every body here, it is ſomewhat more than dwelling-houſes, that are on fire, we ſuppoſe ſtore-houſes. We cannot ſee the town or baſin by reaſon of a hill between us. Our army being decamped, they have brought guns and mortars againſt our bomb-veſſels, and have obliged them to come off, being pretty much ſhattered by the enemy's ſhot.

Mr. *Chetwynd* concludes his account of the ſiege in a letter to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, dated from the camp at *Sealin*, *September* 16, 1707, with theſe words:

The difficulties we met with at *Toulon* were very great, but they were made much more ſo by the *indolence and ill will of ſome of our Generals*. If we had puſhed upon our arrival, there was a very great probability of ſucceſs; but, as things went, it was almoſt impracticable to do any good three or four days after our arrival; and I do not know the reaſons, why we did not then ſet to bombarding the town and ſhips, inſtead of amuſing ourſelves about what we were ſure could do us no good.

(1) Dr. *Swift*, in his *conduct of the Allies and of the late Miniſtry*, p. 27, fifth Edition, aſſerts, That one inſtance of the Emperor's indifference, or rather diſlike of the common cauſe, was the buſineſs of *Toulon*. This deſign, *ſays he*, was indeed diſcovered here at home

1707. deſign failed in the main point, it proved of great ſervice to the Allies, and was attended with many good conſequences, which, perhaps, ought to balance the expence: For, beſides the great damage, which the *French* ſuſtained in their ſhipping; the blowing up of ſeveral magazines; the burning of above one hundred and ſixty houſes in *Toulon*; and the devaſtations committed in *Provence* by both armies, to the value of thirty millions of *French* livres; this enterprize, which had ſtruck a greater terror throughout all *France*, than had been known there during the whole Reign of *Lewis* XIV, brought this further advantage to the Common Cauſe, that it gave a great diverſion to the enemy's forces, whereby their army in *Germany* was weakened; the Duke of *Orleans*'s progreſs after the battle of *Almanza* retarded in *Spain*; the ſuccouring of *Naples* prevented; and the conqueſts of the Allies in *Italy* ſecured. 1707.

Admiral *Shovel*, who was not a little chagrined at the miſcarriage of an expedition, upon which he had ſet his heart; having aſſigned Sir *Thomas Dilkes* a ſquadron of thirteen ſail for the *Mediterranean* ſervice, ſailed from *Gibraltar* with the reſt of the fleet, containing fifteen men of war

Sir Cloudeſly Shovel *drowned.* Oct. 22. Hiſt. of *Europe.*

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home by a perſon, whom every body knows to be the creature of a certain *Great Man*, at leaſt as much noted for his ſkill in gaming as in politics, upon the baſe mercenary end of getting money by wagers, which was then ſo common a practice, that I remember a Gentleman in employment, who, having the curioſity to inquire how wagers went upon the *Exchange*, found ſome people, deep in the ſecret, to have been concerned in that kind of traffic, as appeared by premiums named for towns, which no body but thoſe behind the curtain could ſuſpect. However, although this project had gotten wind by ſo ſcandalous a proceeding, yet *Toulon* might probably have been taken, if the Emperor had not thought fit, in that very juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thouſand men to ſeize *Naples*, as an enterprize, that was more his private and immediate intereſt. But it was manifeſt, that his Imperial Majeſty had no mind to ſee *Toulon* in poſſeſſion of the Allies; for even with theſe diſcouragements the attempt might have yet ſucceeded, if Prince *Eugene* had not thought fit to oppoſe it, which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to ſome politic reaſons of his Court. The Duke of *Savoy* was for attacking the enemy as ſoon as our army arrived; but, when the Marſhal *de Theſſe*'s troops were all come up, to pretend to beſiege the place, in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jeſt. Had *Toulon* fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of *France* would in a great meaſure have been deſtroyed.

But Dr. *Hare*, in his piece, intitled, *The Allies and the late Miniſtry defended againſt* France, *and the preſent friends of* France, Part III, p. 13, gives a particular anſwer to this paſſage of Dr. *Swift*, and obſerves, That every propoſition advanced by him is falſe in whole, or in part. Firſt, he tells us the deſign was diſcovered here by *a creature of a certain Great Man* laying wagers about the taking of it. This is a very odd preamble to a proof, that *Toulon* was loſt by the Emperor's fault, to tell us, that probably it was not; the deſign was diſcovered here. But theſe inconſiſtencies are nothing with this Writer, if he can but bring in one or two certain *Great Men*, whoſe reputation ſtands cruelly in his way, and will do ſo, let him employ never ſo many pens to blacken them. Now, in anſwer to this, I affirm, that this deſign was not diſcovered by the creature of this *Great Man*, but by the Clerk of another great man, who was then Secretary of State. But to go on; our Author argues, that the Emperor had no mind *Toulon* ſhould be taken, becauſe he detached twelve thouſand men to ſeize *Naples*, as he ingeniouſly expreſſes it. That the Emperor did, at that time, make an expedition to *Naples*, is true; but was it, becauſe he had no mind *Toulon* ſhould be taken? No, it was becauſe thoſe, who would make a ſcandalous peace now, were attempting the ſame thing then; and he was afraid the intereſt of his family in *Italy* would have been ſacrificed to other views. This was the true reaſon of that expedition, and this Writer knows it was, which makes his virulence and malice the more unpardonable. As things were managed, it is plain, there was a want of troops. But, when the Emperor was preſſed to put off that expedition, he did not want an anſwer. He told them, that, without thoſe twelve thouſand men, they had as many, as they had before deſired; and indeed as many, as would be able to find ſubſiſtance, and that more would be but a burthen to them: That, while they were employed in the reduction of *Toulon*, the other troops ſhould, by great marches, haſten to *Naples*, and then return to join them for any further ſervices. But, *it is manifeſt*, ſays our Author, *that the Emperor had no mind we ſhould take* Toulon, *becauſe the attempt might have ſucceeded, if Prince* Eugene *had not thought fit to oppoſe it.* This is falſe again. The Duke of *Savoy* had the chief command in that expedition, and not Prince *Eugene*. What was the true reaſon they delayed ſo long the beginning of that march, I cannot pretend to ſay; but, when they had paſſed the *Var*, I deſire this Author would tell us, who it was, that propoſed the holding a Council of war on board the fleet, and did hold one, to conſider, whether they ſhould proceed directly to *Toulon*, or beſiege *Antibes?* A man muſt be a very ill judge in affairs, that could not from that ſtep ſee, what was likely to come of the expedition. Again, to clear up this affair, I would fain know, who governed the motions of the army, till they came before the place; for it is incredible, how ſo ſmall an army could be ſo many days making ſo ſhort a march. And, if they had advanced with half the ſpeed that they retired, it is certain they might have inveſted the place, before the works the enemy were making would have been finiſhed, and before any conſiderable number of the enemy's troops were arrived. But the ſlowneſs of our motions made our arrival too late in both theſe reſpects. And the enemy's troops were in poſſeſſion of the high ground about the place, before we came in ſight of it. And therefore, if the Duke of *Savoy* did not ſeem willing to attack the enemy, that is not very hard to account for; nor might it be any fault in Prince *Eugene*, that he did not think it reaſonable. But, beſides, there was particular reaſon at that time to think, the Prince might have ſtrict orders from *Vienna*, to be very cautious how he expoſed that body of troops; and that was the neighbourhood of the King of *Sweden*, who was pleaſed to pick many quarrels with the Emperor; and nobody could tell where his demands would ſtop, or what would ſatisfy him. This gave very great umbrage to the Imperial Court; and, had they loſt that body of troops before *Toulon*, they had reaſon to fear they ſhould ſoon feel the want of them. This was certainly a good reaſon for not venturing a battle to diſadvantage, where the leaſt misfortune would have been the ruin of them all. But, had that expedition either begun ten days ſooner, or the march from the *Var* had been made in leſs time, the deſign would have ſucceeded without the hazard of a battle. There is more might be ſaid upon this ſubject; but I am not in ſo much haſte to diſcover ſome truths, as our Author is to tell the moſt pernicious lyes. Upon this inſtance then I muſt obſerve, 1. That the expedition to *Naples* was not the effect of any diſregard to the Allies, but of *ſelf-preſervation*. 2. That Prince *Eugene*'s declining a battle was not the cauſe of our ill ſucceſs againſt *Toulon*. 3. That it is no way chargeable on the late Miniſtry, who formed the deſign with the greateſt ſecrecy, and made the moſt effectual preparations for it, and did all they could to put off the expedition to *Naples*, and remove every difficulty, that might hinder the ſucceſs of it. And, laſtly, That it was not diſcovered firſt by any creature of the late Miniſtry, nor had

1707. war of the line, five of a leſs rank, and one yatch (1). On the 22d of *October*, he had ninety fathom water in the *Soundings*, and brought the fleet to, and lay by from twelve till about ſix in the afternoon, the weather being hazy; but then, the wind coming up freſh at South South-weſt, he made the ſignal for ſailing. The fleet ſteered East by North, ſuppoſing they had the Channel open, when ſome of the ſhips were upon the rocks to the Weſtward of *Scilly*, before they were aware, about eight of the clock at night, and made a ſignal of diſtreſs. The *Aſſociation*, in which Sir *Cloudeſly* was, ſtruck upon the rocks called *the Biſhop and his Clerks*, and was loſt, with all the men in it; as were alſo the *Eagle* and the *Romney*. The *Firebrand* was likewiſe daſhed on the rocks, and foundered; but the Captain and four and twenty of his men ſaved themſelves in the boat. Captain *Sanſom*, who commanded the *Phenix*, being driven on the rocks within the Iſland, ſaved all his men, but was forced to run his ſhip a-ſhore. The *Royal Anne* was ſaved by a great preſence of mind, both in Sir *George Byng*, and his officers and men, who, in a minute's time, ſet her top-ſails, one of the rocks not being a ſhip's length to the leeward of her, and the other, on which Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* was loſt, as near as in a breach of the ſea. Nor had the Lord *Durſley*, Commander of the *St. George*, a leſs ſtrange eſcape; for his ſhip was daſhed on the ſame ridge of rocks with the *Aſſociation*, and the ſame wave, which he ſaw beat out all Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*'s lights, ſet his own ſhip a-float. Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*'s body being, the next day after this misfortune, taken up by ſome country-fellows, was ſtripped and buried in the ſand; but, on inquiry made by the boats of the *Saliſbury* and *Antelope*, it was diſcovered where he was hid; from whence being taken out, and brought on board the *Saliſbury* into *Plymouth* on the 28th of *October*, it was afterwards carried to *London*, and decently interred in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, where a monument was erected in honour of the Admiral, who was one of the greateſt Sea-Commanders of that, or any other age; of undaunted courage and reſolution, and, at the ſame time, eminent for his generoſity, frankneſs, and integrity. He was the artificer of his own fortune; and, by his perſonal merit alone, from the loweſt beginnings, raiſed himſelf to almoſt the higheſt ſtation in the navy. He was born in the County of *Suffolk* of mean parentage, and, having an early inclination to the ſea, became a cabin-boy to Sir *Chriſtopher Mingo*, and, improving daily by quick progreſſes in the knowledge of naval affairs, was ſoon advanced to the rank of Lieutenant; and gave early proofs of his valour on the 14th of *January* 1673-4, when, being Lieutenant to Sir *John Narborough*, Admiral of the *Engliſh* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, he burnt in the harbour, and under the caſtle of *Tripoli*, four men of war belonging to the Pirates of that place, which forced them to accept ſuch conditions of peace, as Sir *John Narborough* was pleaſed to preſcribe them. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the firſt ſea-engagement, that happened after the Revolution, in *Bantry-Bay*, on the 1ſt of *May* 1689, for which he received the honour of Knighthood, being the Commander of the *Edgar*. He was ſoon after advanced to the poſt of a Flag-officer; and, upon the breaking out of the war in 1702, he was ſent, with a ſquadron of about twenty men of war, to join the grand fleet, and bring home the Galleons, and other rich booty, taken by the Duke of *Ormond* and Sir *George Rooke* at *Vigo*. The next year he was appointed to command in chief

His character.

1707.

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had *France* any ſuſpicion, till the expedition was actually begun, as any one may ſee, that will look back into the hiſtory of that affair. Dr. *Hare*, in the *Poſtſcript* to the *IV part of the Allies and the late Miniſtry defended*, p. 78, 79, obſerves, That in the paſſage above-cited, where he mentions, That the deſign on *Toulon* was diſcovered by the Clerk of a Great Man, who was then Secretary of State, he did not mean *Gregg*, who was afterwards hanged, but another perſon then alive; nor did he mean a direct diſcovery made to *France*, but ſuch a one, as was occaſioned by laying wagers; a folly, which the perſon hinted at has paid dearly for.

A late Writer pretends to have diſcovered the ſecret ſprings of raiſing the ſiege of *Toulon*, and the peaceable retreat of the Duke of *Savoy*'s army. 'France (ſays he) perceiving the loſs of *Toulon* would be a mortal blow, ordered *Buzenval* (her Miniſter to the King of *Sweden* then in *Saxony*) to try to engage that victorious Prince to declare againſt the Emperor. Count *Monaſterols*, the *Bavarian* Miniſter, had the ſame orders. Theſe two Miniſters gained Count *Piper*, who had a great aſcendant over his Maſter. The King of *Sweden*, who had given repeated aſſurances not to undertake any thing againſt the Allies, was very much embarraſſed. He ſought to quarrel with the Emperor, and to that end made exorbitant demands, accompanied with threatenings to invade *Sileſia* and *Bohemia*. The Emperor laid the ſtorm by agreeing to all his demands. Whilſt the treaty was negotiating, the ſiege of *Toulon* was undertaken. The King of *Sweden*, who wiſhed to hinder the loſs of that place, cauſed it to be inſinuated with great ſecrecy to the Duke of *Savoy*, not to perſiſt in the ſiege of *Toulon*, becauſe, if it was taken, he ſhould be obliged to invade the Emperor's Hereditary Dominions. The Duke of *Savoy*, who had a great penetration and foreſight, reflected, that the King of *Sweden* was ſtedfaſt in his reſolutions, and that his ſucceſſes had given him that ſtedfaſtneſs; that, after all, the matter was only the taking of a town, which perhaps it would be difficult to keep, and would be demoliſhed. Theſe weighty conſiderations induced the Duke by an unparalleled generoſity to prefer the intereſts of the common cauſe to the advantage of taking *Toulon*. Hence the ſecret reaſon of raiſing the ſiege'. This circumſtance is ſaid to be warranted by the Duke himſelf, who was pleaſed to declare it to ſome perſons of diſtinction. *French Contin. of Rapin*, Vol. II. 172.

(1) Namely, The *Aſſociation*, Admiral,
The *Royal Anne*, Sir *George Byng* Commander,
St. George, Lord *Durſley*,
Somerſet, Captain *John Price*,
Torbay, Sir *John Norris*,
Eagle, Captain *Hancock*,
Monmouth, Captain *Baker*,
Swiftſure, Captain *Hubbart*,
Orford, Captain *Cornwall*,
Rye, Captain *Vernon*,
Lenox, Sir *William Jumper*,
La Valeur, Captain *Johnſon*,
Cruizer, Captain *Shales*,
The *Firebrand*, Captain *Piercy*,
The *Vulcan*, Captain *Hockman*,
The *Phenix*, Captain *Sanſom*,
The *Grafton*, Captain *Holden*,
The *Weaſel*, Captain *Gulman*,
The *Iſabella* Yatch, Captain *Riddel*.

1707. chief the Confederate fleet deſigned for the *Streights*, conſiſting of thirty-five *Engliſh*, and fourteen *Dutch* men of war; and, being come into *Leghorn* road, maintained the honour of the *Engliſh* Union-flag, and forced the Governor of that City to give him a royal ſalute, which he had at firſt refuſed. In that expedition, Sir *Cloudeſly* endeavoured to ſupply the *Cevennois* with money, arms, and ammunition; but, for want of intelligence, the *Cevennois* not coming to the ſea-ſhore, the Admiral expreſſed a great concern, that he could not relieve them, having been always zealous for Liberty and the Proteſtant Religion. In *June* 1704, he joined the grand fleet, commanded by Sir *George Rooke*, in the *Mediterranean*, had his ſhare in the honour of taking *Gibraltar*, and by his bravery and admirable conduct in the ſea-fight, that happened ſoon after, obliged the enemy's van to bear away out of the reach of his cannon; and, tho' but the ſecond in command, yet he got the principal honour of the day, and contributed moſt to the preſervation of the Confederate fleet. For this ſignal piece of ſervice, he was, ſome months after, appointed Rear-Admiral of *England*, and Admiral and Commander in chief of her Majeſty's fleet, in conjunction with the Earl of *Peterborough*. In 1706, he commanded the whole Confederate fleet, which had on board ten thouſand men, under the command of Earl *Rivers*, deſigned for a deſcent upon *France*; but, being detained by contrary winds in *Torbay*, till the 1ſt of *October*, the Admiral, according to his new orders, ſailed for *Liſbon*, and from thence to *Alicant*, where having ſet on ſhore the land-forces, he returned to *Liſbon*, to prepare for a greater expedition in the year 1707; and, accordingly, in the latter end of *June* that year, he caſt anchor in the road of *Nice*, where he nobly entertained the Duke of *Savoy*, Prince *Eugene*, and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters on board his ſhip, and with them concerted meaſures for the attack of *Toulon*; and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing eight of the enemy's capital ſhips burnt and deſtroyed.

Affairs at ſea.

France ſet out no fleet this year, and yet the *Britiſh* Nation never had greater loſſes on that element. The Prince of *Denmark*'s Council was very unhappy in the whole conduct of the cruiſers and convoys. The Merchants made heavy complaints, and, not without reaſon. Convoys were ſometimes denied them; and, when they were granted, they were often delayed beyond the time limited for the Merchants to get their ſhips in readineſs; and the ſailing orders were ſometimes ſent them ſo unhappily (but, as many ſaid, ſo treacherouſly) that a *French* ſquadron was then lying in their way, to intercept them. This was liable to very ſevere reflections; for many of the Convoys, as well as the Merchants ſhips, were taken. 1707.

Under-down's expedition in the Weſt-Indies.

However, about this time an account was brought of the ſucceſs of Captain *Underdown*, Commander of the *Falkland*, in his expedition againſt the *French* fiſheries in the North of *America*, in which the *French* ſuſtained the following damage: Two ſhips taken, one of thirty guns, and an hundred men; one ſhip taken and burnt, of twenty guns, and eighty men; two ſhips burnt by the enemy, one of thirty-two, and another of twenty-ſix guns; two hundred and twenty-eight fiſhing boats burnt; four hundred and ſeventy boats and ſloops, that were not employed in the fiſhery this ſeaſon; twenty-three ſtages, and twenty-three train fats burnt; ſeventy-ſeven thouſand two hundred and eighty quintals of fiſh; and one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight hogſheads of train oil deſtroyed. But all this was too inconſiderable, to alleviate the loſs of the men and ſhips that periſhed with Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*.

The King of Pruſſia adjudged Prince of Neufchatel.

This year there was carried on a negotiation, in which the Allies were greatly concerned, and in which the Queen of *Great-Britain*, in particular, made not the leaſt figure. The Ducheſs of *Nemours*, Princeſs of *Neufchatel* and *Valangin*, dying at *Paris* on the 16th of *June*, *N. S.* no leſs than thirteen Competitors laid claim to that Sovereignty.

Hiſt. of *Eur.* Burnet. Lamberti.

Among theſe Competitors, were the King of *Pruſſia*, and ſeveral of the *French* Nation, of whom the Prince of *Conti* was the chief (1). Upon news of the Ducheſs's death (in whom the Houſe of *Longueville* ended) the Prince of *Conti*, and ſome other of the *French* Competitors, repaired to *Neufchatel*; and others ſent their Miniſters and Agents thither, to proſecute their reſpective claims.

A letter from the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, Secretary of State in *France*, wherein he threatened the *French*

(1) The Competitors were: 1. The King of *Pruſſia*, as Heir to the Houſe of *Orange*, and conſequently of that of *Châlons*. 2. The Marquiſs of *Mailly*, in the name of his Lady, who ſtiled herſelf Princeſs of *Orange*, and pretended to be Heireſs of the Houſe of *Châlons*. 3. The Prince of *Baden Durlach*, by virtue of an agreement, made in the year 1490, between the families of *Hochberg-Neufchatel* and *Hochberg-Baden*. 4. The Prince of *Conti*, as univerſal Heir to the late Duke of *Longueville*. 5. The Chevalier *de Soiſſons*'s relict, who ſtiled herſelf Princeſs of *Neufchatel*, by virtue of a deed or gift, made by the late Ducheſs of *Nemours*, of that principality to the ſaid Chevalier, although ſhe could not be ignorant of the decree of the three Eſtates, dated *March* the 8th, 1694, whereby they declared the ſaid deed and gift void and illegal, and acknowledged the ſaid Ducheſs of *Nemours*, merely as the only ſiſter, and the next Heir to the late Duke of *Longueville*. 6. The Prince of *Carignan*, as nephew, on the mother's ſide, to the late Ducheſs of *Nemours*; but, this Sovereignty being devolved to her by the right of her father, the Count of *Matignon*, and the Ducheſs of *Leſdiguieres*, who ſet up the ſeventh and eighth Candidates, objected, that being Heirs by right of conſanguinity, *viz.* the firſt, nephew to the Ducheſs of *Nemours*, in the third degree, and the Ducheſs in the fourth, the ſaid Count pretended, that the principality ought to be adjudged to him, as the next Heir, though of a later deſcent; and, on the other hand, the Ducheſs *de Leſdiguieres* contended, that, the Lineal Succeſſion being to take place, the principality ought to be conferred on her by right of *Primogeniture*, as being deſcended from the eldeſt. 9. The Count of *Montbelliard*. 10. The Baron of *Montjoy*, as a deſcendant of the Houſe of *Châlons*. 11. The Prince of *Furſtemberg*, by titles, which he could not produce. 12. The Marquiſs *d'Allegre*, in the right of his Lady, as deſcended from the Houſe of *Châlons*. 13. The *Swiſs* Canton of *Ury* claimed the City and County of *Neufchatel*, becauſe when that State, which formerly belonged to the thirteen Cantons of *Swiſſerland*, was yielded by twelve of them, the Canton of *Ury* refuſed to ſubſcribe the deed of reſignation.

1707. *French* King's reſentment towards the inhabitants of *Neufchatel*, if they admitted a ſtranger in competition with his ſubjects, having been induſtriouſly ſpread among the people, and other artifices uſed, to induce them to make choice of a *Frenchman*; Count *Metternich*, the *Pruſſian* Ambaſſador, acquainted the Magiſtracy, that the King, his Maſter, would be ſupported by the whole Confederacy in the juſtice of his pretenſions. Accordingly, Mr. *Abraham Stanyan*, the Queen of *Great-Britain*'s Envoy Extraordinary to the Proteſtant Cantons, in a memorial to the Magiſtrates of *Bern*, recommended his *Pruſſian* Majeſty's right, and repaired to *Neufchatel*. The day after his arrival, he delivered by his Secretary two letters from the Queen; in the firſt of which, directed *to the Governor and Counſellors of State of the Sovereignty of* Neufchatel *and* Valangin, ſhe ſaid, "That, having "been informed of the death of the Ducheſs of "*Nemours*, her Majeſty thought there was an "indiſpenſable obligation incumbent upon her "to write to them in favour of his *Pruſſian* "Majeſty, that, by virtue of his right to the "City and Country of *Neufchatel*, both by he"reditary title, and by the ceſſion of the late "King of *Great-Britain*, *William* the Third, "her Brother, they would acknowledge and ad"mit him for their lawful Sovereign. That "ſhe hoped they would do it the more readily, "not only becauſe that Prince was united with "them by the ſacred bond of the Reformed "Religion, which both he and they equally "profeſſed; but alſo becauſe he had hitherto "ſhewn the ſame care and affection for their in"tereſts, which he ever expreſſed for the good "and advantage of his own good ſubjects. "Wherefore her Majeſty did not doubt, that, "being mindful of their country's welfare, and "endowed with ſo much prudence as they were, "they would carefully avoid chuſing for their "Prince a perſon, who being a ſubject, and in"tirely devoted to the Government of *France*, "ought, for that reaſon, to be as ſuſpected to "them, as he would be to her Majeſty, and to "all her other Allies: Which perſuaded her at "the ſame time, that, without any delay, they "would grant his *Pruſſian* Majeſty's juſt de"mand; and, as the ſame would give her Ma"jeſty a ſingular ſatisfaction, ſo, on her part, "ſhe would ever be diſpoſed to ſhew them the "effects of her friendſhip." The Queen's letter to the *Miniſtraux* and Counſellors of *Neufchatel* was much to the ſame purpoſe; and the Secretary preſented at the ſame time to the Council of State a memorial in behalf of the King of *Pruſſia*. Not long after Mr. *Runckell*, Envoy from the *States-General*, arrived at *Neufchatel*, with inſtructions to join with Mr. *Stanyan* in all proper meaſures to aſſiſt Count *Metternich*; and a letter from the King of *Sweden* to the Canton of *Bern*, in favour of the King of *Pruſſia*, added no ſmall weight to the interpoſition of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*.

The Allies looked on this as a matter of great conſequence; ſince it might end in a rupture between the Proteſtant Cantons and *France*, for the Popiſh Cantons were now wholly theirs. After much pleading and a long debate, the States of the Principality gave judgment in favour of the King of *Pruſſia*, to whom the Inveſtiture of *Neufchatel* was ſolemnly granted on the 3d of *November*, *N. S.* The *French* Competitors proteſted againſt this, and left the place in high diſcontent: The *French* Ambaſſador threatened that little State with an invaſion, and all commerce with them was forbid. The Canton of *Bern* eſpouſed their concern with a ſpirit and a zeal, which was not expected from them, and declaring, they were in a Comburgherſhip with them, came to an unanimous reſolution, to defend the Principality of *Neufchatel* with all their forces; purſuant to which reſolution, they ſent, a few days after, four thouſand five hundred of their men to the frontiers of *Neufchatel*. The *French* continued to threaten, and Marſhal *de Villars* had orders to march a great part of his army towards them. But, when the Court of *France* ſaw, that the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* were not terrified by thoſe marches, they let the whole matter fall, very little to their honour; and ſo the intercourſe between the *French* Dominions and that State was again opened, and the peace of the Cantons was ſecured. The King of *Pruſſia* engaged his honour, that he would govern that State with a particular zeal for advancing both Religion and Learning in it; and upon theſe aſſurances he perſuaded the Biſhops of *England*, and the Biſhop of *Sarum* in particular, to uſe their beſt endeavours to promote his pretenſions; upon which they wrote, in the moſt effectual manner they could, to Monſieur *Oſtervald*, who was the moſt eminent Eccleſiaſtic of that State, and one of the beſt and moſt judicious Divines of the age. He was bringing that Church to a near agreement with the forms of worſhip in the Church of *England*. The King of *Pruſſia* was well diſpoſed in all matters of Religion, and had made a great ſtep, in order to reconcile the *Lutherans* and the *Calviniſts* in his Dominions, by requiring them not to preach to the people on thoſe points, in which they differed, and by obliging them to communicate together, notwithſtanding the diverſity of their opinions; which was indeed the only wiſe and honeſt way of making up their breach.

The Proteſtant Cantons of *Swiſſerland* obſerving the zeal, which the King of *Sweden* ſhewed in favour of their Religion, in ſupporting the pretenſions of the King of *Pruſſia* to the Principality of *Neufchatel*, by his letter to the King of *France*, as well as to the Cantons, ſent to him a *French* Gentleman of Quality, the Marquiſs *de Rochegude*, to let him know, what regard they had to his recommendations, and to deſire him to interpoſe his good offices with the *French* King, for ſetting at liberty about three hundred perſons, who were condemned to the gallies, and treated moſt cruelly in them, upon no other pretence, but becauſe they would not change their Religion, and had endeavoured to make their eſcape out of *France*. The King of *Sweden* received this meſſage with a particular civility, and immediately complied with it; ordering his Miniſter at the Court of *France*, to make it his deſire to that King, that theſe Confeſſors might be delivered to him. But the Miniſters of *France* ſaid, That was a point of the King's Government at home, in which he could not ſuffer foreign Princes to meddle. The King of *Sweden* ſeemed ſenſible of this neglect; and it was hoped, that, when his affairs would admit of it, he would expreſs a due reſentment of it.

Marriages of the Kings of Spain and Portugal.

Whilſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* was ſtruggling this year with great difficulties, two pieces of pomp

1707. pomp and magnificence conſumed a great part of their treaſure. An ambaſſy was ſent from *Liſbon* to demand the Emperor's ſiſter for that King, which was done with an unuſual and extravagant expence. A wife was to be ſought for King *Charles* among the Proteſtant Courts, for there was not a ſuitable match in the Popiſh. He had ſeen the Princeſs of *Anſpach*, and was much pleaſed with her; ſo that great applications were made to perſuade her to change her Religion; but ſhe could not be prevailed on to buy a Crown at ſo dear a rate; and, ſoon after, ſhe was married to the Electoral Prince of *Brunſwick*, and her firmneſs to the Proteſtant Religion rewarded with the Crown of *Great-Britain*. The Princeſs of *Wolfenbuttle* was not ſo firm; ſhe was brought therefore to *Vienna*, and ſome time after married by proxy to King *Charles*, and ſent to *Italy* in her way to *Spain*. The ſolemnity, with which theſe matters were managed, amidſt all the diſtreſs of the *Auſtrian* affairs, conſumed a vaſt deal of treaſure; for ſuch was the pride of thoſe Courts on ſuch occaſions, that, rather than fail in a point of ſplendor, they would let their moſt important affairs go to wreck. That Princeſs was landed at *Barcelona*; and the Queen of *Portugal*, the ſame year, came to *Holland*, to be carried to *Liſbon* by a ſquadron of the *Engliſh* fleet.

A ſedition in Hamburgh. Burnet.

The City of *Hamburgh* was this year thrown into great confuſion by a conteſt, which aroſe between ſome private perſons, one of whom was a *Lutheran* Miniſter, and gave occaſion to a diviſion there. One ſide was protected by the Senate, which ſo highly diſguſted the other, that it was like to end in a revolt againſt the Magiſtrates, and a civil war within the City; and it being known, that the King of *Denmark* had, for many years, an eye on that place, the neighbouring Princes apprehended, that he might take advantage from thoſe commotions, or that the weaker ſide might chuſe rather to fall under his power, than under the revenge of the adverſe party. The Kings of *Sweden* and *Pruſſia*, with the Houſe of *Brunſwick*, reſolved therefore to ſend troops thither, to quiet this diſtraction, and to chaſtiſe the more refractory; while the Emperor's Miniſters, together with the Queen's, endeavoured to accommodate matters, without ſuffering them to run to extremities.

An attempt to carry off the Dauphin. Mil. Hiſt.

Before the opening the campaign this year in *Flanders*, a very extraordinary attempt was made by a partizan in the Imperial army for carrying off the Dauphin, or ſome other Prince of the blood of *France*, which very narrowly miſſed of ſucceſs. This man's name was *Queintem*; he had ſerved the Prince of *Conti* as a Valet de Chambre, when he went to *Hungary*; he afterwards became one of the Elector of *Bavaria*'s band of muſic, and then his huntſman. Some of the Princes of *Germany* uſed to have a great number of thoſe huntſmen, whom in time they incorporated into their troops. This man going over to the Imperialiſts ſerved as a partizan, and was honoured with a brevet as a Colonel for ſome good ſervices he had performed. This animated him to do ſtill greater things; and, the alterations produced by the battle of *Ramillies* making it no difficult matter to get from *Flanders* into *France*, he formed a project of carrying off ſome Prince of the blood from the road between *Verſailles* and *Paris*; and, it was generally believed, that his view was particularly upon the Dauphin. In order to effect this, he made choice of ſixteen Officers and fourteen Dragoons, all enterprizing men, and of great reſolution. He procured three paſſports, each for ten men; and having given them to perſons, whom he could truſt, he divided his troop into three ſmall corps, each of which entered *France* by a different route, joining in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. The two Commanders of his ſmall ſquadrons were directed by him, that ten ſhould poſt themſelves in the wood of *Chantilli*, ten at *St. Oüen*, and the other ten at *Seve*, on the road from *Paris* to *Verſailles*; theſe laſt, to prevent diſcovery, were lodged in different public houſes. One of them, who was a Lieutenant, went frequently to *Paris*, where he ſold two *Engliſh* horſes. He walked from time to time in the ſtreet of *Seve*, and on the bridge, that croſſes the *Seine* there. He one day met the Duke of *Orleans*, but it happened to be too light for him to undertake any thing. Two days after the Dauphin and the Princeſſes paſſed him, going to hunt in the wood *Boulogne*; but they were too well attended for the partizan to hope any thing from an attack. At laſt, on the 24th of *March*, he, who was centinel, perceiving Monſieur *de Berrington*, firſt Equerry to the King, in a coach and ſix, with the King's liveries, with a few attendants, it being but half an hour paſt ſeven in the evening, took him for ſome Prince of the blood, and immediately made a ſignal for the nine others, who paſſed the bridge. As for the centinel, thoſe, who guarded the bridge, ſeeing him croſs it three or four times in a hurry, at laſt threw down the barrier, ſtopped him, and gave notice to the Grand Provoſt. In the mean time his nine companions, among whom was the partizan *Queintem*, ſtopped the coach, and put out the flambeaux; and then the partizan taking Monſieur *le Premier* (ſo in *France* they ſtyle the King's firſt equerry) by the ſleeve, told him, that they arreſted him by the King's order. Monſieur *le Premier* anſwered, that he juſt came from his Majeſty; that he would be glad to know who he (the partizan) was, and whether he had not ſome Officer with him, to whom he might ſpeak. The partizan, without making him any anſwer, obliged him to get out of the coach, and mount a ſpare horſe, which one of the ſervants rid. Monſieur *le Premier*'s Valet de Chambre would have followed him, had not one of the ſoldiers threatened to ſhoot him, upon which his maſter bid him go back; but he deſired, that he might have his cloak; upon which one of the men took it from his ſervant, and threw it upon his ſhoulders. He, who was ſtopped at *Seve*, was their guide; and his loſs proved a great misfortune to them, becauſe it retarded them very much in their journey. They turned by the walls of the wood of *Boulogne*, from whence they went to *St. Oüen*, where they had left a poſt-chaiſe, with the ten men abovementioned; but, as they did not know the roads perfectly, they loſt a good deal of time in getting to that place. Monſieur *le Premier*'s Valet de Chambre ſoon carried the news of his Maſter's misfortune to *Verſailles*, ſo that the King heard of it by nine o' clock, and ſent an order to Monſieur *Chamillard* to diſpatch Couriers immediately to the Intendants to ſtop all the paſſages. He ſent likewiſe an exempt with twenty life-guards to follow the partizan. Monſieur

1707. *d'Epines* and all the other Equerries mounted and rode, ſome towards *Normandy*, ſome towards *Flanders*, and others towards *Germany*. They learned, that, Monſieur *le Premier* finding himſelf much out of order, the Partizan made a halt for three hours to give him time to reſt, and had even cut and lowered the back of the chaiſe, which hindered its going, that his priſoner might be the leſs incommoded. The Guards and Equerries rode ſo faſt, and ſpread intelligence ſo quick, that the Partizan, as he got out of the foreſt of *Chantilli*, heard the alarum-bell ring in all the villages; upon which he began to doubt of the ſucceſs of his expedition: However, he went on boldly and undiſcovered as far as *Ham*, where he was diſcovered by a Quarter-Maſter, who rode up to him, and clapped a piſtol to his throat. The Partizan, finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, was obliged to ſurrender. Monſieur *le Premier* immediately immediately cried out, *That he had been extremely well uſed, and deſired, that the man might not be hurt.* He kept him that night to ſupper with him, carried him on his parole back to *Verſailles*, and lodged him there in his own apartments. Madam *de Beringhen*, who happened to be gone before her huſband in another coach, made the Partizan a very conſiderable preſent for the civilities, which he had ſhewn Monſieur *le Premier*. It is certain, that nothing but his condeſcenſion in ſtopping thoſe three hours hindered him from getting clear off, ſince, at the place where he was ſtopped, he was within three hours march of a place of ſafety; and on this account it was, that he and his companions were diſcharged.

The affairs of Ireland. This was the ſtate of our affairs abroad, both by ſea and land. During theſe tranſactions, a Parliament was held at *Dublin* by the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. At the opening of the Seſſion, on the 7th of *July*, he made a ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, "That the Queen, "conſidering the number of Papiſts in *Ireland*, "would be glad of any expedient for the "ſtrengthening the intereſt of her Proteſtant "ſubjects. That, the public ſervice requiring "that ſeveral regiments ſhould be ſent abroad, "the Queen intended to ſupply the like num-"ber of forces, for the ſecurity of that King-"dom; and he did not doubt, but they would "provide Supplies for them, as well as for de-"fraying the expence of the Government."

Both Houſes addreſſing the Queen, the Lords, it is ſaid *, omitted congratulating her upon the late *Union* of *England* and *Scotland*, which ſhe ſo much valued herſelf upon; whilſt the Commons not only mentioned the glory ſhe had acquired by it, but hinted at a much more *Comprehenſive Union*. To this the Queen anſwered, "They might be ſure, nothing ſhould be want-"ing to make the *Union* of all her ſubjects as "extenſive as poſſible." Some thought this related to a Comprehenſion in matters of Religion; but others more reaſonably ſuppoſed, that, by their *Comprehenſive Union*, the Commons meant the uniting of *Ireland* as well as *Scotland* with *England*, and forming the three Kingdoms into one.

* *Contin. of* Coke.

Purſuant to the Queen's deſire, expreſſed in his Excellency's ſpeech, for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt, a bill was brought in by the Commons, for explaining an act to prevent the farther growth of Popery, and it was reſolved, I. That any Proteſtant Guardian, that permits a Papiſt to educate and diſpoſe of his ward, does thereby betray the truſt repoſed in him, evade the law, and propagate Popery. II. That any Papiſt, who ſhall take upon him to manage and diſpoſe of the ſubſtance and perſon of any infant committed to a Proteſtant Guardian, is guilty of a notorious breach of the law. III. That altering a Proteſtant Guardian duly appointed, without ſufficient reaſon, is a diſcouragement to the execution of the act *againſt the further growth of Popery*. However, when the Committee had gone through the bill, and agreed to every paragraph except one (by which the ſons of Papiſts that ſhould turn Proteſtants might be injured) the Houſe diſagreed to that, and rejected the bill. But it was unanimouſly reſolved, that all Popiſh Prieſts were obliged to take the oath of abjuration by the laws in force, and that it was the indiſpenſable duty of all Judges and Magiſtrates to put thoſe laws in execution. 1707.

The Houſe of Commons having appointed a Committee to inſpect the public accounts, upon their report being read, it was reſolved, I. That this Kingdom had been put to exceſſive charge, by means of great arrears of rent, returned by the late Truſtees, to be due out of the forfeited eſtates of this Kingdom; and that moſt of the ſaid arrearages returned appear to be unjuſt charges on the ſubject, and falſe returns, by receipts under the hand of the Truſtees, or their Receivers, or entries in their own books. II. That an humble repreſentation be laid before her Majeſty, of the great charge and preſſure the Kingdom lies under, by the ſaid returns, and ſeveral other the oppreſſive proceedings of the late Truſtees.

The Houſe alſo reſolved, *That it would greatly conduce to the relief of the poor, and the good of that Kingdom, that the inhabitants ſhould uſe no other than their own manufactures in their apparel, and the furniture of their houſes*; and all the Members mutually agreed and engaged their Honours to each other, that they would conform to the ſaid reſolution.

The Commons having granted the neceſſary Supplies, and the ſeveral bills they were upon being ready for the Royal aſſent, the Lord-Lieutenant gave it to

An act for regiſtring lands, deeds, *&c.*

An act to explain an act to prevent Papiſts being Sollicitors.

An act for explaining and limiting the privileges of Parliament.

An act for the more effectual preventing the taking away, and marrying children againſt the wills of their parents.

And ſeveral other acts public and private.

This done, the Parliament was prorogued from the 29th of *October* to the 6th of *May*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* returned to *England*.

Proceedings with regard to Scotland. Burnet.

During the campaign, things went in *England* in their ordinary channel. But the conduct, with relation to *Scotland*, was more unaccountable. For whereas it might have been reaſonably expected, that the management of the newly-united part of this Iſland ſhould have been particularly taken care of, ſo as to give no juſt diſtaſte to the *Scots*, nor offer an handle to thoſe, who were ſtill endeavouring to inflame that Nation, and to increaſe their averſion to the Union;

1707. things were, on the contrary, ſo ordered, as if the deſign had been to contrive methods to exaſperate the ſpirits of the people there. Though the management of the *Scots* revenue was to fall into the Lord Treaſurer's hands on the firſt of *May*, no care was taken to have all the Commiſſions ready at the day, with new Officers to ſerve in them; ſo that the whole trade of *Scotland* was ſtopped for almoſt two months for want of orders, to put it into the new courſe, in which it was to be carried on. Three months paſſed before the *Equivalent* was ſent to *Scotland*; and, when wines and other merchandize were imported into *England* from thence, ſeizures were every where made; and this was managed with a particular affectation of roughneſs. All theſe things heightened the prejudices, with which that Nation had been poſſeſſed againſt the Union. It was alſo known, that many meſſages paſſed between *Scotland* and *France*; and that there were many meetings and much conſultation among the diſcontented party there. A great body appeared openly for the Pretender, and celebrated his birth-day very publickly, both at *Edinburgh*, and in other places of the Kingdom; and it was openly talked, that there was now an opportunity, that was not to be loſt, of invading the Kingdom, though with a ſmall force; and that a general concurrence from the body of that Nation might be depended upon. Theſe things were done in ſo public a manner, that, no check being given to them, nor enquiry made after them, by thoſe, who were in the Government, it gave occaſion to many melancholy ſpeculations. The management from *England* looked like a thing concerted to heighten that diſtemper; and the whole conduct of the fleet afforded great cauſe of jealouſy. 1707.

A new party at Court.

But, to open this more clearly, it will be neceſſary to give an account of a new ſcene at Court. It was obſerved, that Mr. *Harley*, who had been for ſome years Secretary of State, had gained great credit with the Queen, and began to ſet up for himſelf, and to act no more under the direction of the Lord Treaſurer. There was one of the Bed-chamber-women, Mrs. *Abigail Hill* (1), who, being nearly related to the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, had been taken care of by her, together

(1) The Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, in *the account of her Conduct*, p. 177, *&c.* gives the following account of Mrs. *Hill* and her practices. She was the daughter of Mr. *Hill*, a Merchant in *London*, by a ſiſter of the Ducheſs's father. Mr. *Hill* lived very well for many years, till, turning projector, he brought ruin upon himſelf and his family. The Ducheſs of *Marlborough* never knew, that there were ſuch people in the world, till after the Princeſs *Anne* was married, and when ſhe lived at the *Cockpit*; at which time an acquaintance of the Ducheſs came to her, and ſaid, That ſhe believed ſhe did not know, that ſhe had relations, who were in want; and gave her an account of them. The Ducheſs anſwered, That indeed ſhe had never heard before of any ſuch relations; and immediately gave out of her purſe ten guineas for their preſent relief, ſaying, ſhe would do what ſhe could for them; and afterwards ſent Mrs. *Hill* more money, and ſaw her.

Mrs. *Hill* told the Ducheſs, that her huſband was in the ſame relation to Mr. *Harley*, as ſhe was to the Ducheſs, but that he had never done any thing for her. Mr. *Hill* and his wife died not long after this, and left two ſons and two daughters. The elder daughter (afterwards Mrs. *Maſham*) was a grown woman. The Ducheſs took her to *St. Albans*, where ſhe lived with her Grace and her Children, and was treated by her Grace with as great kindneſs, as if ſhe had been her ſiſter. After ſome time a Bed-chamber-woman of the Princeſs of *Denmark*'s died; and, as in that Reign (after the Princeſſes were grown up) rockers, though not Gentlewomen, had been advanced to be Bed-chamber-women, the Ducheſs procured the vacant place for Mrs. *Hill*; whoſe younger ſiſter ſhe likewiſe took care of, and got to be made laundreſs to the Duke of *Glocester*, and afterwards obtained a penſion for her of two hundred pounds a year. The elder brother was, at the Ducheſs's requeſt, put into a place in the *Cuſtom-Houſe*; the younger, whom the bottlemen, ſays the Ducheſs, afterwards called *Honeſt Jack Hill*, was a tall boy, whom I clothed (for he was all in rags) put to ſchool at *St. Albans* to one Mr. *James*, who had been an Uſher under Dr. *Busby* of *Weſtminſter*; and, whenever I went to *St. Albans*, I ſent for him, and was as kind to him, as if he had been my own child. After he had learned what he could there, a vacancy happening of Page of Honour to the Prince of *Denmark*, his Highneſs was pleaſed, at my requeſt, to take him. I afterwards got my Lord *Marlborough* to make him Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Duke of *Glocester*; and though my Lord always ſaid, that *Jack Hill was good for nothing*, yet, to oblige me, he made him his *Aid de camp*, and afterwards gave him a regiment. But it was his ſiſter's intereſt, that raiſed him to be a General, and to command in that ever-memorable expedition to *Quebec*. I had no ſhare in doing him theſe honours. To finiſh what I have to ſay upon his ſubject; when Mr. *Harley* thought it uſeful to attack the Duke of *Marlborough* in Parliament, this *Quebec General*, this *honeſt Jack Hill*, this *once ragged boy, whom I clothed*, happening to be ſick in bed, was nevertheleſs perſuaded by his ſiſter to get up, wrap himſelf in warmer clothes than thoſe I had given him, and go to the Houſe to vote againſt the Duke. I may add here, that even the huſband of Mrs. *Maſham* had ſeveral obligations to me. It was at my inſtance, that he was firſt made a Page, then a Querry, and afterwards Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince; for all which he himſelf thanked me, as for favours procured by my means.

As for Mrs. *Maſham* herſelf, I had ſo much kindneſs for her, and had done ſo much to oblige her, without having ever done any thing to offend her, that it was too long before I could bring myſelf to think her other than a true friend, or forbear rejoicing at any inſtance of favour ſhewn her by the Queen. I obſerved indeed at length, that ſhe was grown more ſhy of coming to me, and more reſerved than uſual, when ſhe was with me; but I imputed this to her peculiar moroſeneſs of temper, and for ſome time made no other reflection upon it. The firſt thing, which led me into inquiries about her conduct, was the being told, in the ſummer of 1707, that my Couſin *Hill* was privately married to Mr. *Maſham*. I went to her, and aſked her, if it were true. She owned it was, and begged my pardon for having concealed it from me. As much reaſon as I had to take ill this reſerve in her behaviour, I was willing to impute it to baſhfulneſs and want of breeding, rather than to any thing worſe. I embraced her with my uſual tenderneſs, and very heartily wiſhed her joy; and then, turning the diſcourſe, entered into her concerns in as friendly a manner as poſſible, contriving how to accommodate her with lodgings, by removing her ſiſter into ſome of my own. I then inquired of her very kindly, whether the Queen knew of her marriage, and very innocently offered her my ſervice, if ſhe needed it, to make that matter eaſy. She had by this time learned the art of diſſimulation pretty well, and anſwered with an air of unconcernedneſs, that *the Bed-chamber-woman had already acquainted the Queen with it*, hoping, by this anſwer to divert any farther examination into the matter. But I went preſently to the Queen, and aſked her, *Why ſhe had not been ſo kind, as to tell me of my Couſin's marriage*, expoſtulating with her upon the

1707. together with her whole family (for they were fallen very low) in a moſt particular manner. She brought her not only into that poſt, but had treated her with ſuch a confidence, that it had introduced her into a high degree of favour with the Queen; which, for ſome years, was conſidered as an effect of the Ducheſs's credit with her Majeſty. She was alſo nearly related to Mr. *Harley*; and they two entered into a cloſe correſpondence. She learned the arts of a Court, and obſerved the Queen's temper with ſo much application, that ſhe got far into her heart. She employed all her credit to eſtabliſh Mr. *Harley* in the ſupreme confidence with the Queen, and to alienate her affections from the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, who ſtudied no other method of preſerving her favour, than by purſuing the true intereſt of the Queen and of the Kingdom. It was ſaid, that Prince *George* was brought into the concert, and that he was made to apprehend, that he had too ſmall a ſhare in the Government, and that he was ſhut out from it by the great power, which the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord-Treaſurer had drawn into their hands; that all depended upon them; that the Queen was only a cypher in the Government; that ſhe was in the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*'s hands, as her affairs were in the Duke's. It was likewiſe talked among thoſe, who made their Court to the new Favourites, that there was not now a Jacobite in the Nation; that all were for the Queen; and that, without doubt, ſhe would 1707. reign

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point, and putting her in mind of what ſhe uſed often to ſay to me out of *Montaigne*, *That it was no breach of promiſe of ſecrecy to tell ſuch a friend any thing, becauſe it was no more than telling it to one's ſelf.* All the anſwer I could obtain from her Majeſty was this, *I have a hundred times bid* Maſham *tell it you, and ſhe would not.*

The conduct both of the Queen and of Mrs. *Maſham* convinced me, that there was ſome myſtery in the affair; and thereupon I ſet myſelf to inquire as particularly as I could into it; and, in leſs than a week's time, I diſcovered, *That my Couſin was become an abſolute favourite; that the Queen herſelf was preſent at her marriage in Dr.* Arbuthnot's *lodgings*, at which time her Majeſty had called for a round ſum out of the privy-purſe; *that Mrs.* Maſham *came often to the Queen, when the Printe was aſleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her:* And I likewiſe then diſcovered Mr. *Harley*'s correſpondence and intereſt at Court by means of this woman.

I was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at ſuch an inſtance of ingratitude, and ſhould not have believed, if there had been any room left for doubting.

My Lord *Marlborough* was at firſt no leſs incredulous than I, as appears by the following paragraph of a letter from him, in anſwer to one from me on this ſubject.

Meldeſt, June 3, 1707.

The wiſeſt thing is to have to do with as few people as poſſible. If you are ſure that Mrs. Maſham *ſpeaks of buſineſs to the Queen, I ſhould think, you might, with ſome caution, tell her of it, which would do good; for ſhe certainly muſt be grateful, and will mind what you ſay.*

It became eaſy now to decypher many particulars, which had hitherto remained myſterious; and my reflections quickly brought to my mind many paſſages, which had ſeemed odd and unaccountable, but had left no impreſſions of ſuſpicion or jealouſy. Particularly I remembered, that a long while before this, being with the Queen (to whom I had gone very privately by a ſecret paſſage from my lodgings to the bed-chamber) on a ſudden this woman, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldeſt and gayeſt air poſſible, but, upon ſight of me, ſtopped, and immediately changing her manner, and making a moſt ſolemn courteſy, *Did your Majeſty ring?* and then went out again. This ſingular behaviour needed no interpreter now to make it underſtood. But, not to dwell on ſuch trifling incidents, as ſoon as I had got a thorough inſight into her management, being naturally frank and open, I wrote to her the following letter:

September 23, 1707.

Since the converſation I had with you at your lodgings, ſeveral things have happened to confirm me in what I was hard to believe, that you have made me returns very unſuitable to what I might have expected. I always ſpeak my mind ſo plainly, that I ſhould have told you ſo myſelf, if I had had the opportunity, which I hoped for. But, being now ſo near parting, think this way of letting you know it, is like to be the leaſt uneaſy to you, as well as to

Your humble Servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

Though I was to go to *Woodſtock* the next day, I ſtaid at *Windſor* almoſt all the morning to wait her anſwer. But this could not be had ſo ſoon, it being neceſſary to conſult with her great Director in ſo nice a matter. At length, however, an anſwer was ſent after me, the whole frame and ſtile of which ſhewed it to be the genuine product of an artful man, who knew perfectly well the management of ſuch an affair.

Windſor, September 24, 1707.

'While I was expecting a meſſage from your Grace, to wait upon you according to your commands, laſt night, I received a letter, which ſurprizes me no leſs than it afflicts me, becauſe it lays a moſt heavy charge upon me of an ungrateful behaviour to your Grace. Her Majeſty was pleaſed to tell me, that you was angry with me for not acquainting you with my marriage. I did believe, after ſo generous a pardon, your Grace would think no more of that. I am very confident by the expreſſion of your letter, that ſomebody has told ſome malicious lye of me to your Grace, from which it is impoſſible for me to vindicate myſelf till I know the crime I am accuſed of. I am ſure, Madam, your goodneſs cannot deny me what the meaneſt may aſk the greateſt; I mean juſtice, to know my accuſer. Without that, all friendſhip muſt be at the mercy of every malicious lyar, as they are, who have ſo barbarouſly and unjuſtly brought me under your diſpleaſure, the greateſt unhappineſs, that could befall me. I therefore make it my moſt humble requeſt to your Grace, that, if ever I had the leaſt ſhare of your friendſhip, you would be pleaſed to give me that parting token to let me know, who this wicked perſon is; and then I do not doubt but I ſhall make it plain how much they have wronged me, as well as impoſed upon your Grace. As my affliction is very great, you will, I hope, in compaſſion let me hear from you, and believe me what I really am,

Madam,

Your Grace's moſt humble and faithful Servant.

A. HILL.'

As I believe nobody at this time doubts, whether the Writer of this letter was practiſing with the Queen to undermine me, I ſhall make no reflections upon it. My anſwer was in theſe terms:

'I received your letter upon the road to this place; and I can aſſure you the occaſion of my complaints did not proceed from any ill offices, that had been done you to me by any body, but from my own obſervation, which

1707. reign out peaceably her whole life, but ſhe need not concern herſelf for a *German* family. Theſe diſcourſes began to break out, and gave melancholy apprehenſions to thoſe, to whom they were brought. This went on too long, little regarded. The Ducheſs of *Marlborough* ſeemed ſecure of her intereſt in the Queen, and ſhewed no jealouſy of a favour, to which herſelf gave the firſt riſe. This was the ſtate of the Court at the opening of the Parliament.

Promotions in the Church. There were at that time three Biſhopricks vacant. Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, conſiderable for his birth and intereſt in *Cornwal*, had been removed the ſummer before from *Exeter* to *Winchester*. The Lord-Treaſurer had promiſed, that preferments ſhould be beſtowed on men well-principled with relation to the preſent Conſtitution, and on men of merit. The Queen, without regarding this, ſecretly engaged herſelf to Dr. *Blackall* for *Exeter*; and for *Cheſter* (being at the ſame time void by the death of Dr. *Stratford*) to Sir *William Dawes*. Theſe Divines were in themſelves men of merit, but their notions were all on the other ſide. They had ſubmitted to the Government; but they, at leaſt Dr. *Blackall*, ſeemed to condemn the Revolution, and all that had been done purſuant to it. Sir *William Dawes* was likewiſe looked on as 1707.

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which makes the impreſſion much the ſtronger. But I think the ſubject is not very proper for a letter; and therefore I muſt defer it till we meet, and give you no farther trouble at this time from

Your moſt humble Servant.

S. MARLBOROUGH.'

About the ſame time, that I made this diſcovery of Mrs. *Maſham's intriguing*, my Lord *Godolphin* (as I before mentioned) got notice of Mr. *Harley's* practices, both within doors and without. He was endeavouring to create in the Whigs jealouſies of Lord *Godolphin* and Lord *Marlborough*; and, at the ſame time, aſſuring the Tories, that they might depend upon the Queen's inward affection to them; and that it was wholly owing to thoſe two great Lords, that the Tories were not ſtill poſſeſſed of all the places and employments. His deſign was to ruin the Whigs, by diſuniting them from the Miniſtry, and ſo to pave the way for the Tories to riſe again, whom he thought to unite in himſelf, as their head, after he had made it impoſſible for them to think of a reconciliation with the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin*. But, that this able Politician might in all things act ſuitably to his parts and genius, he, at the ſame time, that he was employed in the manner I have related, was endeavouring to blind the eyes of thoſe, whoſe deſtruction he aimed at, by the moſt elaborate compliments, and the moſt nauſeous profeſſions of affection and duty.

The Ducheſs then gives ſeveral letters of Mr. *Harley* to the Duke and herſelf, wherein he extolled the Duke's ſervices to his Country, ſpoke of his glory as beyond the power of envy or malice to hurt it, and profeſſed a *peculiar joy* in the contemplation of it, while, at the ſame time, *ſays ſhe*, he was contriving how to ruin that glorious man, in order to raiſe himſelf upon his ruins. The Duke was too backward to believe him capable of ſuch deſigns, though it is certain he never had entertained the ſame good opinion of him, as my Lord *Godolphin* had; and though, as one may collect from a paragraph in a letter of Mr. *Harley's*, dated *March* 25, 1707, the Duke had been early warned of his practices. The paragraph contains theſe words:

'I return your Grace moſt hearty and humble thanks for the favourable expreſſions in your letter. I beg leave to aſſure you, that *I ſerve you by inclination and principle*, and a very little time will make that manifeſt, as well as that *I have no views or aims of my own*.'

The conduct, which Mr. *Harley* obſerved, after theſe aſſurances, was ſo directly contrary to them, and became quickly ſo notorious, that my Lord *Godolphin* could not help repreſenting it to the Queen as of the utmoſt prejudice to her affairs. And when he found, that her Majeſty *would believe nothing of it*, he went ſo far as to ſay, that, if Mr. *Harley* continued to act the part he did, and yet to have ſo much credit with her, as he perceived he had, Lord *Marlborough* and himſelf muſt of neceſſity quit her ſervice. The Queen appeared pretty much alarmed at this, and preſently wrote a letter to me, in which were ſeveral expreſſions of great kindneſs.

Kenſington, October 30.

'If I have not anſwered all my dear Mrs. *Freeman's* letters (as indeed I ſhould have done) I beg ſhe would not impute it to any thing but the apprehenſion I was in of ſaying what might add to the ill impreſſions ſhe has of me. For, though I believe we are both of the ſame opinion in the main, I have the misfortune, that I cannot exactly agree in every thing; and therefore what I ſay is not thought to have the leaſt colour of reaſon in it, which makes me really not care to enter into particulars. But, though I am unwilling to do it, it is impoſſible for me to help giving you ſome anſwer to your laſt letter, in which I find you think me inſenſible of every thing. I am very ſorry, you, who have known me ſo long, can give way to ſuch a thought, as that I do not think the parting with my Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord-Treaſurer of much conſequence, becauſe I did not mention any thing of my Lord *Marlborough's* kind letter concerning me. The reaſon of this was, I really was in a great hurry, when I writ to you, and, not having time to write on that ſubject to both, I thought it was the moſt neceſſary to endeavour to let him ſee he had no reaſon to have ſuſpicions of any one's having power with me, beſides himſelf and my Lord-Treaſurer; and I hope they will believe me. Can dear Mrs. *Freeman* think, that I can be ſo ſtupid, as not to be ſenſible of the great ſervices that my Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord-Treaſurer have done me, nor of the great misfortune it would be, if they ſhould quit my ſervice? No, ſure, you cannot believe me to be ſo void of ſenſe and gratitude. I never did, nor never will give them any juſt reaſon to forſake me; and they have too much honour and too ſincere a love for their Country, to leave me without a cauſe. And I beg you would not add that to my other misfortunes, of puſhing them on to ſuch an unjuſt and unjuſtifiable action. I think I had beſt ſay no more for fear of being too troubleſome. But, whatever becomes of me, I ſhall always preſerve a moſt ſincere and tender paſſion for my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, to my laſt moment.'

After my return to *London*, I had another kind letter from her Majeſty in the following terms:

Saturday night.

'My dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I cannot go to bed without renewing a requeſt, that I have often made, that you would baniſh all unkind and unjuſt thoughts of your poor, unfortunate, faithful *Morley*, which I ſaw by the glimpſe I had of you yeſterday, you were full of. Indeed I do not deſerve them; and, if you could ſee my heart, you would find it as ſincere, as tender, and paſſionately fond of you as ever, and as truly ſenſible of your kindneſs in telling me your mind freely upon all occaſions. Nothing ſhall ever alter me. Though we have the misfortune to differ in ſome things, I will ever be the ſame to my dear, dear

1707. as an aſpiring man, who would ſet himſelf at the head of the Tory party. This nomination therefore gave great diſguſt. To qualify this a little, Dr. *Patrick*, the pious and learned Biſhop of *Ely*, dying at this time, the Queen advanced Biſhop *More* from *Norwich* to that See; and Dr. *Trimnel*, a worthy perſon in all reſpects, was named for *Norwich*; yet this did not quiet the uneaſineſs, which many were under, by reaſon of the other nominations, which ſeemed to flow from the Queen herſelf, and ſo diſcovered her inclinations. 1707.

To prevent the ill effects, that this might have in the approaching Seſſion, ſome of the eminent Members of the Houſe of Commons were called to a meeting, with the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*. Theſe Lords aſſured them, in the Queen's name, that ſhe was very ſenſible of the ſervices, which the Whigs did her; and, though ſhe had engaged herſelf ſo far

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Mrs. *Freeman*, whom I do aſſure once more, I am more tenderly and ſincerely her's than it is poſſible ever to expreſs.'

I was every day in expectation of hearing from Mrs. *Maſham*, who, I ſuppoſed, would now endeavour to clear up what had created ſo much uneaſineſs between us. But, to my great ſurprize, I was twelve days at *St. James's* under the ſame roof with her, before I had ſo much as any meſſage from her. At length, having one night paſſed by her window in my return home, ſhe ſent one of her maids to my woman to aſk her how I did, and to let me know, that ſhe was gone to *Kenſington*. This behaviour was ſo very ridiculous, that, the next time I ſaw the Queen, I could not forbear ſpeaking of it, and at the ſame time telling her all that had paſſed between us. The Queen looked grave, and ſaid, *She was mightily in the right not to come near me.* I anſwered, that I did not underſtand that, ſince ſhe had expreſſed ſuch a concern at my diſpleaſure, and ſince the clearing up of matters had been reſerved to our meeting. The Queen replied, that *it was very natural for her to be afraid to come to me, when ſhe ſaw I was angry with her.* To this I anſwered, that *ſhe could have no reaſon to be afraid, unleſs ſhe knew herſelf guilty of ſome crime.* It was the Queen's uſual way, on any occaſion, where ſhe was predetermined (as my Lord *Marlborough* has told me, that it was her Father's) to repeat over and over ſome principal words ſhe had reſolved to uſe, and to ſtick firmly to them. She continued therefore to ſay, *It was very natural, and ſhe was very much in the right.* So that this converſation with her Majeſty produced nothing but an undeniable proof, that the new favourite was deeply rooted in her heart and affections; and that it was thought more adviſeable to let the breach between me and Mrs. *Maſham* grow wider and wider, than to uſe any method to make it up.

But now within two days Mrs. *Maſham* contrived to make me a viſit, when I was abroad. Upon obſerving this, and conſidering, that our meeting could be to no purpoſe, but to draw fruitleſs and falſe profeſſions from her, I gave a general order to my ſervants to ſay, whenever ſhe ſhould call, that I was not at home. After ſome time it was thought proper, that ſhe ſhould write to me, and deſire I would ſee her; to which I conſented, and appointed her a time. When ſhe came, I began to tell her, *that it was very plain, the Queen was much changed towards me; and that I could not attribute this to any thing but her ſecret management. That I knew ſhe had been very frequently with her Majeſty in private; and that the very attempt to conceal this by artifice, from ſuch a friend as I had been to her, was alone a very ill ſign, and enough to prove a very bad purpoſe at bottom.* To this ſhe very gravely anſwered, *That ſhe was ſure the Queen, who had loved me extremely, would always be very kind to me.* It was ſome minutes before I could recover from the ſurprize, with which ſo extraordinary an anſwer ſtruck me. To ſee a woman, whom I had raiſed out of the duſt, put on ſuch a ſuperior air, and to hear her aſſure me by way of conſolation, *that the Queen would be always very kind to me!* At length I went on to reproach her with her ingratitude, and her ſecret management with the Queen to undermine thoſe, who had ſo long, and with ſo much honour, ſerved her Majeſty. To this ſhe anſwered, *That ſhe never ſpoke to the Queen about buſineſs, but that ſhe ſometimes gave her petitions, which came to the back-ſtairs, and with which ſhe knew I did not care to be troubled.* And with ſuch inſincere anſwers ſhe thought to colour over the matter, while I knew for certain, ſhe had, before this, obtained penſions for ſeveral of her friends, and had frequently paid to others, out of the privy purſe, ſums of money, which the Queen had ordered me to bring her; and that ſhe was every day long with her Majeſty in private. But thus our converſation ended; and, when we had ſate a while ſilent, ſhe roſe up, and ſaid, *She hoped I would give her leave to come ſometimes, and inquire after my health:* Which, however, it is plain ſhe did not deſign to do, for ſhe never once came near me after this. Notwithſtanding which, when ſhe owned her marriage publicly, I went with Lady *Sunderland* to viſit her; not that I intended to have any farther intercourſe with her, or to diſſemble the ill opinion I had of her (as I had fully reſolved to let her then know, in caſe I found an opportunity of ſpeaking to her privately) but purely out of reſpect to the Queen, and to avoid any noiſe or diſagreeable diſcourſe, which my refuſing that ordinary part of civility might occaſion.

Not many days after this I went to pay my reſpects to the Queen in the *Chriſtmas* holidays; and, before I went in, I learnt from the Page, that Mrs. *Maſham* was juſt then ſent for. The moment I ſaw her Majeſty, I plainly perceived ſhe was very uneaſy. She ſtood all the while I was with her, and looked as coldly upon me, as if her intention was, that I ſhould no longer doubt of my loſs of her affections. Upon obſerving what reception I had, I ſaid, *I was very ſorry I had happened to come ſo unſeaſonably.* I was making my courteſy to go away, when the Queen, with a great deal of diſorder in her face, and without ſpeaking one word, took me by the hand; and, when thereupon I ſtooped to kiſs her's, ſhe took me up with a very cold embrace, and then, without one kind word, let me go. So ſtrange a treatment of me, after my long and faithful ſervices, and after ſuch repeated aſſurances from her Majeſty of an unalterable affection, made me think, that I ought, in juſtice to myſelf, as well as in regard to my Miſtreſs's intereſt, to write to her in the plaineſt and ſincereſt manner poſſible, and expoſtulate with her upon her change to me, and upon the new counſels, by which ſhe ſeemed to be wholly governed. My letter was in theſe terms:

December 27, 1707.

'If Mrs. *Morley* will be ſo juſt as to reflect and examine impartially her laſt reception of Mrs. *Freeman*, how very different from what it has been formerly, when you were glad to ſee her come in, and ſorry when ſhe went away; certainly you cannot wonder at her reproaches upon an embrace, that ſeemed to have no ſatisfaction in it, but that of getting rid of her, in order to enjoy the converſation of one, that has the good fortune to pleaſe you much better, though I am ſure nobody did ever endeavour it with more ſincerity than Mrs. *Freeman* had done. And if I had conſidered only my intereſt, and that of my family, I might have borne this change without any complaint. For I believe Mrs. *Morley* would be ſincere in doing us any good. But I have once been honoured with an open kind confidence and truſt, and that made all my ſervices agreeable; and it is not poſſible to loſe it without a mortification too great to be paſſed with ſilence, being ſure, that I have never done any thing to forfeit

1707. far with relation to those two Bishopricks, that she could not recall the promises she had made, yet for the future she was resolved to give them full content (1). But, while this was said to some Whigs, Mr. *Harley*, and his friends Mr. *St. John* and Sir *Simon Harcourt*, took great pains with the leaders of the Tories, particularly Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, Mr. *Bromley*, and Mr. *Freeman*, to engage them in the Queen's interests, assuring them, that her heart was with them; that she was weary of the tyranny of the Whigs, and longed to be delivered from it. But they were not wrought upon by that management; they either mistrusted it, as done only to insnare them; or they had other views, which they did not think fit to own. This double-dealing came to be known, and gave occasion to much jealousy and distrust.

Four men of war lost.

A little before the Session was opened, an eminent misfortune happened at sea. A convoy of five ships of the line (the *Cumberland* of eighty guns, Captain *Richard Edwards* Commodore; the *Devonshire* of like force; the *Royal Oak* of seventy guns; and the *Chester* and *Ruby* of fifty) were sent to *Lisbon*, to convoy thither a fleet of about a hundred and thirty sail of Merchant-ships, with merchandize, provisions, stores of war, and a thousand horses bought in *England* for the King of *Portugal*. They left *Plymouth* on the 9th of *October*, being ordered to sail, as if it had been by concert, at a time when a squadron from *Dunkirk* had joined another from *Brest*, and lay in the way, waiting for them under the command of Monsieur *Forbin*, and Monsieur *du Gué Trouin*, and making in all fourteen sail; one of seventy-two guns, others of sixty, some of fifty, and none under forty. Some advertisements were brought to the Admiralty of this conjunction, but they were not believed. When the *French* set upon the *English* ships off the *Lizard*, the convoy did their part very gallantly, though the enemy were almost three to one. One of the *English* men of war was blown up, and three of them were taken, so that only one escaped much shattered; but they had fought so long, that most of the Merchant-ships had time to get away, and sailed on, not being pursued, and got safe to *Lisbon*. This coming almost at the same time with the loss of Admiral *Shovel*, the Session of Parliament begun with a melancholy face, and a dispute, upon the opening, had almost put the Houses into great disorder. 1707. Oct. 10.

Dispute about the Parliament.

It was generally thought, that, though this was a Parliament that had now sate two years, yet it was a new Parliament, by reason it had been let fall, and was revived by a proclamation, as has been said. The consequence of this was,

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it, having never betrayed nor abused that confidence, by giving you a false representation of any body. My temper is naturally plain and sincere, and Mrs. *Morley* did like it for many years. It is not the least altered. But I cannot help thinking those things reasonable, that appear to be so. And I appeal to God Almighty, that I never designed or pursued any thing, but as I was thoroughly convinced it was for Mrs. *Morley*'s true interest and honour: And, I think, I may safely put it to that trial, if any thing has yet proved unsuccessful, that was of any public consequence, that Mrs. *Freeman* has been earnest to persuade Mrs. *Morley* to. And it is not possible for me to dissemble, so as to appear what I am not.

So much by way of apology for what happened upon *Wednesday* last. And, if Mrs. *Morley* has any remains of the tenderness she once professed for her faithful *Freeman*, I would beg she might be treated one of these two ways, either with the openness and confidence of a friend, as she was for twenty years (for to pretend kindness without trust and openness of heart is a treatment for children, not friends) or else in that manner, that is necessary for the post she is in, which unavoidably forces her to be often troubling Mrs. *Morley* upon the account of others. And if she pleases to chuse which of these two ways, or any other she likes to have Mrs. *Freeman* live in, she promises to follow any rule, that is laid down, that is possible, and is resolved to her life's end, and, upon all occasions, to shew, that Mrs. *Morley* never had a more faithful servant.'

My Lord *Marlborough*, or my Lord *Godolphin* (I have forgot which) carried my letter. The Queen took no notice of it to either of those Lords. But some days after she wrote me an answer, in which she very much softened what had passed. I was much pleased to find her Majesty in that disposition, and once more put on as easy an appearance as I could.

(1) The Duchess of *Marlborough*, in the *account of her Conduct*, p. 174, observes, that, notwithstanding the promotion of Lord *Sunderland* to the post of Secretary of State was carried by the Whigs, they were soon alarmed again by the Queen's choice of two High-Church Divines to fill two vacant Bishopricks. Several of the Whigs were disposed to think themselves betrayed by the Ministry; whereas the truth was, that the Queen's inclination to the Tories, being now soothed by the flatteries and insinuations of her private Counsellors, had begun to make it irksome to her to consult with her Ministers upon any promotions, either in the Church or the State. The first artifice of those Counsellors was to instill into the Queen notions of the high Prerogative *of acting without her Ministers*, and (as they expressed it) of being *Queen indeed*. And the nomination of persons to Bishopricks against the Judgment and *Remonstrances* of her Ministry, being what they knew her genius would fall in with more readily than with any thing else they could propose, they began with that; and they took care, that these *Remonstrances* should be interpreted by the world, and resented by herself, as hard usage, a denial of common civility, and even *the making her no Queen*.

Her Majesty, however, to quiet the dissatisfaction of the Whigs for the late promotions, ordered her Ministers to assure them, that she would prefer no more Tories, and she gave the same assurances with her own mouth in the Cabinet-Council. And she was suffered by her secret Counsellors so far to observe this promise, as to give, about the same time, the Bishoprick of *Norwich* to Dr. *Trimnell*, a particular friend of Lord *Sunderland*'s. And she also, some time after, gave the Professorship of Divinity at *Oxford* to Dr. *Potter*, the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had Dr. *Smalridge* for his Competitor, recommended by the Tories. But this latter favour to the Whigs was not so easily obtained as the former. And, upon the delays, that were made in bestowing it, my Lord *Marlborough* thought it proper to try what credit he had with the Queen, whose glory he had carried to a height beyond that of any of her Predecessors. He wrote therefore a very moving letter to her, complaining of the visible loss of his interest with her, and particularly of her so long deferring the promotion she had promised, of the person recommended by her Ministry, as a faithful friend to her Government, adding, that the only way to make her Reign easy, was to be true to that rule, which she had professed to lay down, of preferring none of those, who appeared against her service and the Nation's interest, *&c.* He wrote at the same time to the same effect to me, and I wrote to the Queen; and at length by much sollicitation this matter was obtained, and Dr. *Potter* fixed in the Professorship.

1707. was, that they, who had got places, were to be re-elected. Others maintained, that it could not be a new Parliament, ſince it was not ſummoned by a new writ, but by virtue of a clauſe in an act of Parliament. Mr. Secretary *Harley* was for maintaining it to be an old Parliament; but the Duke of *Marlborough*, upon his coming over, prevailed to have it yielded to be a new one. Accordingly, when, on the 23d of *October*, the firſt Parliament of *Great-Britain* met at *Weſtminſter*, all the forms uſual in the beginning of a new Parliament were obſerved. The Queen came to the Houſe of Peers, and, the Commons being ſent for, they were directed by the Lord Chancellor to return to their Houſe, and chuſe a Speaker, and preſent him that day ſe'nnight. They unanimouſly made choice of Mr. *Smith*, their former Speaker, and then adjourned to the 30th of the ſame month. The Lords alſo adjourned to the ſame day, after thirteen Peers, of that part of *Great-Britain* called *Scotland*, had been admitted to their places, by virtue of their reſpective writs, each being introduced by two *Engliſh* Peers, of the ſame rank.

The firſt Seſſion of the firſt Parliament of Great-Britain. Oct. 23.

On the 30th, the Queen came again to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons, being ſent for, preſented their Speaker, whoſe election was approved. Then the Lord-Chancellor acquainted both Houſes with her Majeſty's pleaſure, that they ſhould adjourn to the 6th of *November*; on which day the Queen made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to the firſt Britiſh *Parliament.* Nov. 6. Pr. H. C. IV. 70.

" IT is with all humble thankfulneſs to Almighty God, and intire ſatisfaction to myſelf, that I meet you here in this firſt Parliament of *Great-Britain*, not doubting, but you come with hearts prepared, as mine is, to make this Union ſo proſperous, as may anſwer the well-grounded hopes of all my good ſubjects, and the reaſonable apprehenſions of our enemies.

" To this end nothing is ſo immediately material, as to convince, as ſoon as poſſible, both our friends and our enemies, that the uniting of our intereſts has not only improved our abilities, but our reſolutions alſo, to proſecute this juſt and neceſſary war, till we obtain a ſafe and honourable peace for Ourſelves and for our Allies.

" In ſo great and extenſive a war as this is, many things may be uſefully undertaken, which are not fit to be communicated beforehand. The attempt upon *Toulon* was of this nature; and, though it had not wholly its deſired effect, has nevertheleſs been attended with many great and obvious advantages to the common cauſe in this year, and has made our way more eaſy, I hope, to greater in the next.

" As the *French* have gained ground upon us in *Spain*, ſo they have been wholly driven out of *Italy*, by which it is become more eaſy for all the Allies to join their aſſiſtance next year for enabling the King of *Spain* to recover his affairs in that Kingdom, and to reduce the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy to his obedience.

" The weakneſs and ill poſture of affairs upon the *Rhine*, in the beginning of the year, has given an opportunity to the *French* to make themſelves ſtronger in all others parts: But this defect ſeems in a very promiſing way of being fully remedied againſt next campaign, by the conduct and authority of the Elector of *Hanover*, whoſe ſeaſonable acceptance of that command has ſtrengthened and obliged the whole Confederacy. 1707.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" The juſt application of the ſums given me by former Parliaments, the plain neceſſity of continuing this war, the reaſonable proſpect of putting a good end to it, if we be not wanting to ourſelves, and the honour of the firſt Parliament of *Great-Britain*, are, I make no doubt, ſufficient arguments to incite you to provide the neceſſary Supplies, which I am obliged to deſire of you for the enſuing campaign in all parts, and particularly for the timely ſupport of the King of *Spain*, and the making good our treaty with *Portugal*; as alſo for ſtrengthening the Confederate army under the Command of the Duke of *Savoy*; all which ſervices, I do not doubt, but you will think ſo neceſſary, that they ought not to be neglected, even though they ſhould require an augmentation.

" The ſums already expended in this war have been very great; and they are ſufficient proofs how well ſatisfied my ſubjects have always been with the ends of my Government; of which I am ſo ſenſible, as never to aſk any Supplies from them, but what are abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of Religion and Liberty. I look upon it as my great happineſs, that I have not the leaſt intereſt ſeparate from that of all my good ſubjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" In a work ſo great and new in its kind as that of the Union, it is impoſſible, but that ſome doubts and difficulties muſt have ariſen, which, however, I hope, are ſo far overcome, as to have defeated the deſign of thoſe, who would have made uſe of that handle to foment diſturbances.

" There are ſeveral matters expreſsly made liable, by the articles of the Union, to the conſideration of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, which, together with ſuch others, as may reaſonably produce thoſe advantages, that, with due care, muſt certainly ariſe from that treaty, I earneſtly recommend to your ſerious conſideration.

" On my part, nothing ſhall be wanting to procure to my people all the bleſſings, which can follow from this happy circumſtance of my Reign, and to extinguiſh by all proper means the leaſt occaſions of jealouſy, that either the civil or religious rights of any part of this my united Kingdom can ſuffer by the conſequences of this Union.

" Such a ſuggeſtion ſhall never, in my time, have any foundation, how reſtleſs ſoever our enemies may be in their endeavours and artifices to diſturb our peace and happineſs. Thoſe great and valuable bleſſings cannot but be always ſecure to us, if we heartily endeavour to confirm and improve our preſent Union. I hope therefore you will ſuffer nothing to prevail with you to diſunite among yourſelves,

" or

1707. " or abate your zeal in oppoſing the common " enemy."

Addreſs of the Commons. Pr. H. C. IV. 72.

The Queen's ſpeech variouſly affected both Houſes. The Commons unanimouſly voted and preſented an addreſs of thanks, wherein they aſſured her Majeſty, " That no diſappointments " ſhould diſcourage them from making their " utmoſt efforts to enable her, in conjunction " with her Allies, to reduce the whole *Spaniſh* " Monarchy to the obedience of the King of " *Spain*, to make good the treaty with *Portugal*, " and to ſtrengthen the Confederate army under " the command of the Duke of *Savoy*." But in the Houſe of Lords, when the Queen's ſpeech came firſt under conſideration, inſtead of voting immediately an addreſs of thanks, the Earl of *Wharton* made a ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he took notice of the great decay of trade and ſcarcity of money, which he had obſerved in travelling in the country, ſo that the farmers were not able to pay their rents to their landlords. He was ſeconded by the Lord *Sommers*, who enlarged on the ill ſtate and miſmanagements of the navy, and on the great loſſes of the Merchants at ſea the laſt ſummer. The Earl of *Stamford* (at that time made one of the Commiſſioners of trade) endeavoured to put a ſtop to the proſecution of this ſubject, by moving the poſtponing the conſideration of the ſtate of the Nation till a more proper occaſion, and propoſing the returning thanks to the Queen for her ſpeech. This was oppoſed by the Duke of *Buckinghamſhire*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord *Guernſey*; who urged, that they ought, in the firſt place, to conſider the *ſtate of the Nation*; inſinuating, at the ſame time, that addreſſes had before been made to little purpoſe; meaning, with relation to the navy. After ſome other ſpeeches, it was ordered, that the *ſtate of the Nation* ſhould be taken into conſideration, *Nov.* 19, in a Committee of the whole Houſe, where the Queen was preſent *incognito*. The Lord *Herbert* of *Cherburg* being choſen Chairman, a petition given in by the two Sheriffs of *London*, and ſubſcribed by about two hundred of the moſt eminent Merchants of the City, was read, complaining of the great loſſes, which they had lately ſuſtained at ſea, for want of convoys and cruiſers, and begging a ſpeedy remedy. After the reading of this petition, which was preſented to the Committee by the Earl of *Wharton*, he began the debate, by laying open the miſerable condition of the Nation, and the great decay of trade. Several other Peers ſpoke to the ſame effect; and, among the reſt, the Lord *Haverſham*, in his uſual manner, made a long ſpeech (1). 1707.

Pr. H. L. II. 179.

The debate growing high, ſome Lords endeavoured to allay it, by propoſing ways and means to retrieve our loſſes at ſea; and, among the reſt, the Lord *Hallifax* moved, That a Committee be appointed to receive propoſals for encouraging of Trade and Privateers in the *Weſt-Indies*; which motion being backed by the Lord-Treaſurer, and the queſtion put, the ſame was carried in the affirmative. After which, a day was appointed to hear, in a grand Committee, what the Merchants had to alledge, to prove the Suggeſtions of their petition. It was obſerved, that, as ſoon as the debate was over, the Duke of *Marlborough* took the Earl of *Wharton* aſide, and there paſſed ſome warm expoſtulations between them.

Supply voted.

The Commons, in a great meaſure, made good their aſſurances to the Queen, and chearfully voted the neceſſary Supplies for the navy, land-forces, and ſome other occaſions. But, at the ſame time, upon a petition of ſeveral Merchants of *London*, complaining of the want of cruiſers in the Channel and Soundings, the Commons, in a grand Committee, took into conſideration the ſtate of the navy and trade of the Nation; and, a great many Merchants being admitted into the Houſe, to make good the allegations in their petition, Mr. *Heathcote*, ſon of Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, and Mr. *Dawſon*, his Partner, two *Ruſſia* Merchants, made long ſpeeches againſt the Admiralty, whom they charged with frauds, malice,

Complaints of the Admiralty.

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(1) The moſt material paſſages of this ſpeech were theſe: ' My Lord *Herbert*,——The two things you have now under your conſideration, your *Fleet* and your *Trade*, have ſo near a relation, and ſuch mutual influence upon each other, they cannot well be ſeparated. Your trade is the mother and nurſe of your ſeamen; your ſeamen are the life of your fleet, and your fleet is the ſecurity and protection of your trade; and both together are the wealth, ſtrength, ſecurity, and glory of *Britain*.

And this is ſo manifeſt, that thoſe, who have writ upon theſe ſubjects, whether foreigners, or among ourſelves, have all owned it: Which makes it aſtoniſhing, that a thing ſo clear and evident, and wherein our intereſt and ſafety do ſo much conſiſt, ſhould be poſtponed to any foreign conſideration whatſoever; wherein we are leſs concerned. But we are ſo unhappy as to ſtruggle with ſo many complicated difficulties, that what is proper for one thing, is prejudicial to another.

My Lord,——Your diſaſters at ſea have been ſo many, a man ſcarce knows where to begin. Your ſhips have been taken by your enemies, as the *Dutch* take your herrings, by ſhoals upon your own coaſts: Nay, your Royal navy itſelf has not eſcaped. And theſe are pregnant misfortunes, and big with innumerable miſchiefs. Your Merchants are beggared; your commerce is broke; your trade is gone; your ſtaple and manufacture ruined: The Queen has loſt her cuſtoms, and the Parliament muſt make good the deficiencies, while, in the mean time, our Allies have an open and flouriſhing trade, and our enemies make uſe both of our own ſhips and ſeamen too againſt us!

There is yet a farther grievance: When, through a thouſand difficulties and dangers, the honeſt trader has brought home ſome ſmall effects, he is fallen upon and oppreſſed by vexatious and unjuſt proſecutions. I mention this with relation to the Union, and to ſhew, that, though I was always againſt it, yet, ſince it is made, I am for keeping firm and exactly to it.

My Lord, The face of our affairs is viſibly changed in the ſpace of one year's time, and the temper of the Nation too. Formerly men ſtifled their misfortunes, and were afraid of whiſpering them out, for fear of being over-heard and undone. Now it is hard to ſtop their mouths, or keep them within any bounds. The moving objects of ſorrow we meet with every where, the tears of the fatherleſs, and cries of the widows, have raiſed both a compaſſion for the diſtreſſed, and a reſentment and indignation againſt the Authors of thoſe misfortunes; and the very fames, which of late have flew abroad, no body knows from whence, and papers, which have been cried in your ſtreets, are all marks of the great ferment the Nation is in.

My Lord, you are now upon the inquiry, by what ways and perſons we have been brought into this miſerable condition. I think it very indifferent which way you

1707. malice, and ignorance, particularly in relation to the *Ruſſia* fleet. Some Members endeavoured to interrupt them; but Sir *Richard Onſlow*, the Chairman of the Committee, deſired them to proceed, which they did with great freedom, and offered to prove what they had advanced, both by papers, and the teſtimony of many Merchants there preſent. However, this debate was adjourned to the 4th of *December*, when Admiral *Whetſtone* was ordered to attend, with the journal of his voyage towards *Ruſſia*. But, after all, the affair ended only in this reſolution, "That for the better ſecuring the trade of this "Kingdom, over and above the ſhips of war "for the line, and the convoys to remote parts, "a ſufficient number of ſhips (which was af- "terwards ſettled to four) be appointed to "cruiſe in proper ſtations." And a bill was ordered to be brought in for that purpoſe.

The loſſes of ſea complained of were imputed to the weakneſs, or to a worſe diſpoſition in ſome, who had great credit with the Prince of *Denmark*, and were believed to govern that whole matter (particularly Mr. *George Churchil*) for, as they were intirely poſſeſſed of the Prince's confidence, ſo, when the Prince's Council was divided in their opinions, the deciſion was left to the Prince, who underſtood very little of thoſe matters, and was always determined by others. By this means they were really Lord High-Admiral, without being liable to the laws for errors and miſcarriages. This Council was not a legal Court, warranted by any law, though they aſſumed that to themſelves: Being Counſellors, they were bound to anſwer only for their fidelity. The complaints were feebly managed at the bar of the Commons; for it was ſoon underſtood, that not only the Prince, but the Queen likewiſe concerned herſelf much in this matter; and both looked on it as a deſign levelled at their authority. Both Whigs and Tories ſeemed to be at firſt equally zealous in the matter; but, by reaſon of the oppoſition of the Court, all thoſe, who intended to recommend themſelves to favour, abated of their zeal. Some were vehement in their endeavours to baffle the complaints. They had great advantages from the Merchants managing their complaints but poorly; ſome were frighted, and others were practiſed upon, and carried even to magnify the conduct of the fleet, and to make excuſes for all the misfortunes that had happened. That, which had the chief operation on the whole Tory party, was, that it was ſet round among them, that the deſign of all theſe complaints was to put the Earl of *Orford* again at the head of the fleet: Upon which they all changed their note, and they, in concurrence with thoſe, who were in offices, or pretended to them, managed the matter ſo, that it was let fall very little to their honour; and ſevere remarks were made on ſome, who had changed their conduct upon their being preferred at Court. 1707.

Their complaints examined by the Lords.

The affair was proſecuted with more zeal and courage in the Houſe of Lords. The Committee, appointed to examine the complaints, called the Merchants, who had ſigned the petition, before them, and treated them not with the ſcorn, that was very indecently offered them by ſome of the Houſe of Commons, but with great patience and gentleneſs. They obliged them to prove all their complaints by witneſſes upon oath. In the proſecution of the inquiry it appeared, that many ſhips of war were not fitted out to be put to ſea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay: That convoys had been often flatly denied the Merchants; and that, when they were promiſed, they were ſo long delayed, that the Merchants loſt their markets, were put to great charge, and, when they had periſhable goods, ſuffered great damage in them. The cruiſers were not ordered to proper ſtations in the Channel; and when convoys were appointed, and were ready to put to ſea, they had not their ſailing orders ſent them, till the enemies ſhips were laid in their way, prepared to fall on them; which had often happened. Many advertiſements, by which thoſe misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the Admiralty, but had not only been neglected

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you proceed. It ſeems reaſonable, that thoſe Lords, who firſt moved this order, ſhould put it into what method they pleaſe; but I muſt take leave to ſay, that, begin where you will, if you do not end with the Miniſtry, we ſhall be in a worſe condition, in my opinion, than we were before.

As to the *Admiralty*, if the Prince's Council have committed any fault, it is very fit they ſhould have what they deſerve; but, I hope, no perſuaſion will prevail with the Prince himſelf to lay down that Commiſſion. The navy, I think, is ſafer in his hands, than in any other man's hands whatſoever, and I will give your Lordſhip my reaſon for it. He has advantages no other perſon can pretend to. He owes not his Commiſſion to the favour of any great Miniſter whatſoever, nor is he within the reach of their power. He ſtands upon a much more unſhaken and firm foundation; and, if there be any miſtake, it is impoſſible to be the effect either of the fear, or the anger of a Great Miniſter, or a care to pleaſe him.

My Lord, I take the root of all our misfortunes to lie in the Miniſtry; and without a change of Miniſtry, in my opinion, no other remedy will be effectual. I may perhaps be told by ſome Lord, that I arraign the Miniſtry. I know that is not proper here; yet every Lord has liberty of ſpeaking his thoughts freely, and taking notice of any thing he thinks a grievance to the Nation: And it is under this notion of complaint, and from a ſenſe of our miſerable condition, that I ſay this to your Lordſhip; and, if I were not confident I ſtand upon ſure ground, I ſhould not venture thus far; but I have my juſtification in my hand. And now, my Lord, it is fit I ſhould prove what I ſay.

Should I mention the breach of the firſt, fourth, and laſt articles of the Union, I am within your order; and thoſe Lords, who ſerve, at preſent, for the North part of *Britain*, I am confident have heard of a complaint and addreſs of the Royal Boroughs. And I might remember the *diſappointment* we have met with in *Spain*. But I hope thoſe two points will be ſome time or other conſidered. I will therefore keep myſelf for proof ſtrictly to your petition; and, I think, nothing is more evident, than that your Miniſtry has been the cauſe of theſe misfortunes; and the argument, which convinces me of it, is drawn from an addreſs of your Lordſhips in 1704, which I have in my hand. I know before whom I ſpeak: The Queen is a Princeſs of that conſummate wiſdom, as not to do any thing without the advice of her Miniſtry. Your Lordſhips did then moſt humbly adviſe and addreſs her Majeſty, that particular care might be taken of theſe points. None but thoſe, that have her Majeſty's ear, could prevail to the contrary; and the want of following your Lordſhips advice has loſt the Nation near ten millions ſince; and therefore it evidently follows, that your Miniſtry have been the occaſion of thoſe loſſes.

1707. lected by them, but thoſe, who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. The Committee made a report of all this to the Houſe of Lords; upon which the Lord-Treaſurer moved, that a copy of the report might be ſent to the Jan. 8. Lord-Admiral, which was done, and, in a few days, an anſwer ſent to the Houſe, excuſing or juſtifying the conduct of the Admiralty in all the branches of it. The chief foundation of the anſwer was, that the great fleets, which were kept in the *Mediterranean*, obliged them to ſend ſo many of the ſhips and ſeamen thither, that there was not a ſufficient number left to guard all the trade, while the enemy turned all their forces at ſea into ſquadrons for deſtroying it; and that all the ſhips, that could be ſpared from the public ſervice abroad, were employed to ſecure the trade. That the promiſe of convoys had been often delayed by reaſon of croſs winds, and other accidents, that had hindered the return of the men of war longer than had been expected, they being then abroad, convoying other Merchant-ſhips: And it was ſaid, that there was not a ſufficient number of ſhips for cruiſers and convoys both. The paper ended with ſome ſevere reflections on the laſt Reign, in which great ſums had been given for the building of ſhips, and yet the fleet was at that time much diminiſhed, and four thouſand Merchant-ſhips had been taken during that war. This was believed to have been ſuggeſted by Mr. Secretary *Harley*, on deſign to mortify King *William*'s Miniſtry. Upon reading of this anſwer, a new and fuller examination of the particulars was again reſumed by the ſame Committee; and all the allegations in it were exactly conſidered. It appeared, that the half of thoſe ſeamen, whom the Parliament had provided for, were not employed in the *Mediterranean*; that many ſhips lay idle in the Port, and were not made uſe of; and that in the laſt war, in which it appeared there were more ſeamen, though not more ſhips, employed in the *Mediterranean*, than were now kept there, yet the trade was ſo carefully looked after by cruiſers and convoys, that few complaints were then made. And as to the reflections made on the laſt Reign, it was found, that not one half the ſum, that was named, was given for the building of ſhips; and, that inſtead of the fleet's being diminiſhed during that war, as had been affirmed, it was increaſed by above forty ſhips; nor could any proof be given, that four thouſand ſhips were taken during that war. That all the ſeamen, who were then taken and exchanged, did not exceed fifteen thouſand; and in the preſent war eighteen thouſand were already exchanged, and there were two thouſand ſtill remaining in the enemy's hands; ſo much had the Prince been impoſed upon in that paper, that was ſent to the Lords in his name. 1707.

When the examination was ended, and reported to the Houſe, it was reſolved to lay the whole matter before the Queen in an addreſs; and then the Tories diſcovered the deſign, that they drove at; for they moved in the Committee, that prepared the addreſs, that the blame of all the miſcarriages might be laid upon the Miniſtry, and on the Cabinet Council. It had been often ſaid in the Houſe of Lords, that it was not intended to make any complaint of the Prince himſelf; and it not being admitted, that his Council was of a legal Conſtitution, the complaining of them would be an acknowledging their authority; the blame therefore could be regularly laid no where, but on the Miniſtry. This was much preſſed by the Duke of *Buckinghamſhire*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and the Lord *Haverſham*. But to this it was anſwered by the Earl of *Orford*, the Lord *Sommers*, and the Lord *Halifax*, that the Houſe ought to lay before the Queen only that, which was made out before them upon oath; and therefore, ſince in the whole examination the Miniſtry and the Cabinet Council were not once named, they could offer the Queen nothing to their prejudice. Some of the things complained of fell on the Navy-board, which was a body acting by a legal authority. The Lords ought to lay before the Queen ſuch miſcarriages, as were proved to them, and leave it to her to find out, on whom the blame ought to be caſt. So far was the Miniſtry from appearing to be in fault, that they found ſeveral advertiſements were ſent by the Secretaries of State to the Admiralty, which, as appeared afterwards, were but too well-grounded; and yet theſe were neglected by them; and that, which raiſed the clamour higher, was, that, during the winter, there were no cruiſers lying in the Channel; ſo that many ſhips, which had run through all dangers at ſea, were taken in ſight of land; for the Privateers came up boldly to our Ports. All this was digeſted into a full and clear addreſs laid by the Houſe before the Queen (1); who, in her anſwer, aſſured their Lordſhips, "That ſhe would take care to make "the

(1) It was dated on the 25th of *February*, 1707-8, and began thus:

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and obedient "Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Par-"liament aſſembled, do humbly acquaint your Majeſ-"ty, that early in this Seſſion of Parliament a peti-"tion of ſeveral Merchants, on behalf of themſelves "and others, traders of the City of *London*, was pre-"ſented to the Houſe, whereby they complained of "great loſſes by the ill-timing of convoys, and for "want of cruiſers; ſo that they durſt no longer en-"gage the remainder of their eſtates to carry on their "ſeveral trades, unleſs immediate care was taken to "remedy theſe two main cauſes of their misfortunes.

"This petition containing complaints of great con-"ſequence to your Majeſty's Subjects; and we being "ſenſible, that nothing but a ſtrict and impartial in-"quiry into matters of fact could put them in a due "light, and inable us to diſtinguiſh between ill-"grounded clamours and a juſt cauſe of complaint, "in order to take the uſual method of being rightly "and fully informed, did refer the petition to a Com-"mittee, and did alſo refer to the ſame Committee "ſeveral papers, which the Houſe had found neceſſary "to call for from the proper Officers, for their better "information in divers things relating to the navy.

"The Committee having prepared a report, and "preſented it to the Houſe, upon a mature conſidera-"tion, it was approved and agreed to; and we think "it our duty humbly to lay the ſame before your "Majeſty.

"The Lords Committees have heard many of the "Petitioners upon their oaths, and have cauſed them "to put their depoſitions into writing, and ſign the "ſame.

"The Lords Committees obſerving, that the com-"plaints of the Petitioners naturally fell under ſeve-

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1707. " the moſt uſeful obſervations on the ſeveral " particulars contained and referred to in their " addreſs: That it was always her opinion, that " the encouragement of trade and ſeamen, and " the good management of the navy, were of " the greateſt importance to the proſperity of " this Kingdom: And that therefore ſhe would " uſe her utmoſt endeavours to encourage all " thoſe, whoſe duty it was effectually to per- " form thoſe ſervices." But nothing followed upon this anſwer; and the Queen ſeemed to be highly offended at the whole proceeding.

Scotch *Merchants relieved.* Pr. H. C. IV. 74.

On the 22d of *November*, upon a petition of ſeveral Merchants of *Scotland*, complaining, " That goods and merchandizes (particularly " *French* wines) brought by them into *England*, " ſince the firſt of *May* laſt, had been ſeized; " and that the Petitioners were under a proſecu- " tion in the *Exchequer* for the value thereof, " and praying relief touching the ſame"; the Commons reſolved to addreſs the Queen, that ſhe would order her Attorney-General to enter a *Noli proſequi*, to diſcharge the ſeveral informations relating to the goods imported, cuſtom-free, from *Scotland*, before the firſt day of *May* laſt. The Queen readily complied with this addreſs, both the Court and Parliament being willing, by this indulgence, to abate the diſcontents of the *Scots* againſt the Union.

The acts of ſecurity, and about peace and war, ordered to be repealed.

But, on the other hand, the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in, to repeal the acts paſſed in *Scotland*, for the *ſecurity of that Kingdom*, and *about peace and war*, which had given ſo great a jealouſy to the *Engliſh* Nation, that the reſcinding of them was one of the principal views of the Miniſtry, in the proſecution of the treaty of Union. This done, the Commons 1707. conſidered thoſe parts of the Queen's ſpeech relating to the making the Union more compleat, and reſolved, on the 11th of *December*, " 1. That " there be but one Privy-Council in the King- " dom of *Great-Britain*. 2. That the militia " of that part of *Great-Britain* called *Scotland* " be regulated, in the ſame manner as the mili- " tia of that part of *Great-Britain* called *Eng-* " *land* is regulated. 3. That the powers of " Juſtices of Peace for preſerving the public " peace be the ſame throughout the whole " united Kingdom. 4. That, for the better " adminiſtration of juſtice, and preſervation of " the public peace, the Lords of Juſticiary be " appointed to go circuits twice in the year. " 5. That the writs for electing Members to " ſerve in the Houſe of Commons, for that " part of *Great-Britain* called *Scotland*, be di- " rected to the Sheriffs of the reſpective Coun- " ties, and that the returns be made of ſuch " writs, in like manner as returns are made of " ſuch writs in that part of *Great-Britain* called " *England*." And they ordered a bill to be brought in upon theſe reſolutions. Two days after they took into conſideration the report from the Committee, to whom the petition of ſeveral Merchants trading to *Portugal*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, was referred; which reſolutions were agreed to by the Houſe, *viz.* " Firſt, That the Mer- " chants had fully made out the ſeveral allega- " tions of their petitions: Secondly, That the " preſerving the *Portugal* trade was of the ut- " moſt concern to this Nation, being, at preſent, " the greateſt mart for vent of our woollen " manufactures, corn, fiſh, and other *Britiſh*

Reſolutions to make the Union more compleat,

and about the trade of Portugal, Italy, *and* Spain.

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ral heads, for the greater eaſe of the houſe, have " endeavoured in their report to reduce the evidence " to the following method, always referring, as they " proceed, to the depoſitions themſelves.

" One thing complained of was, the inſufficiency " of convoys appointed for the Merchants, whereby " their ſhips had from time to time become a prey to " the ſuperior force of the enemy.

" A ſecond point was, The Merchants ſuffered " great diſcouragement by their being forced to wait " long for convoys, even after the time promiſed and " prefixed for their ſailing; whereby the charge of " ſeamen's wages and victuals, demurrage of ſhip- " ping, damage of goods, and loſs of markets made " trading inſupportable.

" A third ground of complaint was, The untimely " and unſeaſonable ſailing of convoys, whereby trade, " to the *Weſt-Indies* eſpecially, was in a manner " ruined.

" A fourth was, The great want of cruiſers in the " Channel and Soundings.

" A fifth complaint was, Concerning the arbitrary " proceedings of the Captains of the Queen's ſhips of " war, in impreſſing ſeamen out of the Merchant- " ſhips in the *Weſt-Indies*; as alſo upon their return " into the ports of *Great-Britain*, to the endangering " of many, and loſs of ſeveral ſhips."

The addreſs concludes in theſe terms:

" We, having thus performed what we took our- " ſelves to be indiſpenſably obliged to, cannot doubt " but it will be graciouſly accepted by your Majeſty, " as coming from moſt dutiful Subjects, who ſincerely " wiſh they may never have occaſion hereafter of ma- " king addreſſes to your Majeſty, but to congratulate " your ſucceſſes, or to return our humble acknow- " ledgments for the bleſſings of your Reign.

" We beſeech your Majeſty to believe, that none " of your Subjects do exceed us in true reſpect to his " Royal Highneſs the Lord-High-Admiral. His great " perſonal virtues require it; and his near relation to " your Majeſty makes it our duty. And as we do not " mean any thing in this addreſs ſhould in the leaſt " reflect upon him; ſo we are very well aſſured, his " Royal Highneſs will never ſuffer other perſons to " protect themſelves under his name from a juſt pur- " ſuit of ſuch faults and neglects, as immediately tend " to the ruin of trade and the deſtruction of *Britain*.

" There cannot be a plainer proof, that ſome per- " ſons, employed by the Lord-High-Admiral, have " made the worſt uſe imaginable of the truſt he ho- " nours them with, than in their preſuming to lay ſuch " an anſwer before the Houſe of Lords in his name. " For, not to take notice of the many things (which " in the ſecond report have been already laid before " your Majeſty) throughout the whole paper, there is " not the leaſt hopes given, that for the future any " better care ſhall be taken of the trade. On the " contrary, the whole turn of the anſwer ſeems to be " intended for expoſing the complaints of the Mer- " chants, rather than pitying their loſſes. We are " ſure nothing can be more remote from the goodneſs " and compaſſion of the Lord-High-Admiral's temper, " and the tender regard he has always ſhewn for your " Majeſty's Subjects.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

" It is a moſt undoubted maxim, that the honour, " ſecurity, and wealth of this Kingdom does depend " upon the protection and encouragement of trade, " and the improving and right managing the naval " ſtrength. Other Nations, who were formerly great " and powerful at ſea, have by negligence and miſ- " management loſt their trade, and ſeen their mari-

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1707. " commodities. Thirdly, That there was a " conſiderable colluſive trade in *French* prize-" wines carried on before, and more increaſed " ſince the falling of the fifteen pounds *per* " tun. Fourthly, That except effectual pro-" viſion were made to prevent the like prac-" tices, with relation to the colluſive trade of " bringing in *French* wines, as if they were " prize-wines, it would not only be a great diſ-" couragement to the *Portugal* trade, and tra-" ders, but indanger the intire loſs thereof." And a bill was ordered to be brought in upon the laſt reſolutions. Then, the ſtate, accounts, and liſts relating to the forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*, having been laid before the Houſe, the conſideration of the ſtate of the war in thoſe parts was deferred till the 7th of *January*; and ſeveral other papers relating to thoſe affairs were ordered to be laid before the Houſe (1).

On the 18th of *December*, the Queen came to the Houſe of Lords, and having paſſed ſome money-bills, and the act for repealing the *Scotch* acts of ſecurity, and about peace and war, made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Am very well pleaſed with the occaſion of " my coming hither at this time, and deſi-" rous to take this opportunity of expreſſing to " you the ſatisfaction I have in ſeeing ſo good a " progreſs made in the public buſineſs.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I am extremely ſenſible of the readineſs " and affection, with which you have provided " ſo conſiderable a part of the Supplies. As I 1707. " am fully perſuaded it muſt needs give the " greateſt ſatisfaction to all our Allies; ſo I " look upon it as a ſure pledge of your being " diſpoſed to make good thoſe hearty aſſurances, " which you gave me in the beginning of the " Seſſion.

" I told you, at the opening of this Parlia-" ment, that I did hope you would look upon " the ſervices relating to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and " the army under the command of the Duke of " *Savoy*, to be of ſo much importance in the " proſecution of this war, that they might de-" ſerve an augmentation; which I cannot but " think will be of the greateſt uſe to the com-" mon cauſe (2), both with regard to thoſe par-" ticular ſervices, and to the putting ourſelves " in a condition to improve ſuch favourable op-" portunities, as may ariſe in the inſuing " year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I ſhall only add, that as nothing is more " eſſential to my own quiet, and the happineſs " of all my good ſubjects, than the bringing this " war to a ſafe and honourable concluſion; ſo I " muſt think myſelf obliged to look upon all " thoſe, who are willing and deſirous to ſupport " me in it for attaining that end, as the moſt " proper objects of my favour and encourage-" ment.

" I cannot conclude, without once more re-" commending to you to confirm and improve " the advantages of our happy Union, not " doubting, but, at the ſame time, you will have " a due

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" time ſtrength intirely ruined. Therefore we do in " the moſt earneſt manner beſeech your Majeſty, that " the ſea-affairs may be your firſt and moſt peculiar " care. We humbly hope, that it ſhall be your Ma-" jeſty's chief and conſtant inſtruction to all, who " ſhall have the honour to be employed in your Coun-" cils, and in the Adminiſtration of affairs, that they " be continually intent and watchful in what concerns " the trade and fleet; and that every one of them " may be made to know it is his particular charge to " take care, that the ſeamen be encouraged, the trade " protected, diſcipline reſtored, and a new ſpirit and " vigour put into the whole adminiſtration of the " navy."

(1) While theſe things were depending, the Commons, on the 25th of *November*, took into conſideration the report of the Committee appointed to examine the petition of Mr. *John Aſgill*, a Member of the Houſe, in priſon in the fleet for debt, at the ſuit of Mr. *Holland*, a *Staffordſhire* Gentleman; which report was ordered to be re-committed. On the other hand, the Houſe being informed of a printed book or pamphlet, ſigned *J. Aſgill*, intituled, *An argument proving, that, according to the Covenant of Eternal Life, revealed in the Scriptures, man may be tranſlated from hence into that Eternal Life, without paſſing through death, although the Human Nature of Chriſt himſelf could not be thus tranſlated, till he had paſſed through death.* Several paſſages of which treatiſe being contrary to, and reflecting on the Chriſtian Religion, the book was brought up to the table, and the title, and ſeveral paragraphs therein, being read, it was ordered, That it be referred to a Committee to inquire into the Author of the ſaid book. On the 16th of *December*, the Commons reſolved, That Mr. *Aſgill* ought to have the privilege of the Houſe, as a Member thereof, and be delivered out of the cuſtody of the Warden of the *Fleet*, to attend the ſervice of the Houſe. Purſuant to which reſolution he was immediately diſcharged; but two days after the Houſe proceeded to take into conſideration the report from the Committee, to whom it was referred, to examine, who was the Author, Printer, and Publiſher of the book abovementioned, aſcribed to Mr. *Aſgill*; who having been heard in his place in relation to the report, the Commons reſolved, That in the ſaid book are contained many profane and blaſphemous expreſſions, highly reflecting upon the Chriſtian Religion; and ordered the ſame to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in the *New-Palace-yard*, *Weſtminſter*; and reſolved, that *John Aſgill* Eſq; having in his place owned himſelf to be the Author of the ſaid book, be expelled the Houſe.

(2) Mr. *Addiſon* wrote an excellent piece to this purpoſe, which was printed at *London* in 4*to* in 1708, under the title of *the preſent ſtate of the war, and the neceſſity of an augmentation conſidered.* In this diſcourſe, after having ſhewn, that the *French* are the conſtant and moſt dangerous enemies to the *Britiſh* Nation, and that the danger from them was then greater than ever, and would ſtill increaſe till their Union with *Spain* were broken, he ſets forth the ſeveral advantages, which this Union had already given *France*, and taken from *Great-Britain*, in relation to the *Weſt-Indies*, the woollen manufactures, the trade of the *Levant*, and the naval power of the two Nations. He then ſhews how theſe advantages would ſtill riſe higher after a peace, notwithſtanding the preſent conqueſts of *Great-Britain*, with new additions, ſhould be confirmed to the Nation, as well becauſe the Monarchy of *Spain* would not be weakened by ſuch conceſſions, as becauſe no guarantee could be found ſufficient to ſecure them to us. For which reaſon he lays it down as a fixed rule, that no peace was to be made without an intire diſunion of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Monarchies. That this might be brought about, he endeavours to prove from the progreſs, which had been already made to-

1707. " a due regard to what ſhall be found neceſſary " for preſerving the public peace, throughout " the whole Iſland of *Great-Britain*."

Debate about the affairs of Spain. Pr. H. L. II. 183.

This ſpeech occaſioned, the next day, a long debate in the Houſe of Lords, in relation to the affairs of *Spain*, the Queen being preſent. The Earl of *Rocheſter* ſpoke firſt, and having commended the Earl of *Peterborough*'s courage and conduct, and enumerated his ſervices, ſaid, " That it had been a conſtant cuſtom, that, " when a perſon of his rank, who had been em- " ployed abroad in ſo eminent a poſt, as his " Lordſhip, had returned home, he had either " thanks given him, or was called to an ac- " count; urging, that the ſame ought to be " done in relation to the Earl of *Peterborough*." The Lord *Hallifax*, who ſpoke next, enlarged likewiſe upon the Earl's ſucceſsful ſervices, but waved the returning him thanks, till the whole tenour of his conduct had been examined; than which the Earl himſelf profeſſed, he had nothing more at heart. The Lord *Haverſham* was not ſilent; but, having highly extolled the Earl of *Peterborough*'s valour, ſkill, and ſucceſs, made an oblique reflection on the Earl of *Galway*, ſaying, " It was no wonder our affairs in *Spain* " went ſo ill, ſince the management of them " had been intruſted to a foreigner." Hereupon, ſeveral Lords ſhewed the neceſſity of carrying on the war, till the whole Monarchy of *Spain* ſhould be recovered, and King *Charles* ſettled upon his Throne. And, among the reſt, the 1707. Earl of *Peterborough* ſaid, " They ought to " give the Queen nine ſhillings in the pound, " rather than make peace upon any other " terms;" adding, " That, if it were thought " neceſſary, he was ready to return to *Spain*, " and ſerve, even under the Earl of *Galway*." This naturally brought on the conſideration of ways and means to retrieve the affairs of *Spain*, in relation to which, the Earl of *Rocheſter* ſaid, " That we ſeemed to neglect the principal buſi- " neſs, and mind only acceſſories:" Adding, " That he remembered the ſaying of a great " General, the old Duke of *Schomberg*, that the " attacking *France*, in the *Netherlands*, was like " taking a bull by the horns." And therefore his Lordſhip propoſed, " That we ſhould ſtand " on the defenſive in *Flanders*, and ſend from " thence fifteen or twenty thouſand men into " *Catalonia*." He was ſeconded by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who complained of *Spain* being, in a manner, abandoned. But the Duke of *Marlborough* endeavoured, with ſome warmth, to ſhew the danger of ſuch a ſcheme, and the neceſſity of augmenting, rather than diminiſhing the forces in *Flanders*. His chief reaſons were, " Firſt, That moſt of the enemy's ſtrong " places there might be kept with one battalion " in each; whereas the great towns of *Brabant*, " which he had conquered, required twenty " times that number of men for their preſerva- " tion. Secondly, That if our army in the " *Ne-*

The Duke of Marlborough's *ſpeech.*

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wards it, and the ſucceſſes, which the *Britiſh* Nation had purchaſed in the war, and which were very conſiderable, if well purſued; but of no effect, if the Nation ſhould acquieſce in them. In order to compleat this diſunion, in which we had gone ſo far, he would not have us rely upon exhauſting the *French* Treaſury, attempts upon the *Spaniſh Indies*, deſcents on *France*, but chiefly on out-numbering them in troops, *France* being already drained of her beſt ſupplies, and the Confederates maſters of much greater forces for multitude and ſtrength, both in men and horſes, and provided with Generals of great fame and abilities. He then conſiders the wrong meaſures, which had been hitherto taken in making too ſmall levies after a ſucceſsful campaign, in regulating their number by that of the enemy's forces, and hiring them of our Confederates; ſhewing at the ſame time the inconveniences ſuffered from ſuch hired troops, and ſeveral advantages, which would ariſe from employing thoſe of our own Nation. He further recommends this *augmentation* of our forces, to prevent the keeping up a ſtanding body of them in times of peace, to enable us to make an impreſſion on the enemy in the preſent poſture of the war, and to ſecure ourſelves againſt the King of *Sweden*, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and had not yet declared himſelf. In the laſt place he anſwers by ſeveral conſiderations thoſe two popular objections, that we furniſhed more towards the war than the reſt of the Allies; and that we were not able to contribute more than we did already. With regard to the former objection, he obſerves, that if it were true in fact, that *England* contributed more than any other of the Allies, he does not ſee any tolerable colour, that ſhe ſhould not make any addition to her preſent efforts. " Suppoſing, *ſays he*, among a multitude " embarked in the ſame veſſel, there are ſeveral, that " in the fury of a tempeſt will rather periſh than " work for their preſervation; would it not be mad- " neſs in the reſt to ſtand idle, and rather chuſe to " ſink together, than to do more than comes to their " ſhare? Since we are engaged in a work ſo abſolute- " ly neceſſary for our welfare, the remiſſneſs of our " Allies ſhould be an argument for us to redouble " our endeavours rather than ſlacken them. If we " muſt govern ourſelves by example, let us rather " imitate the vigilance and activity of the common " enemy, than the ſupineneſs and negligence of our " friends. We have indeed a much greater ſhare in " the war than any other part of the Confederacy. " The *French* King makes at us directly, keeps a King " by him to ſet over us, and hath very lately aug- " mented the ſalary of his Court, to let us ſee, how " much he hath that deſign at heart. Few of the " Nations in war with him, ſhould they ever fall into " his hands, would loſe their Religion or form of Go- " vernment, or interfere at preſent with him in mat- " ters of commerce. The *Dutch*, who are likely to " be the greateſt loſers after the *Britons*, have but " little trade to the *Levant* in compariſon with ours, " have no conſiderable plantations or commerce in " the *Weſt-Indies*, or any woollen manufacture, for " *Spain*; not to mention the ſtrong barrier they have " already purchaſed between *France* and their own " Country. But, after all, every Nation in the Con- " federacy makes the ſame complaint, and fancies it- " ſelf the greateſt ſufferer by the war. Indeed in ſo " common a preſſure, let the weight be never ſo " equally diſtributed, every one will be moſt ſenſible " of that part, which lies on his own ſhoulders. We " furniſh, without diſpute, more than any other " branch of the Alliance, but the queſtion is, Whe- " ther others do not exert themſelves in proportion " according to their reſpective ſtrength? The Empe- " ror, the King of *Pruſſia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, " as well as the *States* of *Holland*, and the Duke of " *Savoy*, ſeem at leaſt to come up to us. The great- " eſt powers in *Germany* are borrowing money, where " they can get it, in order to maintain their ſtated " quota's, and go thorough their part of the expence: " And, if any of the Circles have been negligent, " they have paid for it much more in their late contri- " butions, than what would have furniſhed out their " ſhare in the common charges of the war."

1707. " *Netherlands* were weakened, and the *French*, " by their great ſuperiority, ſhould gain any " conſiderable advantage, the diſcontented party " in *Holland*, who were not a few, and bore " with impatience the great charges of the war, " would not fail crying aloud for peace." Here the Earl of *Rocheſter* ſaid, " He wondered that " noble Peer, who had ever been conſpicuous " for his calmneſs and moderation, ſhould now " be out of his natural temper:" Adding, " That, there being an abſolute neceſſity to ſuc- " cour *Spain*, his Grace would oblige their " Lordſhips, if he would let them know where " they might get troops to ſend thither; and " the obligation would be the greater, becauſe " the Earl of *Peterborough* had, that very day, " aſſured them, that he had heard Prince *Eugene* " ſay, That the *German* ſoldiers had rather be " decimated, than ſent into *Spain*." The Duke of *Marlborough* anſwered the reproach of hav- ing ſhewed ſome warmth, by ſaying, " The " thing was of too great importance to be " ſpoken of without concernment." And as for the queſtion propoſed by the Earl of *Ro- cheſter*, he ſaid, " That although it was im- " proper to diſcloſe ſecret projects in ſo great " an aſſembly" (to which, that day, many ſtrangers had been admitted, by reaſon of the Queen's preſence) " becauſe the enemy would " not fail being informed of them; yet, to gra- " tify their Lordſhips, he might aſſure them, " that meaſures had already been concerted with " the Emperor, for forming an army of forty " thouſand men, under the command of the " Duke of *Savoy*, and for ſending powerful ſuc- " cours to King *Charles*:" Adding, " That it " was to be hoped, that Prince *Eugene* might be " prevailed with to go and command in *Spain*; " in which caſe the *Germans* would gladly fol- " low him thither. The only difficulty, which " his Grace ſaid might be objected to this ſcheme, " was the uſual ſlowneſs of the Court of *Vienna*; " to which purpoſe he took notice, that, if the " ſeven thouſand *German* recruits, which the " Emperor had promiſed for the army in *Pied- " mont*, had arrived in time, the enterprize a- " gainſt *Toulon* would probably have been at- " tended with ſucceſs: But that it was to be " hoped, and he durſt engage his word for it, " that, for the future, his Imperial Majeſty " would punctually perform his promiſes." This

The Lords addreſs to the Queen.

put an end to the debate; and a Committee was appointed to draw up an addreſs to the Queen, which was preſented the ſame day; wherein their Lordſhips returned her Majeſty " their " moſt humble thanks for her moſt gracious " ſpeech to her Parliament; adding, that the " great ſpirit and reſolution ſhe was pleaſed to " expreſs for the vigorous carrying on the war " in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and ſtrengthening the " army of the Duke of *Savoy*, who had de- " ſerved ſo well of the whole Confederacy, " could not fail to contribute, in the moſt effec- " tual manner, to bring this war to a ſpeedy " and happy concluſion. That ſuch an exam- " ple ought to excite all her Allies to a noble " imitation; and their Lordſhips were ſure, her " Majeſty would do her utmoſt, to oblige ſuch " of them, as hitherto had failed in their parts, " for the future, to act as thoſe, who had a real " concern for reſtoring and ſecuring peace and " liberty to *Europe*. That her Majeſty's favour " would always be the higheſt encouragement 1707. " to her ſubjects; but the zeal their Lord- " ſhips had for the preſervation of her Ma- " jeſty's Perſon and Government, and the " duty they owed to their Country, always " had, and ever would oblige them to do all " that lay in their power, for ſupporting her " Majeſty in this juſt war, till it were brought " to a ſafe and happy concluſion. And as they " had ſhewn the greateſt zeal for bringing the " Union to paſs, and for preventing every " thing, that might diſturb it; ſo they unani- " mouſly promiſed her Majeſty, to do all that " was poſſible for them, to make it compleat " and intire."

The ſame day the Lords reſolved, " Firſt, *Reſolutions of the Lords.* " That no peace could be ſafe or honourable " for her Majeſty and her Allies, if *Spain* and " the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* were ſuffered to con- " tinue in the power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. " Secondly, That an humble addreſs be preſent- " ed to the Queen, to thank her Majeſty for " the care ſhe had taken, and the inſtances ſhe " had uſed with the Emperor, for the ſending " a conſiderable force for the relief of the King " of *Spain*, under the command of Prince " *Eugene*; and to deſire her Majeſty, that ſhe " would continue to make the moſt preſſing in- " ſtances to the Emperor, to ſend powerful " ſuccours to *Spain* under the command of " Prince *Eugene*, with expedition; and to " make good the concert of putting twenty " thouſand men under the command of the " Duke of *Savoy*; and that the Emperor would " alſo uſe his utmoſt power and intereſt for " ſtrengthening the army on the *Rhine*, which " was now happily put under the command of " that wiſe and valiant Prince, the Elector of " *Hanover*." An addreſs, containing theſe re- *Both Houſes addreſs the Queen not to make peace without the reſtitution of all* Spain. Dec. 23. ſolutions, was accordingly drawn up; con- cluding, " They believed no part of this could " be refuſed upon her Majeſty's earneſt interpo- " ſition, who had done ſuch great things for " the Houſe of *Auſtria:* And that, this being " complied with, they might reaſonably hope, " by God's Aſſiſtance, the next would prove a " happy and glorious campaign." The Com- mons having, at the Lord's deſire, concurred in this addreſs, both Houſes, in a body, preſented the ſame to her Majeſty, who told them, " That ſhe was fully of their opinion, that no " peace could be honourable or ſafe for them, " or for their Allies, till the *intire Monarchy* of " *Spain* be reſtored to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; " and very well pleaſed to find, that the mea- " ſures, ſhe had concerted for the ſuccour of the " King of *Spain*, were ſo fully approved by " both Houſes of Parliament: And that ſhe " ſhould continue her moſt preſſing inſtances " with the Emperor, for the haſtening of fur- " ther ſuccours, and that they might be com- " manded by Prince *Eugene:* As alſo, upon all " the other particulars mentioned in their ad- " dreſs."

Purſuant to theſe aſſurances, the Queen preſ- ſed the Emperor to ſend Prince *Eugene* to *Spain*. The Imperial Court delayed to comply in this particular, but (as will hereafter be ſeen) ſent Count *Staremberg* thither, who had indeed ac- quired a very high reputation.

The 19th of *December*, the Commons came to ſeveral reſolutions about the Supply, ſo that, by

1707. by the 22d, they had given very near ſix millions (1).

Upon an addreſs of the Commons, for the Queen to uſe her endeavours with his Imperial Majeſty, to reſtore to her ſubjects the liberty of trade they formerly enjoyed in *Auſtria* and *Stiria*; and to prevent, for the future, any prohibitions from being made in any other parts of his hereditary countries, ſhe was pleaſed to anſwer, That ſhe had given directions, ſome time before, to her Miniſter abroad upon that matter, and would continue her endeavours for the relief of her ſubjects, as was deſired by the Commons addreſs.

Account of the French Prophets.

Towards the end of the year 1706, three *French Cevennois*, commonly called Camiſars, came over into *England*, and by their enthuſiaſtic effuſions, and pretences to propheſy, and extatic convulſions, raiſed the curioſity of their countrymen in *London*, and gained ſeveral followers. This gave great offence to the generality of the *French* Refugees, and the Miniſters and Elders of the *French* Royal Chapel in the *Savoy* (the head of the *French* Congregations in *Weſtminſter*) thought it their duty to inquire into the miſſion of theſe new prophets; and, being authorized by the Biſhop of *London*, their Eccleſiaſtical ſuperior, ſummoned the three Camiſars, *Elias Marion*, *John Cavallier*, and *Durand Fage*, to come before them. Two of them obſtinately refuſed to appear; but the third boldly juſtified their pretences to inſpiration. Whereupon the *French* Church in the *Savoy* made an act on the 2d of *January*, wherein they were declared *Impoſtors* and *Counterfeits*; and this act was confirmed by the Lord Biſhop of *London*. Notwithſtanding this anathema, the pretended prophets, acted by Mr. *Maximilian Miſſon*, a *French* Refugee, Mr. *Nicholas Facio*, the Mathematical Profeſſor at *Geneva*, and others; and continuing their aſſemblies in *Soho*, uttered their predictions with great noiſe; and being ſupported by Sir *Richard Bulkley* and Mr. *John Lacy*, two *Engliſh* Gentlemen of good eſtates, branded the Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhed Church with odious names and characters, and denounced the heavieſt judgments againſt the City of *London*, and the whole *Britiſh* Nation. They publiſhed likewiſe their predictions under the title of *prophetical warnings of Elias Marion*, &c. which was a collection of incoherent and unintelligible jargon, and ſhewed the authors of them to be men thoroughly infatuated. But it being ſuſpected by ſome, that there was a mixture of deſign and artifice in the affair, *Marion*, *John Daudé*, and *Facio*, were indicted and proſecuted at the expence of all the *French* Churches in *London*, as diſturbers of the public peace and falſe prophets; and received their ſentences at the Court of *Queen's-Bench*, to ſtand twice on a ſcaffold, with a paper denoting their offence; to pay a fine of twenty marks each, and to give ſecurity for their good behaviour for one year. According to this ſentence they were expoſed on a ſcaffold at *Charing-Croſs* and the *Royal Exchange*. 1707. Dec. 1, 2.

Diſcoveries of a correſpondence with France. Hiſt. of *Europe.* Burnet.

At this time two diſcoveries were made, very unlucky for Mr. *Harley*. Marſhal *Tallard* wrote often to Monſieur *Chamillard*, but he ſent his letters open to the Secretary's Office, to be peruſed and ſealed up, and ſo to be conveyed by the way of *Holland*. Theſe were opened upon ſome ſuſpicion in *Holland*; and it appeared, that one, in the Secretary's Office, put letters in them, in which, as he offered his ſervice to the Courts of *France* and *St. Germains*, ſo he gave an account of all tranſactions here. In one of theſe he ſent a copy of the letter, which the Queen was to write, in her own hand, to the Emperor; and he marked what parts of the letter were drawn by the Secretary, and what additions were made to it by the Lord-Treaſurer. This was the letter, by which the Queen preſſed the ſending Prince *Eugene* into *Spain*; and this, if not intercepted, would have been at *Verſailles* many days before it could reach *Vienna*. He, who ſent this, wrote, that by this they might ſee what ſervice he could do them, if well encouraged. All this was ſent over to the Duke of *Marlborough*; and upon ſearch it was found to be writ by Mr. *William Gregg*, whom Mr. *Harley* had not only entertained as a Clerk in his office, but likewiſe taken into a particular confidence, without inquiry into the former parts of his life; for he was a vicious and neceſſitous perſon. He had been Secretary to Mr. *Gregg*, when Reſident from King *William* to the Court of *Denmark*, and afterwards to Mr. *Vernon*, Envoy to the ſame Court, by whom he was diſmiſſed for his ill conduct (2). Mr. *Harley* had made

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(1) The particular ſums were,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For forty thouſand ſeamen,	2,080,000	00	0
The Ordinary of the Navy	120,000	00	0
The forty thouſand land-men in *Flanders*	894,272	03	6
The additional ten thouſand men,	177,511	03	6
The proportion of the *Palatines*,	34,251	13	4
The proportion of the *Saxons*,	43,251	12	6
The proportion of *Bothmar*'s dragoons,	9,269	16	6
The forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*,	586,671	12	0
The ſubſidies to the Allies,	494,689	08	6
The Duke of *Savoy*'s augmentations,	500,000	00	0
The Guards and Garriſons, Invalids, and five thouſand men on board the fleet,	511,734	08	6
The Duke of *Savoy*'s ſpecial ſervice in 1707,	100,000	00	0
Compleating the payment of the *Heſſians*,	22,957	02	0
The fortifications at *Gibraltar*,	12,284	19	6
The payment of one year one quarter's intereſt upon debentures,	60,334	19	6
A ſtore-houſe and wharf at *Portſmouth*,	10,000	00	0
Circulating *Exchequer* bills,	3,500	00	0
Tranſporting land-forces,	144,000	00	0
The land-ordnance,	120,000	00	0
The payment of Captain *Roch*,	2,126	18	6
Total	5,933,657	17	4

(2) The Committee of the Lords, appointed to examine him, obſerve, that the effect of the papers referred to them was as follows:

I. A copy of *Gregg*'s letter, which was intercepted, dated the 28th of *November* 1707, *O. S.* ſent to Monſieur *Chamillard*, incloſed in a packet from Marſhal *Tallard*, directed to Mr. *Robineau* his ſteward at *Paris*.

1707-8. made uſe of him to get intelligence in *Scotland* in 1705, and came to truſt him with the peruſal and ſealing up of the letters, which the *French* priſoners, here in *England*, ſent over to *France*, and by that means he got into the method of ſending intelligence. He, when ſeized on, either upon remorſe, or the hopes of pardon, confeſſed all, and ſigned his confeſſion; upon which he was tried at the Seſſions in the *Old Bailey*, where an indictment of high-treaſon was read againſt him, importing, "That he had "ſent letters to Monſieur *Chamillard*, one of "the *French* King's Prime Miniſters, particu- "larly one, dated the 28th of *November* laſt; "and others, wherein were incloſed the pro- "ceedings of both Houſes of Parliament, in re- "lation to the augmentation of our forces; "a copy of a letter from the Queen to the "Emperor; private buſineſs ſent to the Duke "of *Savoy*, &c." To which indictment, *Gregg* having pleaded guilty, the Lord Chief-Juſtice *Holt*, and moſt of the Judges, being preſent, the Recorder pronounced ſentence of death againſt him, as in caſes of high-treaſon.

Gregg is taken up and tried Jan. 19.

Valiere and others apprehended.

At the ſame time *John Bara* and *Alexander Valiere* (alias *John Clarke*) were alſo committed to *Newgate* for correſponding with the enemy; and Mr. *Claude Baud*, a native of *Piedmont*, and Secretary to Count *de Briançon*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke of *Savoy*, was apprehended, at the requeſt of that Miniſter, by warrant from the Earl of *Sunderland*, for traiterous practices againſt her Majeſty and Government; but the ſame night, as the two Meſſengers, who had him in cuſtody, were carrying him to *Newgate*, he made his eſcape from them. But being followed by the Queen's proclamation, wherein a reward of two hundred pounds was promiſed for diſcovering and ſecuring him, he was, within two hours after, betrayed by a *French* Taylor, in whoſe houſe he had taken ſanctuary, and put under the cuſtody of a Meſſenger. *Valiere* and *Bara*, who had been both employed by Mr. *Harley* as his ſpies, to go often over to *Calais*, under the pretence of bringing him intelligence, were informed againſt as ſpies employed by *France* to get intelligence from *England*. They carried over many letters to *Calais* and *Boulogne*; and, as was believed, gave ſuch information of our trade and convoys, that, by their means, the Nation ſuſtained ſuch great loſſes at ſea. They were often complained of upon ſuſpicion, but were always protected by Mr. *Harley*; yet the preſumptions againſt them were ſo violent, that they were at laſt ſeized on, and brought up priſoners. 1707-8.

An examination into the correſpondence.

A Committee of ſeven Lords were appointed to examine Mr. *Gregg*, but could not find out much by him (1). He had but newly begun his deſigns of betraying ſecrets, and he had no aſſociates

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In this *Gregg* ſends to Monſieur *Chamillard* a copy of the Queen's letter, written with her own hand to the Emperor.

In the ſame letter *Gregg* takes notice of two letters ſent by him to Monſieur *Chamillard*, the one dated the 24th, and the other the 28th of *October* laſt, which he underſtood *Robineau* had put into his hands.

That perceiving by *Robineau*'s letter to his Maſter, that Monſieur *Chamillard* deſired the Marſhal's ſentiments of *Gregg*, *Gregg* had himſelf written to him.

In expectation of his anſwer *Gregg* flattered himſelf, that the paper, then ſent, was of that importance, that there could be no longer doubt of the devotedneſs of a *Scottiſhman* for *France*; not to ſpeak of his zeal for the ſervice of his Prince, who had found refuge there.

That the lines, under which he had drawn a ſtroke, were the thoughts of the Lord-Treaſurer, which he had added with his own hand to the firſt draught of the letter.

The ſame letter contained ſome other news.

II. There was a copy of a letter, dated the 25th of *November*, *O. S.* in the ſame packet, ſubſcribed *William Gregg*, in which notice is taken of what *Robineau* writes to Monſieur *Tallard* concerning him; and that he himſelf had written to the Marſhal, and deſired *Robineau* to deliver the incloſed according to the addreſs, as being of great conſequence.

III. The copy of a letter from Marſhal *Tallard* to *Robineau*, dated the 10th of *December*, *N. S.* in which Monſieur *Tallard* ſays, that as to the letters, of which *Robineau* made mention in his of the 25th and 28th of *November*, that he had delivered them according to the addreſs. Monſieur *Tallard* knew nothing of their contents, but by the ſame poſt, which brought his letters.

That he was obliged for the offers, but could make no uſe of them while he was a priſoner. When the peace was made, he would give proof of his acknowledgment to him, who made the offers, and would endeavour to engage the perſon, to whom the letters were addreſſed, to do the ſame. In the interim *Robineau* was to tell the perſon, to whom he delivered the letters, for whom the Marſhal had the utmoſt conſideration, that he was much obliged to him for deſiring to know his thoughts, before he would determine what to do: That the offers made did not ſuit with the preſent time, at leaſt as to him, *&c.*

IV. An original letter, of the 2d of *December* 1707, to Mr. *Robineau* from *Gregg*, to felicitate him for being delivered from an importunate man, as would appear by Marſhal *Tallard*'s letters, unleſs his laſt to Monſieur *Chamillard* had not made him determine otherwiſe.

V. A copy of another letter of *Gregg* to Monſieur *Chamillard*, dated the 23d of *December*, *O. S.* which was alſo to taken in Marſhal *Tallard*'s packet, in which he pretends to give Monſieur *Chamillard* an account of what paſſed in Parliament, with the Queen's anſwer to the addreſs of the two Houſes, and his excuſe for not ſending the addreſs itſelf.

VI. A letter of *Robineau* to Monſieur *Tallard*, the 26th of *December*, *N. S.* from *Paris* (tranſcribed by *Gregg* in his own hand) in which he ſays, he was going to *Verſailles* to deliver the anſwer, with which he was charged; that he received every poſt letters from the ſame perſon, and that he took care to deliver them according to the addreſs.

VII. Another of the 30th of *December* 1707, *N. S.* that he had been to deliver, as Monſieur *Tallard* had charged him, the anſwer to which was deſired of Mr. *Tallard*.

VIII. Another letter in *Gregg*'s hand, dated the 30th of *December* 1707, found in *Gregg*'s cloſet, written to Monſieur *Chamillard*, giving an account of the intention to ſend Mr. *Palmer* to *Savoy*, and to take ſeveral other *German* Courts in his way.

IX. A confeſſion of *Gregg* delivered to the Lords of the Committee, and ſigned by him.

(1) They went to *Newgate* to him for that purpoſe, on the 12th of *February* 1707-8, and acquainted him, "That as the crime, of which he ſtood attainted, "was of the moſt heinous nature, ſo there were ſome "circumſtances ſo extraordinary, which attended his "caſe, that the Houſe of Lords thought it might be "of ſervice to her Majeſty and the Kingdom, to "have all the beginning and progreſs of his treaſon- "able correſpondence fully laid open: That her Ma- "jeſty, upon the application of that Houſe, had or- "dered all former examinations and papers concerning "him

1707-8. aſſociates with him in it. He told them, that all the papers of ſtate lay ſo careleſsly about the office, that every one belonging to it, even the Door-keeper, might have read them all. Mr. *Harley*'s cuſtom was to come to the office late on poſt nights; and after he had given his orders, and wrote his letters, he uſually went away, and left all to be copied out, when he was gone. By that means Mr. *Gregg* came to ſee every thing, in particular the Queen's letter to the Emperor. He ſaid, he knew the deſign on *Toulon* in *May*, but did not diſcover it; for he had not entered on his ill practices till *October*. This was all he could ſay. By the examination of *Valiere*, *Bara*, and of many others, who lived about *Dover*, and were employed by them, a diſcovery was made of a conſtant intercourſe they were in with *Calais*, under Mr. *Harley*'s protection. They often went over with boats full of wool, and brought back brandy, though both the import and export were ſeverely prohibited. They, and thoſe who belonged to the boats carried over by them, were well treated on the *French* ſide at the Governor's houſe, or at the Commiſſary's; and were kept there till their letters could be ſent to *Paris*, and till returns could be brought back; and were all the while upon freecoſt.

The order, that was conſtantly given them, was, that, if an *Engliſh* or *Dutch* ſhip came up to them, they ſhould caſt their letters into the ſea; but that they ſhould not do it, when *French* ſhips came up to them; ſo that they were looked upon by all on that coaſt as the ſpies of *France*. They uſed to get what information they could, both of Merchant-ſhips, and of the ſhips of war, that lay in the *Downs*; and upon that they uſually went over; and it happened, that ſoon after ſome of the ſhips were taken. Theſe men were Papiſts, and behaved themſelves very inſolently, and boaſted much of their power and credit. Complaints had been often made of them, but they were always protected; nor did it appear, that they ever brought any information of importance to Mr. *Harley* but once, when, according to what they ſwore, they told him, that Monſieur *Fourbin* was gone from *Dunkirk*, to lie in wait for the *Ruſſia* fleet; which proved to be true; for he both went to watch for them, and took a great part of them. Yet, though this was the ſingle piece of intelligence, that they ever brought, Mr. *Harley* took ſo little notice of it, that he gave no advertiſement to the Admiralty concerning it. This particular excepted, they only brought over common news, and the *Paris Gazettes*. Theſe examinations laſted for ſome weeks; and, when they were ended, a full report was made of them to the Houſe of Lords, who ordered the whole report, with all the examinations, to be laid before the Queen in an addreſs, importing, Mar. 22. 1707-8.

" That having been informed, that *William* " *Gregg*, a Clerk in the office of the late Se- " cretary Mr. *Harley*, had been indicted for " high-

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" him to be laid before them. They told him fur- " ther, that if he, by a true, ingenuous, and full con- " feſſion, would deſerve it, he might have ground to " hope, the Houſe of Lords might intercede in his behalf " for mercy from her Majeſty, which otherwiſe he had " no reaſon to look for. He was alſo told, that, being " a man of underſtanding, he was not to expect to " be aſked queſtions, but was to give an account of " himſelf, when, and how he became firſt employed; " when, and by what inſtigation he was drawn in to " correſpond with the Queen's enemies; and how far " it proceeded."

He ſaid, That one Mr. *Gregg*, the late King's Reſident at *Copenhagen*, was his kinſman, and ſent for him thither; and he continued with him about three years till his death, which happened about two months before the late King died.

That Mr. *Vernon* was ſent Envoy to *Denmark*, and took him, whom he found there, into his ſervice, in which he continued about two years and an half, and then he was diſcharged from his ſervice by Mr. *Vernon*.

Mr. *Vernon* coming for *England* about his private affairs, while *Gregg* was in his ſervice, and ſtaying here ſome time, in that interval *Gregg* received ſome letters from Mr. Secretary *Harley*, which gave him occaſion after to apply to him.

The 9th of *December* 1704, *Gregg* came to *England*, and ſoon made application to Mr. Secretary *Harley* for employment, but was not recommended to him by any body.

The 3d of *January* he ſaw him firſt at his office, where he attended often.

The 5th of *February* 1704-5, Mr. *Jones*, the Secretary's firſt Clerk, came to him, and told him, the Secretary would ſpeak with him. He attended on the Secretary the ſame day, who aſked him, If he would be willing to be employed in his own Country? *Gregg* ſaid, He was willing to be ſent upon any good errand. Mr. Secretary told him, It was to give an account of the proceedings of the inſuing Parliament, which was to be held under the Duke of *Argyle*.

The 6th of *February* he went to the office, and Mr. Secretary told him, he ſhould be diſpatched in a few days.

To make ſome trial of him (as he ſuppoſed) Mr. Secretary aſked him, If he could give an account of the Court of *Denmark*? *Gregg* ſaid, He was willing to do it as well as he could; and, accordingly, in ſome time drew up a ſtate of that Court, and it was not diſapproved.

He attended daily, and, on the 20th of *April*, Mr. Secretary *Harley* gave him a note of twenty pounds, to be paid by his Steward in *Scotland-yard*.

On the 23d of *May* 1705, he was ordered to go for *Scotland*, and about a week after ſet forwards on his journey. When he was diſpatched, a note of thirty pounds was given to him.

Mr. Secretary always amuſed him with telling him, he ſhould have inſtructions for his directions in *Scotland*; but, at laſt, ordered him to draw up ſome queries himſelf about the ſtate of affairs in *Scotland*; which he did, and they were approved.

Some of the queries were, What were the deſigns of the ſeveral parties? What correſpondence between the *Highlands* and *St. Germains*? How affected to the Houſe of *Hanover*, *&c.* He was alſo ordered to form a cypher of letters, whereby to deſign the great men there.

The 2d of *June* 1705, he arrived at *Edinburgh*, and wrote to Mr. Secretary the *Thurſday* following, being ordered to direct all his letters to *Thomas Bateman* in *Scotland-Yard*.

Mr. Secretary promiſed the receipt of his letters ſhould be acknowledged; and he preſſed often for it, to know they came to hand, fearing his letters were intercepted, becauſe he was ſuſpected as a ſpy in that Country. But, though he wrote thrice a week, he never heard one word from Mr. Secretary, or by his order, during his whole ſtay in that country.

Being aſked by the Lords, If he was recommended to any body in *Scotland*? He anſwered, No.

The 15th of *October* he arrived at *London*, and the next day waited on Mr. Secretary, who thanked him

1707-8. " high-treaſon, in holding correſpondence with " her Majeſty's enemies, and betraying to them " ſecrets of the higheſt importance; and that " upon his trial he had confeſſed the indictment, " and, by that means, had prevented the exa- " minations, whereby the public might have " been truly informed of the particular nature " and circumſtances of his crime; they thought " themſelves indiſpenſably obliged, in duty to " her Majeſty, and for the future ſafety of the " Kingdom, to do all in their power to find out " the riſe and progreſs of this dangerous cor- " reſpondence. That, in order thereto, they " addreſſed her Majeſty for all papers relating to " the charge againſt *William Gregg*; and her " Majeſty having been pleaſed to give orders, " that the papers ſhould be laid before them, " they referred thoſe papers to a Committee, " and directed them to examine *Gregg*, and to " report the examination to the Houſe; as alſo " what they obſerved upon the papers, together " with ſuch other matters, as they ſhould think " proper, upon their inquiry into the affair: " And the report having been made, and taken " into conſideration by the Houſe, they humbly " conceived it to be very highly for her ſervice " to lay the ſame before her Majeſty. That " being alſo informed, that one *Alexander Va-* " *liere*, otherwiſe called *John Clarke*, was in " cuſtody for holding correſpondence with her " Majeſty's enemies, they thought themſelves, " in like manner, obliged to direct the Com- " mittee to examine *Valiere*, and to inquire in- 1707-8. " to the particulars and circumſtances of his of- " fence: That, this being accordingly performed " by the Committee, it was reported to them; " but the report conſiſting of very many exa- " minations, they thought it would be of uſe " to appoint a Committee to digeſt and put the " ſame into ſome method, to the intent they " might be able to form a clearer and more di- " ſtinct judgment of the whole affair; and, that " report being made and approved by the " Houſe, they conceived it would be of im- " portance to her Majeſty's ſervice, for them to " preſent the ſame to her Majeſty; and, for her " Majeſty's more intire ſatisfaction, they beg- " ged leave to annex all the examinations at " large to this addreſs. That, having entered " into a ſerious conſideration of the ſeveral re- " ports, they had unanimouſly come to the " following reſolutions, 1. *That the crime, of* " *which* William Gregg *ſtood attainted, was of* " *ſo heinous a nature, and attended with ſuch ex-* " *traordinary circumſtances, that it might prove* " *of very pernicious conſequence, if he ſhould not* " *be made an example.* 2. *And that it plainly ap-* " *peared to them, as well by what* Alexander Va- " liere *and* John Bara *had informed againſt each* " *other, as by the many examinations taken con-* " *cerning them, that they were both in the* French " *intereſt, and unfit to be truſted or employed by* " *any perſons in her Majeſty's ſervice: And that* " *the open and public manner of the correſpondence* " *managed*

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for his letters, and told him, he had named him to the Queen, upon occaſion of a paper he had ſent; but Mr. *Gregg* ſaid, he believed the Queen had never heard of his name, till this laſt unhappy accident.

On the 29th of *October*, Mr. Secretary ordered twenty-five pounds. He attended daily, and preſſed much to be ſent abroad, particularly to go with Mr. *Methuen*, when he was ſent to *Savoy*, but it was declined.

On New-Year's day Mr. Secretary dropped a word, which ſtartled him much: He told him, he would fix him; which *Gregg* underſtood was bringing him into his office.

Upon this he preſented a petition, that he might not be in the office, becauſe the ſalary was ſmall; and, being in debt, he could not live on it.

He attended every day. The Secretary inquired of him what he knew of languages. He ſaid, he knew ſome *French* and *German*, but knew *Latin* better than either.

The 16th of *April* 1706, he was admitted into the office, and a note was given upon Mr. *Jones*, as for one of the Clerks; and Mr. Secretary told him, It was only to keep his hand in uſe, and that he would provide better for him.

The 16th of *May*, copying a letter ſent to Mr. *Vernon*, that he was to conſider of ſome body fit to be left behind, *Gregg* thought it to be intended in his favour, and wrote to Mr. *Vernon* on that occaſion, deſiring his countenance.

But the 28th of *May*, Mr. Secretary writing word to Mr. *Vernon*, that he had leave to come at his own time, but muſt leave ſome body behind; and this being wrote before any anſwer could come from thence, *Gregg* ſaw nothing was meant for him in the former letter.

Gregg made offers of ſervice to Mr. *Pulteney*, when he was to go, but he ſaid he was provided.

Then he told Mr. Secretary, His mind was depreſſed by his debts, and deſired to be thrown abroad, and to go with Sir *Philip Meadows*; but that was refuſed, and *Strahan* was ſent.

Then Mr. Secretary aſked, What would make him eaſy? And he gave in a liſt of his debts, amounting to about thirty-five pounds.

Since that Mr. Secretary has ordered him at ſeveral times about twenty or five and twenty pounds in the whole; the laſt ſum was ſeven pounds in *October* laſt, part of a bill of fourteen pounds, for which debt he was preſſed at that time.

Being aſked by the Lords, If his debts only made him ſo deſirous to be gone? He ſaid, At that rate the buſineſs was managed in the office, it was a perfect drudgery.

Their buſineſs ſeldom began till about eleven or twelve at night, and they ſtaid till two or three, or later, though ſometimes not above two letters to diſpatch; and he thought himſelf happieſt, who could get away ſooneſt.

The method was, firſt, the letters were taken in ſhort hand; afterwards wrote fair; then ſent to Mr. Secretary's houſe to be ſigned, and after returned to the office to be entered; ſo that they were obliged ſometimes to ſtay till four o'clock in the morning.

He ſaid, That in *April* laſt, when *Hill* the Meſſenger was ſent to *Turin*, the packet was left to him, though the youngeſt Clerk, to be made up, and delivered to the meſſenger.

In that packet there was a letter to Sir *John Norris*, and another to Mr. *Chetwynd*. Moſt of the laſt letter was in cypher. *Gregg* entered both thoſe letters. There was alſo another letter to Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, and letters from the Lord-Treaſurer. He put them all up in the packet, and after gave them to *Hill*.

Being aſked, If he knew by the letters what the deſign was? *Gregg* ſaid, He underſtood *Toulon* was to be beſieged. He could not read the whole, but knew enough to find out that. He ſaid, it was wrote in the cypher of the office by Mr. *Harley*, the Earl of *Sunderland* being ſick at that time.

The Queen's letters *de Cachet* are made up before they are brought to the office; but the Clerks are truſted to make up other letters.

The Lords Committees required him to give the whole relation of his correſpondence, when it began, and how long it had been carried on.

1707-8. " *managed by them with the Governors and Com-*
" *miſſaries of* Calais *and* Boulogne, *could tend*
" *only to carry on an intelligence to the advantage*
" *of her Majeſty's enemies; and that it was highly*
" *probable, that thereby the ſtations of our Cruiſers,*
" *the ſtrength of our Convoys, and the times of*
" *ſailing of our Merchant-ſhips, had been betrayed*
" *to the* French." Their Lordſhips added,
" That it was her Majeſty's glory, and the hap-
" pineſs of *Europe*, that ſhe was at the head of
" one of the greateſt Confederacies, that ever
" was known in hiſtory; and it was the com-
" mon concern of the whole Alliance, that her
" counſels ſhould be kept with the ſtricteſt ſe-
" crecy: But that, in the papers now laid be-
" fore her, her Majeſty would be pleaſed to ob-
" ſerve, that ſome of her reſolutions of the
" greateſt moment, and that required the utmoſt
" ſecrecy, had been ſent to her enemies by the
" ſame poſt they were diſpatched to the Allies.
" That all the papers in Mr. Secretary *Harley*'s
" office had, for a conſiderable time, been ex-
" poſed to the view even of the meaneſt Clerks
" in that office; and that the peruſal of all the
" letters to and from the *French* priſoners, was 1707-8.
" chiefly truſted to *Gregg*, a perſon of a very
" ſuſpicious character, and known to be ex-
" tremely indigent. That it was not eaſily to
" be known, what ill conſequences might have
" attended ſuch negligence. But their Lord-
" ſhips depended upon it, that, theſe matters
" being thus plainly laid open to her Majeſty,
" they ſhould be well ſecured againſt any dan-
" gers of this nature for the future. That they
" were further in duty bound to beſeech her Ma-
" jeſty, that all poſſible methods might be uſed
" to put a ſtop to that dangerous and (which
" might ſoon prove) fatal intercourſe between
" her Majeſty's ſubjects and *France*, which had
" of late received ſo great an encouragement by
" the countenance and protection given to *Va-*
" *liere* and *Bara*; ſince, unleſs that were effectu-
" ally done, her Majeſty's enemies would conti-
" nue to have what intelligence they pleaſed;
" her Majeſty's Men of War and Merchant-
" ſhips would be in danger of being betrayed
" to the *French*; and that moſt deſtructive trade
" of ſending wool to *France*, which had been
" with

Gregg ſaid, The firſt motive of his writing to *France* was in order to get money, by obtaining a paſs; and that his firſt letter was the 24th of *October* laſt.

From his firſt entering into the Office he had always a great hand in peruſing the *French* priſoners letters. That convenient opportunity, and his poverty, gave him the temptation.

The *French* priſoners letters came under a general cover, directed to Mr. *Lewis*. Marſhal *Tallard*'s letters are under a flying ſeal; the reſt of them came always ſealed, but are opened at the Office.

Generally Mr. *Lewis* threw them down on the table, and left the peruſing them to the Clerks, to Mr. *Mann* and *Gregg*; and, ſince Mr. *Mann* left the Office, they have been truſted wholly to *Gregg*.

If *Gregg* obſerved any thing, that he thought material, he made an extract of it, and ſhewed it to the Secretary or Under-Secretary. He mentioned a particular extract he had made out of a letter of Mr. *Chamillard* to Mr. *Tallard*.

Letters came from *Nottingham* every poſt; ſometimes twenty letters came to them in a day from *France*. Theſe came always ſealed. From the time he came into the Office, theſe letters were never peruſed, either by the Secretary or Under-Secretary; which he is ſure of, becauſe they were ſealed when he looked on them. He cannot for that reaſon ſay, but Mr. *Lewis* might ſometimes look into Mr. *Tallard*'s letter, becauſe that had a flying ſeal; but the reſt were left ſealed as they came by Mr. *Lewis* to the Clerks peruſal.

Gregg ſaid, he had a diſpute with Mr. *Lewis* upon the account of theſe letters, *Gregg* declaring, he thought it not to be a buſineſs fit for the Under-Clerks to be truſted with.

Mr. Secretary *Harley* wrote a letter in anſwer to one from Monſieur *Pontchartrain*, thanking him for his civility to one *Middleton*.

In tranſcribing it, *Gregg* found it ſo ill-turned, and the *French* bad, that he acquainted the Secretary with it at eleven o' clock at night in *October* laſt. This letter was ſtopped; but after Mr. *Lewis* ſent it away as it was wrote at firſt.

The rough draught of the Queen's letter to the Emperor, as it was altered by the Lord-Treaſurer, was left in the public book of the Office, to be entered the ſame night it was to be ſent away. There *Gregg* ſaid he found it, and tranſcribed it, and any other Clerk of the Office might have done it as well as he.

All the books in the Office lie in a preſs; the key is always in the door; and not only the Clerks, but the Chamber-keepers may have acceſs.

All letters, except thoſe wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough*, are entered in the books; but thoſe are only copied in looſe ſheets. *Gregg* ſaid he had copied many of thoſe.

The draught of the Queen's letter to the Emperor was prepared by Mr. *Lewis*; it was then written in the hand of Mr. *Thomas*, Mr. *Harley*'s Domeſtic Clerk; the addition was in the Lord-Treaſurer's own hand. Mr. *Mann* ſaw it as well as *Gregg*, *Mann* ſaid to *Gregg*, That what was added by the Lord-Treaſurer was much the brighteſt part of the letter.

Gregg ſaid, he ſent all his letters to *France* under the cover to Mr. *Robineau*. He owned he ſent the copy of the Queen's letter to Mr. *Chamillard* the ſame night the Queen's letter was diſpatched to the Emperor.

Gregg ſaid further, that the letter in the Queen's own hand was given to *Gregg* by Mr. Secretary himſelf about one o' clock at night, and he was ſolely intruſted to put it up in Sir *Philip Meadows*'s packet, after every body had left the Office.

Robineau, in his letter to Mr. *Gregg*, took notice, that he had delivered his letters to Monſieur *Chamillard*; and that Monſieur *Chamillard* ſent to adviſe with Marſhal *Tallard* upon *Gregg*'s propoſal.

Upon this *Gregg* wrote a letter to Marſhal *Tallard*, of which he ſaid he had no copy, but pretended to repeat the words of the letter to the Lords Committees.

The Lords Committees told *Gregg*, it would be expected by the Houſe, that he ſhould be very clear and particular, in declaring by what advice or encouragement he firſt began ſuch a correſpondence. He ſaid, by none at all: He was tempted to it by the devil, and the hopes of getting money.

He ſaid, that, upon hearing a *French* perriwig-maker was committed to *Newgate* for high-treaſon, he had deſired to be admitted again to the Lords of the Cabinet-Council. But he would not own, that he knew the man, but ſaid, he had ſince heard his name was *Valiere* or *Clarke*; he was told ſo by a Gentlewoman, who came to ſee him ſince his condemnation.

He ſaid, he held no correſpondence in *England*, but only in ſending the common letter of the Office, with other printed news-papers, to ſome Gentlemen.

Gregg ſaid, he had been long acquainted with one *Crookſhanks*, who promiſed him, that, if he would procure a *French* paſs, he ſhould have two hundred guineas; and *Gregg* undertook to procure the paſs.

The firſt time he wrote to Mr. *Chamillard* was the 24th of *October* laſt.

Brown, a Merchant, father-in-law to *Crookſhanks*, and one *Bellinger*, a Merchant, were acquainted with this

1707-8. " with much charge and trouble interrupted, and " in good meaſure ſuppreſſed, would be revived " to a greater degree than ever."

To this addreſs the Queen returned an anſwer, " That ſhe was ſorry, that any, who had " been employed by thoſe in her ſervice, ſhould " have proved falſe to their truſt, and injurious " to the public. That ſhe doubted not, the ex- " amples, laid before her by their Lordſhips, " would be a ſufficient warning to keep all mat- " ters of importance as ſecret as might be, and " to employ ſuch only, as there ſhould be good " grounds to believe would be faithful."

Gregg *is executed.*

After the preſenting of this addreſs, *Gregg* was reſpited about a month longer; but, ſtill refuſing to make any farther diſcoveries, he was executed at *Tyburn* on the 28th of *April* 1708. He left a paper with the Sheriff (1), wherein he intirely cleared Mr. *Harley*; though ſome ſuſpected that Gentleman to be the contriver of that paper, and aſcribed the compoſedneſs, which appeared in *Gregg*'s countenance, till he came to the place of execution, to a firm expectation, which he was made to entertain, of a reprieve; and others gave out, that he complained, *That there was no truſt in man*; while, on the other hand, the ſeven Lords of the Committee, appointed to examine him, were afterwards reproached 1707-8.

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this agreement about the paſs, and they dined together at *Brown*'s houſe; and *Brown* undertook for the money, if the paſs could be procured.

Gregg ſaid, he acquainted *Bollinger* of his having ſent a copy of the Queen's letter to Monſieur *Chamillard* at the *Croſs-Keys* Tavern in *Covent-Garden*, and ſhewed him extracts of Marſhal *Tallard*'s and *Robineau*'s letters. He ſaid alſo, that he read the extracts of their letters at another time in *Engliſh* to *Brown* and *Crookſhanks*.

The Lords Committees aſked him, To what end he told *Bollinger* of what he had done, in ſending the Queen's letter to Monſieur *Chamillard?* He only ſaid, It was downright madneſs.

The Lords Committees aſked him, If any body came to him? He ſaid, One Mr. *Arbuthnot* came to him, and no body elſe; and his buſineſs was to bring him charity.

The Lords Committees aſked Mr. *Gregg*, If he had no more to acquaint their Lordſhips with? He ſaid, No. And being told by them, that it concerned him very much to conſider of it; that the Lords had obſerved he told them nothing but what he knew they had means in their hands to be fully informed of, without his ſaying any thing; and how hard it would be for the Houſe of Lords to believe, that he would venture upon ſuch a correſpondence without ſome ſupport or encouragement; he perſiſted in it, that he had no more to ſay.

As the Lords Committees were riſen up, and had called for the Keeper to take Mr. *Gregg* away, he took a brown paper out of his pocket, which was ſealed up, and took out of it a paper, which he ſaid he had prepared againſt the Queen's birth-day, and deſired the Lords to read it. It purported to be a petition to the Houſe of Commons. He pretended he knew not how to get it delivered, becauſe he concluded all the papers, ſent by him, would be delivered to Mr. Secretary *Harley*.

The Lords, finding the paper to be addreſſed to the Houſe of Commons, told him, It was not proper for them to receive it, and delivered it immediately back to him.

The Lords Committees, as they went away, told *Gregg*, that if he would recollect himſelf, and ſet down in writing any thing, that he thought might be for his own ſervice, or of uſe to the Queen and her Government, he might ſend it to them, and the Keeper ſhould have directions to convey it ſafely.

The next morning *Gregg* ſent a letter to the Lords Committees; which, as ſoon as they had peruſed, they returned to him again by a Gentleman with the following meſſage:

" The Lords of the Committee have ordered me " to return this paper to you, they being of opinion, " that it is not material to the examination, for which " they were ſent to you by the Houſe."

The Lords Committees think themſelves obliged to acquaint the Houſe, that they did not obſerve *Gregg* to be under any diſorder or terror from the apprehenſion or ſenſe of his danger.

The indictment of *Gregg* for his treaſonable correſpondence with her Majeſty's enemies was brought before the Lords Committees; which indictment he confeſſed upon his trial, and judgment was thereupon given againſt him.

The Lords Committees do think it their duty to acquaint the Houſe, that they having been informed by means of the Keeper of *Newgate*, that one *William Gregg* had been formerly in *Newgate*, and indicted for counterfeiting the coin of the Kingdom; and that it was talked amongſt the turnkeys in the priſon, that this was the ſame man, they ſent to ſearch the books in *Newgate*, and found there, that, in *May* 1697, *William Gregg* and *Elizabeth Gregg* were indicted for counterfeiting the coin. Thereupon they ſent for Mr. *Tanner*, who has the cuſtody of thoſe records: He brought the indictment before them; and it appeared, that *Elizabeth Gregg* was found guilty and executed; but that *William Gregg* was acquitted; and *Thomas Holloway* and *Simon Newport* were the witneſſes at the trial, who, as was ſaid, are both dead ſince that time.

But one *Thomas Kinſerley* and *James Biddle* declaring, that they both knew that *Gregg*, who was then indicted, very well, and believed they ſhould know him again, if they ſaw him; the Lords Committees ſent them ſeverally to ſee *William Gregg* now in *Newgate*, and they both of them did declare, that they believed and were confident, that the ſame perſon, now in *Newgate*, was the ſame *William Gregg*, who was then indicted, and whoſe ſuppoſed wife was then found guilty, and burnt, and they did both of them voluntarily make oath to this effect; and *James Biddle* ſwore, that, after the trial, the diſcourſe in the neighbourhood was, that *Elizabeth Gregg* took the whole matter upon herſelf at the trial.

Their two affidavits are laid before your Lordſhips.

After one of theſe perſons had been to ſee *William Gregg*, *William Gregg* wrote a letter, directed to the Lords of the Committee, in which he did very poſitively deny, that he was the perſon, who had been tried for coining in *May* 1697.

(1) It was in theſe terms:

" The crime, I am now juſtly to ſuffer for, having " made a great noiſe in the world, a paper of more " than ordinary length will be expected from the cri- " minal, who therefore takes this laſt opportunity to " profeſs his utter abhorrence and ſincere repentance " of all his ſins againſt God, and of all the heinous " crimes committed againſt the Queen, whoſe for- " giveneſs I moſt heartily implore, as I ſhall heartily " pray for her Majeſty's long Life and happy Reign " over her united people, and ſucceſs againſt her ene- " mies, with my parting breath.

" This is all the ſatisfaction I can poſſibly make in- " jured Majeſty. I declare, in the next place, the " reparation I would make, were it in my power, to " thoſe of her Majeſty's ſubjects I have wronged in " any kind, and particularly the Right Honourable " *Robert Harley*, Eſq; whoſe pardon I heartily beg " for baſely betraying my truſt; which declaration, " though, of itſelf, ſufficient to clear the ſaid Gentle- " man; yet, for the ſake of thoſe, whom it was my " misfortune not to be able to ſatisfy in my life-time,

1707-8. proached with having endeavoured to ſuborn *Gregg*, and engage him, by a promiſe of pardon, to accuſe Mr. *Harley* (1).

Enquiry into the affairs of Spain. Burnet. Pr. H. C.

During theſe proceedings, an enquiry into the affairs of *Spain* was begun in both Houſes. The Earl of *Peterborough* had received ſuch poſitive orders for recalling him, that, though he delayed as long as he could, yet at laſt he came home in *Auguſt* 1707; but the Queen, before ſhe would admit him into her preſence, required of him an account of ſome particulars in his conduct, in military matters, in his negotiations, and in the diſpoſal of the money remitted to him; to which he made ſuch general anſwers, as gave little ſatisfaction; but ſeemed to reſerve the matter to a Parliamentary examination, which was now entered upon by both Houſes. All the Tories magnified his conduct, and ſtudied to detract from the Earl of *Galway*; but it was thought, that the Miniſtry were under ſome reſtraints with relation to the Earl, though he did not ſpare them; which gave occaſion to many to ſay, they were afraid of him, and durſt not provoke him. The Whigs, on the other hand, made ſevere remarks on his conduct. The complaints, which King *Charles* of *Spain* made of him, were read; upon which he brought ſuch a number of papers, and ſo many witneſſes to the bar, to juſtify his conduct, that after ten or twelve days, ſpent wholly in reading papers, and in hearing witneſſes, both Houſes grew equally weary of the matter; ſo that, without coming to any concluſion, or to any vote, they let all, that related to him, fall. But that gave them a handle to conſider the preſent ſtate of affairs in *Spain*; in which it was found, that of the twenty-nine thouſand three hundred and ninety-five *Engliſh* forces, provided by Parliament, for the ſervice of *Spain* and *Portugal*, in the year 1707, there was but eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty men in *Spain* and *Portugal*, at the time of the battle of *Almanza* (2), and that not above half the Officers, who belonged to thoſe bodies, ſerved there. This gave the Houſe of Commons a high diſtaſte; and it was hoped by the Tories, that they ſhould have carried the Houſe to ſevere votes and warm addreſſes on that head; which was much laboured by them, in order to load the Miniſtry. In this Mr. *Harley* and his party were very cold and paſſive; and it was generally believed, that the matter was privately ſet on by them. The Commons, on the 5th of *February*, addreſſed the Queen, deſiring that ſhe would 1707-8.

" I do ſacredly proteſt, that, as I ſhall anſwer it be-
" fore the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, the Gentleman
" aforeſaid was not privy to my writing to *France* di-
" rectly nor indirectly; neither I, his unworthy
" Clerk, any ways acceſſary to the miſcarriage before
" *Toulon*, nor the loſſes by ſea; all which happened
" before the firſt of my letters, which was writ the
" 24th of *October* 1707. As for my Creditors, as I
" am in no condition to ſatisfy them, ſo I earneſtly
" beg, they would forgive me; and I pray God to
" make up their loſſes ſeven-fold.

" For my part, I do freely forgive all men, and die
" in perfect charity with them, not without humble
" hopes of finding forgiveneſs, through the merits of
" *Jeſus Chriſt*, with God, who in mercy touched my
" conſcience ſo powerfully from the beginning, as to
" prevent my proſtituting the ſame to ſave my life;
" for which inſtance of his love, to be preferred before
" life itſelf, I bleſs and magnify his holy name with
" unſpeakable joy and comfort at my death, nothing
" near ſo ignominious as would have been ſuch a life.

" After this occaſion, the duty of a dying man
" leads me to profeſs the Religion, in which I was
" brought up, and do now die, which is the Proteſtant.
" The ſcandal given thereunto by my enormous prac-
" tices cannot be better taken away, than by my pub-
" liſhing to the world my hearty ſorrow for thoſe ſen-
" ſual pleaſures, which have proved my bane. There-
" fore let all, who ſhall read this poor paper, take
" warning by me to ſhun the like youthful luſts; to
" which whoever gives up himſelf, cannot tell how
" far they may, when indulged, carry him, even to
" the committing ſuch crimes, as he thought himſelf
" incapable of ſome time a day; of which truth I,
" to my woeful experience, am a melancholy inſtance.
" But, at the ſame time, I appeal to the Great God,
" before whom I am going to appear, that, notwith-
" ſtanding all the pains taken to make me out an old
" Offender, by faſtening on me the crime of coun-
" terfeiting the coin, this is the firſt fault, that ever
" I ventured upon; which was not out of any zeal
" for the Pretender, whom I not only diſown at my
" death, but ſolemnly declare, that, in all my life, I
" never thought he had a right to theſe Realms, how
" fooliſhly ſoever I may have rendered myſelf ob-
" noxious in this particular; but the only motive of
" my mad undertaking was money (of which I never
" received any) on account of the ſhip-paſs, though
" I have met with the more juſt reward of ſuch ſe-
" cret ſervices intended by

WILLIAM GREGG."

(1) Dr. *Swift*, in his *Examiners*, has ſeveral paſſages to this purpoſe.

In No. XXXII. for *March* 15, 1710-11, he writes thus: " And here it may be worth obſerving, how " unanimous a concurrence there is between ſome " perſons, once great in power, and a *French* Papiſt " [*Guiſcard*] both agreeing in the great end of taking " away Mr. *Harley*'s life, though differing in their " methods; the firſt proceeding by *Subordination*, the " other by violence; wherein *Guiſcard* ſeems to have " the advantage, as aiming no further than his life, " while the others deſigned to deſtroy, at once, both " that and his reputation. The malice of both " againſt this Gentleman ſeems to have riſen from the " ſame cauſe, his diſcovering deſigns againſt the Go- " vernment. It was Mr. *Harley*, who detected the " treaſonable correſpondence of *Gregg*, and ſecured " him betimes, when a certain Great Man, who ſhall " be nameleſs, had, out of the depth of his politics, " ſent him a caution to make his eſcape, which would " certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon " Mr. *Harley*; but, when that was prevented, they " would have inticed the condemned criminal with the " promiſe of a pardon, to write and ſign an accuſa- " tion againſt the Secretary. But, to uſe *Gregg*'s own " expreſſion, *his death was nothing near ſo ignominious,* " *as would have been ſuch a life, that muſt have been* " *ſaved by proſtituting his conſcience.*" Dr. *Swift* repeats the ſame charge in the *Examiner*, No. XXXIII. and was anſwered in the *Medley*, No. XXVI. and in a pamphlet, printed in 1711 in 8*vo*, intituled, *A letter to the ſeven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine* Gregg.

(2) By the Earl of *Galway*'s liſt of the forces in *Spain* (p. 8, of this Volume) there were

preſent at the battle of *Almanza*, ——	8910
In quarters and garriſons, ——	3702
Priſoners, —— —— ——	1850
Officers and ſervants of ſix regiments reduced a little before the battle, ——	1189
In all	15651

1707-8. would order an account to be laid before them, how it came to paſs, that there were no more *Engliſh* forces in *Spain* and *Portugal* at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, and that ſhe would uſe her utmoſt endeavours that the war in *Spain* might be vigorouſly and effectually proſecuted.

Feb. 18. To this addreſs the Queen ſent an anſwer, by which it appeared, that, though by death and deſertion the number of the troops in *Spain* was much diminiſhed, yet the whole number provided, or at leaſt very near it, was ſent out of *England*. Notwithſtanding this anſwer, the Commons renewed the addreſſes they had preſented before, about the forces maintained by the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, to which the Queen gave the following anſwer: "That, in "relation to that part of the addreſs, which "concerned the forces of the King of *Spain*, "her Majeſty has ordered to be laid before the "Houſe a liſt of the troops provided by the "King of *Spain*, for the ſervice of the year "1707: And, in relation to the troops of *Por-* "*tugal*, her Majeſty had, ever ſince the treaty "with that Crown, given directions to her Mi-"niſters there, to uſe all poſſible means, that "his Majeſty ſhould furniſh the whole number "of men agreed for by the treaty: And ſhe "hoped, that thoſe inſtances had, in a great "meaſure, had their deſired effect." At the ſame time ſhe obſerved, "That the methods of "diſcipline there made it impoſſible to know "the number of thoſe troops with the ſame ex-"actneſs, as is practiſed in other parts. And "conſidering with what chearfulneſs and ſucceſs "they marched through *Spain* to *Madrid*, and "the loſſes they ſuſtained; and being very well "aſſured, that the King of *Portugal* had lately "raiſed, and was ſtill raiſing a conſiderable "number of forces; her Majeſty had not "thought it adviſable to make too nice an in-"quiry into the ſtate of thoſe troops; eſpecially, "ſince ſhe was very ſenſible how diligent the "enemy was in making continual applications, "to break an Alliance of ſo great importance "to the common cauſe."

The next day the Commons took into conſideration the Queen's anſwer to their addreſs of the 5th of *February*, and the queſtion being put, "That the deficiency of the *Britiſh* troops "in *Spain* and *Portugal*, at the time of the "battle of *Almanza*, had been chiefly occaſioned "by the want of timely and effectual recruits "being ſent thither? It paſſed in the negative; and, on the contrary, an addreſs was voted and preſented to the Queen by the whole Houſe, "returning her the thanks of the Houſe, for "her taking meaſures to reſtore the affairs in "*Spain*, and for providing foreign troops for "that ſervice." To which the Queen replied, "That ſhe had always looked upon the war "of *Spain* to be of ſo great importance to us, "that ſhe could never fail of continuing her ut-"moſt application to ſupport it in the moſt ef-"fectual manner; and that the ſatisfaction they "had expreſſed, in their addreſs for her endea-"vours in this matter, was extremely acceptable "to her." The ſervice in *Spain* was much decried, and there was good reaſon for it: Things there could not be furniſhed but at expenſive rates, and the ſoldiers were generally ill uſed in their quarters, and were treated very unkindly, not by King *Charles*, but by thoſe about him, and by the bigotted *Spaniards*.

1707-8. Feb. 27.

Proceedings in relation to Scotland. Pr. H. L. Burnet.

The ſame day the addreſs about the forces in *Spain* was preſented to the Queen, there was a great debate in the Grand Committee of the Houſe of Lords, occaſioned by a bill paſſed by the Commons, *for rendering the Union of the two Kingdoms more intire and compleat*; whereby, in the firſt place it was enacted, "That, from "the firſt of *May* 1708, there ſhould be but "one Privy-Council in the Kingdom of *Great-* "*Britain*." All the Court was againſt this bill. Thoſe, who governed *Scotland*, deſired to keep up their authority there, with the advantage they made by it; and they gave the Miniſters of *England* great aſſurances, that by their influence elections might be ſo managed, as to ſerve all the ends of the Court; but they ſaid, that without due care theſe might be carried ſo, as

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The Earl of GALWAY's *Reaſons why the reſt were abſent.*

The eſtimate granted for *Spain* and *Portugal*, for the ſervice of the year 1707, amounts to,	29393
To make up which number, there were in *Spain*, at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, according to the return made by the Earl of *Galway* to the Houſe of Commons, beſides a battalion of guards, three of marines, a detachment of *Carpenter*'s and *Eſſex*'s dragoons,	13759
To which is to be added, the two regiments of foot of Colonel *Hill*'s and Sir *Charles Hotham*'s, twice demanded for in the ſaid eſtimate, and therefore muſt be once deducted, making,	1710
The Earl of *Barrimore*'s regiment, which had been reduced by the Earl of *Peterborough*, and was, at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, raiſing in *England*,	876
The ſervants of the Officers belonging to the ſeveral regiments actually in *Spain*, and not reduced at the time of the battle of *Almanza*,	1833
The widows men for all the regiments then in *Spain*, as allowed by Act of Parliament,	151
The Earl of *Galway* having already taken credit in his account, for the Officers and Servants belonging to the regiments of *Farrington*, *Hamilton*, *Mohun*, *Brudenell*, *Allen*, and *Toby Caulfield*, that were reduced ſome time before the battle of *Almanza*, but ſtill in *Spain*, there remains to be charged, in this account, the private men only of thoſe regiments, whoſe pay was ſtopped, and applied to their levying again in *England* that very year,	3741
The Non-commiſſion Officers, and private men of *Bleſſet*'s regiment, which make a part of the twenty-nine thouſand, three hundred and ninety-five, and are not charged in my Lord *Galway*'s account of effectives, becauſe they were reduced by my Lord *Rivers*, and incorporated into *Syburgh*'s,	622
	22692

So there only remains, out of the twenty-nine thouſand, three hundred, and ninety-five men provided for by

BRITISH MUSEUM

LORD CARLETON.

Kneller pinxit

In the Collection of the Right Hon: the Earl of Burlington.

J. Faber fecit

Impensis I. & P. Knapton Londini 1742.

1707-8. as to run all the contrary way. This was the ſecret motive; yet this could not be owned in a public aſſembly; and therefore that, which was pretended, was, that many great families in *Scotland*, with the greateſt part of the *Highlanders*, were ſo ill-affected, that without a watchful eye, ever intent upon them, they could not be kept quiet. It lay at too great a diſtance from *London* to be governed by orders ſent from thence. To this it was anſwered, that by the circuits of the Juſticiary Courts, and by Juſtices of Peace, that Country might be well-governed, notwithſtanding its diſtance, as *Wales* and *Cornwal* were. The bill had been carried in the Houſe of Commons by a great majority, that there ſhould be only one Privy-Council for the whole Iſland. But, in the Houſe of Lords, it met with a conſiderable oppoſition. The Court ſtood alone; all the Tories, and the much greater part of the Whigs, were for the bill. The Court, ſeeing the party for the bill ſo ſtrong, were willing to compound the matter; and whereas, by the bill, the Council of *Scotland* was not to ſit after the firſt of *May*, the Court moved to have it continued to the firſt of *October*. It was viſible, that this was propoſed only in order to the managing elections for the next Parliament; for which reaſon the Lords adhered to the day prefixed in the bill. But a new debate aroſe about the power given by the bill to Juſtices of Peace, which ſeemed to be an incroachment on the juriſdiction of the Lords *Regalities*, and of the Hereditary *Sheriffs* and *Stewards*, who had the right of trying criminals, in the firſt inſtance, for fourteen days time; yet it was ordinary, in the caſes of great crimes and riots, for the Privy-Council to take immediate cognizance of them, without any regard to the fourteen days: So that by this act the Juſtices of Peace were only impowered to do that, which the Privy-Council uſually did; and, except the occaſion was ſo great, as to demand a quick diſpatch, it was not to be doubted, but that the Juſtices of Peace would have great regard to all private rights. Yet, ſince this had the appearance of breaking in upon private rights, this was much inſiſted on by thoſe, who hoped, by laying aſide theſe powers given to the Juſtices of Peace, to have gained the main point of keeping up a Privy-Council in *Scotland*. For all the *Scots* Miniſters ſaid, that the Country would be in great danger, if there were not a ſupreme Government ſtill kept up in it. But it ſeemed an abſurd thing, that there ſhould be a different Adminiſtration, where there was but one Legiſlature. While *Scotland* had an intire Legiſlature within itſelf, the Nation aſſembled in Parliament could procure the correction of errors in the Adminiſtration; whereas now, that it was not a tenth part of the Legiſlative body, if it was ſtill to be kept under a different Adminiſtration, that Nation could not have ſtrength enough to procure a redreſs of its grievances in Parliament; by which means they might come to be ſubdued and governed as a Province. And 1707-8. the arbitrary way, in which the Council of *Scotland* had proceeded ever ſince King *James* the Firſt's time, but more particularly ſince the Reſtoration, was freſh in memory, and had been no ſmall motive to induce the beſt men of that Nation to promote the Union, that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the Council; and their hopes would be ſtill diſappointed, if they were ſtill kept under that yoke. This point was in concluſion yielded, and the bill paſſed by a Majority of fifty Lords againſt forty-five, though to the great diſcontent of the Court. There was a new Court of *Exchequer* created in *Scotland*, according to the frame of that Court in *England*. Special acts were made for the elections and returns of the Repreſentatives in both Houſes of Parliament; and ſuch was the diſpoſition of the *Engliſh* to oblige them, and the behaviour of the *Scots* was ſo diſcreet, that every thing, that was propoſed for the good of their Country, was agreed to: Both Whigs and Tories vied with one another, who ſhould ſhew moſt care and concern for the welfare of that part of *Great-Britain*.

On the 11th of *February* there happened an important change in the Adminiſtration in *England*, for Mr. *Henry Boyle*, uncle to the Earl of *Burlington*, and Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, was made Secretary of State, in the room of Mr. *Harley*. Probably the affair of *Gregg*, *Valiere*, and *Bara*, which in ſome meaſure affected Mr. *Harley*'s credit, made him more earneſt to bring about a change in the conduct of affairs, in which he relied on the credit of the new favourite, Mrs. *Maſham*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Lord-Treaſurer, having diſcovered many of his practices, laid them before the Queen, who would believe nothing, that was ſuggeſted to his prejudice. Her Majeſty denied, that ſhe had given any authority for carrying meſſages to the Tories; but would not believe, that he or his friends had done it, nor would ſhe enter into any examination of his ill conduct, and was uneaſy, when ſhe heard it ſpoke of. Theſe Lords wrote therefore to the Queen, that they could ſerve her no longer, if he was continued in that poſt; and, on the *Sunday* following, when they were ſummoned to a Cabinet Council, they both went to the Queen, and told her, that they muſt quit her ſervice, ſince they ſaw, ſhe was reſolved not to part with Mr. *Harley*. Her Majeſty ſeemed not much concerned at Lord *Godolphin*'s offering to lay down; and it was believed to be a part of Mr. *Harley*'s new ſcheme to remove him; but ſhe was much touched with the Duke of *Marlborough*'s offering to quit, and ſtudied, with ſome ſoft expreſſions, to divert him from that reſolution: But he was firm, and did not yield to them. Upon this they both went away, to the wonder of the whole Court. Immediately after, the Queen went to the Cabinet Council; and Mr. *Harley* opened ſome matters relating to foreign

Harley *quits, and* Boyle *is made Secretary of State in his room.* Burnet.

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by Parliament, ſix thouſand, ſeven hundred and three, either Officers or Soldiers to be accounted for by loſs in tranſportation, by death, deſertion, and by abſence on account of ſickneſs, or recruiting; to ſupply which defects, one battalion of guards, three of marines, and a detachment of dragoons were ſent to *Spain*, and four regiments of foot to *Portugal*, which were not a part of the eſtabliſhment for *Spain* or *Portugal*, but were effectually four thouſand, ſeven hundred and ninety-two men.

GALWAY.

(1) The

1707-8. reign affairs. The whole Board was very uneasy; the Duke of *Somerset* said, That he did not see how they could deliberate on such matters, since the General was not with them. He repeated this with some vehemence, while all the rest looked on so cold and sullen, that the Cabinet Council was soon at an end; and the Queen saw, that the rest of her Ministers, and the chief Officers, were resolved to withdraw from her service, if she did not recall the two, who had left it. It was said, that she would have put all to the hazard, if Mr. *Harley* himself had not apprehended his danger, and resolved to lay down. The Queen sent the next day for the Duke of *Marlborough*, and, after some expostulations, she told him, that Mr. *Harley* should immediately leave his post, which he did within two days. But the Queen seemed to carry a deep resentmen of his and the Lord *Godolphin*'s behaviour on this occasion; and, though they went on with her business, they found they had not her confidence. The Duchess of *Marlborough*, for some weeks, abstained from going to Court; but afterwards, that breach was made up in appearance, though it was little more than an appearance. Both Houses of Parliament expressed a great concern at this rupture in the Court, and apprehended the ill effects, which it might have. The Commons let the bill of Supply lie on the table, though it was ordered for that day. Upon Mr. *Harley*'s removal, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, the Attorney-General, Sir *Thomas Mansell*, Comptroller of the Household, and Mr. *St. John*, Secretary at war, laid down likewise their posts (1).

A descent designed upon Scotland. Burnet. Hist. of *Eur.* Pr. H. C.

A few days after this breach at Court, the Nation was suddenly alarmed with the news of an invasion. The *French* King, to retaliate the late attempt upon *Toulon*, resolved to carry the war into *Great-Britain*, by sending the pretended Prince of *Wales* to *Scotland* with a fleet and army, to possess himself of that Kingdom, being induced thereto by the hopes given him, 1707-8. that the *Scots* were so highly discontented on account of *the Union*, as to be ripe for a revolt, and ready to join him on his arrival amongst them. The necessary preparations for the expedition were carried on at *Dunkirk* with all imaginable diligence, and with such secrecy, that the design was rather guessed at than known, till the Pretender himself set out from *St. Germains*, when it was no longer a mystery, that he intended to make a descent upon *Scotland*. The day before his departure, the *French* King went to *St. Germains* to take his leave of him, and wish him success; presented him with a sword inriched with diamonds of a considerable value, and desired him always to remember, that it was a *French* sword. The Chevalier *de St. George* (for this was the name the Pretender assumed in this adventure) answered the compliment with assuring him, "That, if it was his "good fortune to get possession of the Throne "of his Ancestors, he would not content him-"self with returning him thanks by Letters and "Ambassadors, but would shew his gratitude "by deeds: Nay, he would come in person to "acknowledge his Majesty's protection and as-"sistance." To which the *French* King replied, *He hoped never to see him again.* Upon his arrival at *Dunkirk*, the Pretender was furnished with very fine tents, a large set of gold and silver plate of curious workmanship, clothes for his future life-guards, liveries for his household, and other necessaries; towards the charge of which, and of this armament, the Pope was said to have contributed a considerable sum of money (2). The Pretender's motto upon the colours and standards were, *Dieu & mon Droit*, "God and my Right:" *Nil desperandum Christo duce & auspice Christo*, "I ought not to despair, "since Christ is my guide and helper:" And *Cui venti & mare obediunt, impera, Domine, & fac*

March 7. N. S.

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(1) The Duchess of *Marlborough*, in *the account of her Conduct*, p. 252, &c. speaks of this affair in the following terms: The Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin* had often told the Queen in the most respectful manner, that it was impossible for them to do her any service, while Mr. *Harley* was in her confidence. Her Majesty nevertheless seemed determined not to part with him, till at length those two Lords, being urged by necessity to it, declared their resolution to serve no longer with him; and they absented themselves from the Council. Mr. *Harley* would have proceeded to business without them, when the Council met; but the Duke of *Somerset* said, he did not see how it could be to any purpose, when neither the General nor the Treasurer was present; whereupon the Council immediately broke up. This had such an effect upon the Queen, that, very soon after, Mr. *Harley* was dismissed from his post. Such a compliance with the Ministers seemed to the eye of the world a very great concession, but was in truth nothing. For it was evident by what followed, that this appearance of giving up Mr. *Harley* was with his own consent, and by his own advice, who, as long as Mrs. *Masham* continued in favour, would, under pretence of visiting her, who was his Cousin, have all the opportunities he could wish for, of practising upon the passions and credulity of the Queen; and the method of corresponding with him had been settled some time before.—I was fully apprized of all this, *continues the Duchess*; yet I resolved to try, if by being easy and quiet I could regain any influence with her Majesty. She had given me some encouragement to hope it. For when, a little before Mr. *Harley*'s dismission, Lord *Marlborough* resolved to quit the service; and when, on that occasion, I had with tears (which a tender concern at the thought of parting from her Majesty made me shed) represented to her, that, if the Duke retired, it would be improper, and even impossible for me to stay at Court after him; she declared, that *she could not bear the thought of my leaving her; and that it must never be.* And at that time she made me a promise, that if ever I should leave her (*which*, she again said, *must never be*) she would bestow my offices among my children. Nay, the Whigs had some reason to flatter themselves about this time, that her Majesty would become better disposed to them, than she had hitherto been. The Pretender's attempt to land in *Scotland*, which happened about this time, gave her an alarm, that seemed to bring a conviction along with it, *that the Whigs were the most to be depended upon for the support of her Government*; at least what she said, in answer to the Lords address upon the occasion, had this appearance. But as the danger presently blew over, and as her fears ceased with the cause of them, so all the hope, which the Whigs had raised in themselves from those fears, presently vanished.

(2) The *French* King wrote the following letter to the Pope, upon occasion of the Pretender's expedition:

Holy Father,

"The great zeal, which I have always had to re-"establish on the Throne of *England* King *James* "*Stuart* III. is well known to you; though there was "not

1707-8. *fac tranquillitatem*; "Thou, Lord, whom the "winds and ſea obey, command, that it be "calm."

The preparations of the *French* at *Dunkirk* gave great uneaſineſs to the *States-General*, who concerted with the *Britiſh* Miniſters the neceſſary meaſures for diſpelling the ſtorm, which ſeemed to threaten her *Britannic* Majeſty's Dominions, of which they gave timely information to the Queen; as did likewiſe her Envoy, Major-General *Cadogan*, who had early intelligence of the deſign from a *Jew* reſiding at *Dunkirk*.

The Commons acquainted with it. March 4. Upon this Mr. Secretary *Boyle* acquainted the Commons, "That her Majeſty had command-"ed him to lay before the Houſe ſeveral advices "received the night before, and that morning, "of great preparations at *Dunkirk*, for an im-"mediate invaſion upon *England* by the *French*, "and of the pretended Prince of *Wales*'s being "come to *Dunkirk* for that purpoſe." The letters and extracts relating thereto being read, it was unanimouſly reſolved to preſent the following addreſs to her Majeſty, in which the Houſe of Lords readily concurred.

The addreſs of both Houſes upon it. March 5.

"We your Majeſty's moſt faithful and obe-"dient Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Tem-"poral and Commons of *Great-Britain* in Par-"liament aſſembled, do beg leave to return our "moſt hearty thanks to your Majeſty for be-"ing graciouſly pleaſed to communicate to "your Parliament the intelligence you have re-"ceived of an intended invaſion of this King-"dom by the pretended Prince of *Wales*, ſup-"ported by a *French* power.

"We are ſo ſenſible of the happineſs we "enjoy under your Majeſty, and are ſo affected "with the dangerous conſequences of ſuch an "attempt, both to your Perſon and Govern-"ment, that, with hearts full of concern for "your Majeſty's ſafety, we beſeech your Majeſ-"ty; that you will be pleaſed to take particular "care of your Royal Perſon: And we, on our "parts, are fully and unanimouſly reſolved to "ſtand by and aſſiſt your Majeſty with our "lives and fortunes, in maintenance of your "undoubted right and title to the Crown of "theſe Realms, againſt the pretended Prince "of *Wales*, and all other your enemies both at "home and abroad.

"The care your Majeſty has taken for the "defence of your Dominions, and particularly "in fitting out ſo great a fleet in ſo ſhort a "time, gives ſatisfaction and encouragement to "all your good Subjects, who are likewiſe very "ſenſible of the zeal the *States-General* have "ſhewn upon this occaſion.

"As a further inſtance of our duty, we "humbly deſire, that you will be pleaſed to or-"der, that the laws againſt Papiſts and Non-1707-8. "jurors be put in execution; and that direc-"tions be given to ſeize and ſecure ſuch per-"ſons, with their horſes and arms, as your "Majeſty ſhall have cauſe to ſuſpect are diſaf-"fected to your Perſon and Government.

"And as we doubt not, but, by the bleſſing "of God upon the continuance of your Ma-"jeſty's care, your enemies will be put to con-"fuſion, ſo we readily embrace this opportuni-"ty, to ſhew to your Majeſty and the whole "world, that no attempts of this kind ſhall de-"ter us from ſupporting your Majeſty in a vi-"gorous proſecution of the preſent war againſt "*France*, till the Monarchy of *Spain* be reſto-"red to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and your Ma-"jeſty have the glory to compleat the recovery "of the liberties of *Europe*."

To this addreſs her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer in the following terms:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have ſuch intire dependence on the pro-"vidence of God, and ſo much truſt in the "faithful ſervices of my good Subjects, that I "hope this attempt will prove dangerous only "to thoſe, who undertake it.

"I am extremely ſenſible of your concern "and affection for Me and my Government, "and ſhall have a very particular regard to the "advice you give me upon this occaſion.

"I am alſo very well pleaſed with the juſ-"tice, which you have done the *States-General*, "in taking notice of their timely care for our "ſafety, and their readineſs to give us all poſſi-"ble aſſiſtance,

"The firm reſolution, which you expreſs "upon all occaſions, of ſupporting me in bring-"ing this war to a ſafe and happy concluſion, "as it is moſt eſſentially obliging to me; ſo I "aſſure myſelf, it will mightily diſhearten our "common enemies, and give the greateſt en-"couragement and advantage to all our Allies."

The Parliament paſſed two bills; the one, that the abjuration might be tendered to all perſons, and that ſuch as refuſed ſhould be in the condition of convict recuſants. By the other, the *Habeas Corpus* act was ſuſpended till *October*, with relation to perſons taken up by the Government on ſuſpicion. The Pretender and his Adherents were proclaimed Traitors and Rebels.

Preparations abroad againſt the invaſion. Upon the firſt notice of the *French* armament in *Dunkirk*, Major-General *Cadogan* repaired to *Bruſſels*, and concerted with Monſieur *d'Auverquerque* the march of the *Britiſh* forces to be ſhipped off for *Great-Britain*, and how to ſupply

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"not hitherto a time proper for it, as well by reaſon "of the conjunctures, as by the unity of my enemies, "which did not give me leave to act in ſo righteous a "cauſe for our holy faith, the chief object of all our "actions. We have now thought good to let him "depart from our Royal ſeat, on the 7th of *March*, "in order to embark himſelf on board a fleet, where "every thing has been prepared for him, with ſuffi-"cient forces to eſtabliſh him on the Throne, after "he ſhall have been received on his arrival by the "faithful people of *Scotland*, and proclaimed as their "true and lawful King. I have thought it fit not to "omit ſending you this important news, that by your "ardour the Union of our Holy Mother the Church "may increaſe in that Kingdom, and that God may "proſper him, whilſt the time is favourable. It is "now, Holy Father, your buſineſs to accompany him "by your zeal with your holy benedictions, which I "alſo aſk for myſelf; and I remain, Holy Father, "your moſt loving Son,

Verſailles, March 9, 1708. LOUIS."

1707-8. ply their room in their ſeveral garriſons. From *Bruſſels* he went to *Ghent*; and having conferred with General *Lumley*, the Governor of that place, and Commander in chief of the *Britiſh* troops, orders were given to ten battalions, one of the guards, two of *Orkney*'s, one of *Argyle*'s, one of *Primroſe*'s, one of *Lalo*'s, one of *Howe*'s, one of *Ingoldeſby*'s, one of *North* and *Grey*'s, and one of *Godfrey*'s, to hold themſelves in readineſs to march at an hour's warning. This done, *Cadogan* repaired to *Oſtend*, to forward the preparations, which, by his early directions, were making there for the embarking of thoſe regiments, as ſoon as there ſhould be certain advice, that the twelve *French* battalions, that were to attend the Pretender in his expedition, were actually on board. On the other hand, the Admiralty of *Great-Britain* fitted out a fleet with ſuch incredible diligence, that (without diminiſhing the convoy provided for the *Liſbon* fleet, which conſiſted of twelve *Britiſh*, and five *Dutch* men of war, under the command of Sir *John Leake*, Sir *George Byng*, and the Lord *Durſley*, ſailed from *Deal* towards the coaſt of *Dunkirk*, on the 27th of *February*, *O. S.* in the morning, with twenty-three *Britiſh* and three *Dutch* men of war, and one *Britiſh* fire-ſhip. The ſame day, about noon, Sir *George Byng* came to an anchor in *Gravelin Pits*; and, immediately after, went into a ſmall frigate, and ſailed within two miles of *Flemiſh Road*, from whence he had a proſpect of the ſhips, that lay there; and, the next day, learned from a fiſherman, taken off the ſhore, the number and ſtrength of the enemy's ſhips; that about ten thouſand men were in and about *Dunkirk*, ready to imbark; that they expected every day ſeveral ſhips from *Breſt*; and that the Pretender was come to *Gravelin* in his way to *Dunkirk*; where he arrived on the 9th of *March*, *N. S.* in the morning.

The *French*, who imagined, that Admiral *Leake* might by this time have ſailed for *Liſbon*, and conſequently, that *Great-Britain* was unprovided of ſhipping, were ſo confident of the meaſures they had taken, that they publickly boaſted, That God alone could diſappoint their deſigns. But ſo great was their ſurprize, upon the *Britiſh* fleet's appearing off *Mardyke*, that a ſtop was put to the imbarkation of their troops, and frequent expreſſes were diſpatched to *Paris* for new orders. The Count *de Fourbin*, who commanded the enemy's ſquadron, having repreſented to the *French* King, that he might indeed get out of *Dunkirk* harbour, and perhaps land the troops; but that he could not anſwer for his Majeſty's ſhips (1); that Monarch, who 1707-8. was fully determined on this expedition, ſent him poſitive orders to reimbark his troops, and to put to ſea with the firſt fair wind. In the mean time, the enemy gave out, that their diſembarking of the troops at *Dunkirk* was upon account of the Pretender's being indiſpoſed with the meaſles, attended with an ague; but, as ſoon as the *French* King's laſt orders came, that pretence vaniſhed; the Prince was ſaid to be perfectly recovered; and Count *Fourbin* having, on the 14th of *March*, *N. S.* received advice from *Boulogne*, that the *Britiſh* fleet, being forced from their ſtation by high winds, was ſeen off that place, ſteering, on the 13th, for the *Downs*, they began, at two in the afternoon, to reimbark their forces. The wind turning fair for them on the 17th of *March*, *N. S.* they took that opportunity, and ſailed at four in the afternoon from the road of *Dunkirk*; but, the wind changing about ten at night, they were obliged to come to an anchor in *Newport-Pits*; where they continued till the 19th, at ten in the evening, when, the wind changing, they ſet ſail again, ſteering their courſe for *Scotland*. On the other hand, the fleet under the command of Sir *George Byng*, which came back into the *Downs* the $\frac{8}{13}$ of *March*, and was ſince reinforced to the number of above forty men of war of the line of battle, beſides frigates and fireſhips, ſet ſail again the $\frac{15}{17}$ on a ſignal given by one of the ſcouts, who obſerved ſix ſhips to the weſtward, ſuppoſed to be the *Breſt* ſquadron. On the $\frac{20}{30}$th, at ten in the morning, Sir *George Byng*, who was then between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, received intelligence by an *Oſtend* ſhip, ſent out by Major-General *Cadogan*, of the ſailing of the *Dunkirk* ſquadron from *Newport-Pits*: Upon which he called a Council of war, and, according to the reſolution taken in it, ſailed immediately in purſuit of the enemy; having firſt made a detachment of a ſtrong ſquadron, under the command of Admiral *Baker*, with inſtructions to convoy the troops, that were imbarked at *Oſtend*, and to look after the ſhips ſtill remaining in *Dunkirk* road.

In the mean time, the Parliament proceeded with great unanimity and vigour in their reſolutions, for the ſupport of the Government againſt the Pretender and his Adherents. They paſſed a bill to diſcharge the Clans of *Scotland* from their vaſſalage to their heads, who ſhould take up arms againſt the Queen. This bill was chiefly owing to Major-General *Stanhope*, and Sir *David Dalrymple*; but, the enemy not landing

(1) He obſerves in his *Memoirs*, that he had no opinion of this enterprize. 'All the time I ſtaid at Court, *ſays he*, I made ſeveral attempts to perſuade the Miniſters to drop an enterprize, which I ſaw would be ſo unprofitable: I quite tired myſelf with repreſenting the inconveniencies of it; I told the Prime Miniſter again and again, that the beſt we could make of it would be an unprofitable and diſhonourable cruize; that I was thoroughly mortified at his Majeſty's having made choice of me for an expedition, which had all the evidence of being attended with ill ſucceſs: That, if a deſcent was made, the ſix thouſand men would ſurely be loſt, and the forces of the Kingdom diminiſhed in proportion, beſides the ſcandal of giving into a chimerical enterprize, which ought to be looked upon as a mere dream. The anſwer to all this was, *The loſs of the ſix thouſand men gives us no trouble*; *the King of* England, forſooth, ſo they miſcalled the Pretender, *muſt be ſatisfied.* I never could get any thing elſe out of the Miniſtry. The night before I ſet out for *Dunkirk*, I went to Court to take my leave of the King: Monſieur *Le Count*, ſaid his Majeſty, *You are ſenſible of the importance of your Commiſſion, I hope you will diſcharge it like yourſelf. Sir*, replied I, *Your Majeſty does me a very great honour, but, if you will vouchſafe me a moment's audience, I have ſeveral things to repreſent to you concerning this Commiſſion.* The King, who had been informed by the Miniſter of the objections I had made to it all along, only ſaid, *Monſieur* Fourbin, *I wiſh you a good voyage, I have affairs upon my hands, and cannot hear you now.*'

1707-8. ing in *Scotland*, the bill had no effect. On the 10th of *March*, the Queen came to the House of Peers, and made a speech to both Houses, importing, "That she had received advices that "morning from *Ostend*, that the *French* fleet "sailed from *Dunkirk* on *Tuesday*, at three in "the morning, northward, with the Pretender "on board: That Sir *George Byng* had notice "of it the same day at ten, and he being very "much superior to the enemy, both in number "and strength, her Majesty made no question, "but, by God's blessing, he would soon be "able to give a good account of them. That "she had also advice, that ten battalions of her "troops were embarked at *Ostend*, ready to sail "with their convoy, as there should be occa-"sion: And that she should continue to take all "proper measures for disappointing the enemy's "designs." Hereupon the House of Commons unanimously voted the following remarkable address, which was presented to the Queen by the whole House:

Most gracious Sovereign,

The Commons address. March 15. "WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament assembled, humbly wait on your Majesty, to express the great "sense we have of your grace and favour, in "communicating to us from the Throne the "account of the *French* King's persisting to "invade your Dominions, and to impose a "Pretender upon these Realms, over which "your Majesty is rightful and lawful Sovereign.

"The small number of ships and troops, "with which this project is prosecuted, notwith-"standing the great naval force your Majesty "has fitted out with so much expedition, as it "ought to be regarded with contempt on the "one side, so on the other it gives us just cause "to believe, that their chief dependence is up-"on some of your subjects, whose restless pas-"sions and arbitrary principles have, for some "years, engaged them in forming designs to "undermine and destroy the most happy Esta-"blishment, that the Government of this Island "was ever founded upon.

"The defence of your Majesty's Person and "Government, and the support of the Protes-"tant Succession, are things so sacred to us "and your people, that, as a demonstration of "our unfeigned zeal to assist and support your "Majesty to the utmost of our power, we do, "in the name of the Commons of *Great-Bri-"tain*, give this assurance, that whatever charge "you shall be at by augmenting your troops "at home, and replacing those you have re-"called from abroad, or for such other services, "as your Majesty shall judge necessary upon this "extraordinary occasion, shall be effectually "made good. And as we humbly recommend "it to your Majesty, that the severest punish-"ments may be inflicted upon such, as shall "assist in so unnatural a design, as that of be-"traying your Majesty and their Country; so "we doubt not but you will give suitable en-"couragement to all those, who shall shew their "fidelity, by opposing the Invader and his Ac-"complices in *Scotland*, or wherever the descent "shall be.

"Your Majesty wants no incitement to a "steady prosecution of the war, in which you "are engaged for the common cause; yet per- 1707-8.
"mit us to take this opportunity to intreat "your Majesty, that this enterprize may no "ways divert your constant vigour, that all the "world may see, that both your Majesty and "your People are determined to support your "Allies in all parts, whatever attempts are "made at home.

May it please your Majesty,

"There can be nothing so dangerous or fatal "to the safety of your Royal Person, and the "security of the present happy establishment, "as those persons, who endeavour to create di-"visions and animosities among your faithful "Subjects, or by any artful methods lessen the "just esteem your Majesty has for those, who "have so eminently, and in so distinguishing a "manner, commanded your armies, and ma-"naged your treasure, to the honour and glory "of your Majesty abroad, and the intire satis-"faction of your people at home. We there-"fore humbly beg leave to beseech your Ma-"jesty to discountenance all such persons and "designs in the most remarkable manner."

The Queen's answer to this address was:

Gentlemen,

"I Give you my hearty thanks for this repeat-"ed assurance and certain proof of your "zeal for me, and for the Protestant Succession.

"I am glad your thoughts of the war abroad "so perfectly agree with my firm resolution "upon that subject.

"You may depend, that no apprehensions "(further than are reasonable) shall have any "influence on my measures, while the cause of "Religion and Liberty, with the good affec-"tions of my People, are on my side.

"I think all, who endeavour to make divi-"sions among my faithful Subjects, must be "mine and the Kingdom's enemies; and I shall "never countenance any persons, who would go "about to lessen the just esteem, which I have "for those, who have done, and continue to do "me, the most eminent services."

The Lords address was as hearty as that of the Commons, and, among other expressions of equal truth and affection, they said,

"We hope your Majesty will always have a "just detestation of those persons, who, at any "time, when this hellish attempt was a-foot, "and so near breaking out, were using their "endeavours to misrepresent the actions of your "best Subjects, and create jealousies in your "Majesty of those, who had always served you "most eminently and faithfully. And we be-"seech your Majesty not to give so just a cause "of uneasiness to your people, as to suffer any "such hereafter to have access to your Royal "Person.

"We hope for this good effect from so un-"happy an occasion, that the universal zeal, "which will appear for the preservation of your "Majesty's Government and the Protestant "Succession, will unite us to one another, and "cure our mistakes and misapprehensions, which "have been so industriously and maliciously im-

"proved.

1707-8. " proved. But nevertheleſs we moſt humbly " offer it to your Majeſty as our opinion, that " your Majeſty ſhould principally depend upon " and encourage thoſe, who have been ever " ſince the Revolution moſt ſteady and firm to " the intereſt of the late King, and of your " Majeſty during your happy Reign."

Her Majeſty's anſwer to this addreſs was in theſe terms:

My Lords,

" I Am extremely ſenſible of your zeal and " concern for the ſafety of my Perſon and " Government, and very well pleaſed to find " your thoughts agree ſo exactly with mine, " that no attempt of our enemies againſt us at " home ſhould divert us from proſecuting the " war abroad with the greateſt vigour, the " hopes of which has probably been one of " their principal motives to ſo preſumptuous an " undertaking.

" As I cannot but wiſh there were not the " leaſt occaſion of diſtinction among my Sub- " jects; ſo I muſt always place my chief de- " pendence upon thoſe, who have given ſuch " repeated proofs of the greateſt warmth and " concern for the ſupport of the Revolution, " ſecurity of my Perſon, and of the Proteſtant " Succeſſion."

Remark on the variation of the Queen's ſtile in her ſpeeches.

The Queen, being much alarmed with the danger of this invaſion, ſaw with what falſhoods ſhe had been abuſed by thoſe, who pretended to aſſure her there was not now a Jacobite in the Nation. For this reaſon ſhe was obſerved to make a remarkable variation in her ſtile. She had never in any ſpeech mentioned the Revolution, or thoſe who had been concerned in it. And many of thoſe, who made a conſiderable figure about her, ſtudied, though againſt all ſenſe and reaſon, to diſtinguiſh her title from the Revolution, on which it was plainly founded, and on nothing elſe. But in this anſwer and another ſpeech ſhe named the Revolution twice, and ſaid, ſhe would look on thoſe concerned in it as the ſureſt to her intereſts. She alſo fixed a new deſignation on the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and called him *the Pretender* (particularly in her ſpeech at the cloſe of this Seſſion) and he was ſo called in a new ſet of addreſſes, which, upon this occaſion, were made to the Queen.

The Engliſh *forces march towards* Scotland.

Beſides the ten *Engliſh* battalions, which *Cadogan* had embarked at *Oſtend*, and which, ſailing from thence the 28th of *March*, *N. S.* under the convoy of Admiral *Baker*, arrived three days after at *Tinmouth*, the firſt and ſecond troop of life-guards, a ſquadron of horſe grenadiers, the Duke of *Northumberland*'s regiment of horſe-guards, the dragoons of *Eſſex* and *Carpenter*, a detachment of ſixteen men out of each company of the firſt and ſecond regiments of foot-guards, making a compleat battalion, and ſeveral regiments of foot, were ordered to march towards *Scotland*, whither the Earl of *Leven*, Commander in chief of the forces in that part of *Great-Britain*, and Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, went poſt betimes, to provide for the ſecurity of that important fortreſs, and to make all the neceſſary diſpoſitions to baffle any attempts, which the enemy could make on that ſide. Several regiments, in the South parts of *Ireland*, were at the ſame time commanded towards the North of that Kingdom, from whence, if occaſion had required, they might, with eaſe, have been tranſported into *Scotland*. But all the precautions by land proved wholly unneceſſary, by the diſappointment of the enemy's deſign at ſea, of which Sir *George Byng* gives an account in two letters of the 13th and 15th of *March*, from on board the *Medway*, the firſt whereof is as follows: " According to the opi- " nion we had framed, when we left the ſtation " off *Dunkirk*, it has proved, that the enemy " was deſigned for *Edinburgh*. This morning " we ſaw the *French* fleet in the mouth of the " *Frith*, off of which place we anchored the laſt " night, and ſent a boat a-ſhore to the Iſle of " *May*, from whence we had an account, that " the *French* came to an anchor yeſterday in " the afternoon. They ſent one ſhip up into " *Leith-Road*, which had a flag at the main- " top-maſt head. They report it, a blue one; " but we are rather of opinion, that it is the " ſtandard. The people of the Iſland ſay, that, " by the time that ſhip could get up before the " town, they heard ſeveral guns fire, which " were in the manner of a ſalute. The ſhip, " that went up yeſterday, came down this morn- " ing, and is now within two leagues of us. " She appears to be a ſhip of ſixty guns, but " has now no flag on board. We ſaw this " morning, when they weighed, a flag at the " main top-maſt head, on board of one of their " ſhips. They ſtand from us, and we after " them, with all the ſail we can."

The ſecond letter, dated from *Leith-Road*, was as follows: " We chaced the enemy to " Northward of *Buccaneſs*, ſometimes with rea- " ſonable hopes of coming up with them. The " *Dover* and *Ludlow-Caſtle*, being the only " clean-ſailing ſhips we had, they were the " firſt, which came up with part of the ene- " my's ſquadron, paſſing by ſome of the ſmaller, " to engage ſome of the larger ſhips, and ſtop " them till they could be relieved. They at- " tacked two or three of their ſhips, among " which was the *Saliſbury:* They did not part " with them, till more of our ſhips arrived, " but worked their ſhips in a handſome man- " ner, to cut them off from the reſt of the fleet; " but in the darkneſs of the night they all got " out of ſight, except the *Saliſbury*, who fall- " ing in amongſt our head-moſt ſhips, the *Leo- " pard* entered men on board her. We are in- " formed by the Officers, who were taken, that " there were twelve battalions on board their " ſquadron, commanded by Count *de Gacé*, a " Marſhal of *France*. The pretended Prince " of *Wales*, Lord *Middleton*, Lord *Perth*, the " *Mac-Donalds*, *Trevanion*, and ſeveral other " Officers and Gentlemen, were on board the " *Mars*, in which alſo was Monſieur *Fourbin*, " who commanded the ſquadron. The num- " ber and ſtrength of their ſhips are very near the " account we lately received from *Dunkirk*; nor " were they joined by the *Breſt* men of war. " And they further aſſure us, that the ſhips, " our out-ſcouts ſaw off *Calais*, were privateers, " and their prizes going into *Dunkirk*. The morn- " ing after this chace we ſaw but eighteen of " the enemy's ſhips, as far as we could perceive " them from the maſt-head, in the Eaſt North- " eaſt of us. Having no proſpect of coming " up with them, we lay off and on *Buccaneſs* " all day yeſterday, to gather our ſhips toge-

1707-8. "ther; and this day, it blowing hard at North-
"East with a great ſea, judging the enemy
"could not ſeize the ſhore to make any attempt,
"we bore up for this place; which was thought
"moſt reaſonable; not only to ſecure, but to
"give countenance and ſpirit to her Majeſty's
"faithful ſubjects, and diſcourage thoſe, that
"could have thoughts of being our enemies (1)."

Sir *George Byng* having loſt ſight of the *French*, and conſidering, that the *Frith* was the ſtation of the greateſt importance, as well as ſafety, and was the place where they deſigned to land, put in there, till he could hear what courſe the *French* ſteered, who were not heard of in *England* till a fortnight after. Three of their ſhips landed near the mouth of *Spey*, only to refreſh themſelves; for, the ſhips being ſo filled with landmen, there was a great want of water. At laſt all their ſhips got ſafe into *Dunkirk*. The landmen either died at ſea, or were ſo ill, that all the hoſpitals in *Dunkirk* were filled with them. It was reckoned, that they loſt above four thouſand men in this unaccountable expedition; for they were above a month toſſed in a very tempeſtuous ſea. If they had landed, it might have had an ill effect on our affairs, chiefly with relation to all paper-credit; and if by this the remittances had been ſtopped, in ſo critical a ſeaſon, that might have had fatal conſequences abroad; for, if the Nation had been put into ſuch a diſorder at home, that foreign Princes could no more reckon on its aſſiſtance, they might have been diſpoſed to hearken to the propoſitions, which the King of *France* would then probably have made to them.

The Lord High-Admiral thanked by the Commons. P. H. C. Mar. 24.

The Houſe of Commons, upon a ſuggeſtion, that Sir *George Byng* might have deſtroyed the whole *Dunkirk* ſquadron, if his ſhips had been clean, reſolved to preſent an addreſs to her Majeſty, "That ſhe would be pleaſed to give di-
"rections, that an account might be laid before
"the Houſe of the number of ſhips, which went
"in the expedition with Sir *George Byng*, and
"when the ſame were cleaned:" Which account having been laid before the Houſe, and examined, it was reſolved, "That the thanks
"of this Houſe be given to his Royal High-
"neſs, the Lord High-Admiral, for his great
"care in ſo expeditiouſly ſetting forth ſo great 1707-8.
"a number of ſhips, whereby the fleet, under
"the conduct of Sir *George Byng*, was inabled
"ſo happily to prevent the intended invaſion."
Which was accordingly done.

Some days before, the Commons came to an unanimous reſolution, "That whoever deſign-
"edly endeavoured to deſtroy or leſſen the pub-
"lic credit, eſpecially at a time, when the
"Kingdom was threatened with an invaſion,
"was guilty of an high crime and miſdemean-
"or, and was an enemy to her Majeſty, and the
"Kingdom." And indeed, the moſt dangerous effect of the enemy's intended invaſion, was the occaſioning great demands upon the Bank of *England*; which viſibly tending to the ruin of its credit, with which that of the *Exchequer* was cloſely connected, the Miniſtry thought proper to apply a ſpeedy remedy to that evil. In order to that, the Lord-Treaſurer ſignified to the Directors of the Bank, that her Majeſty would allow, for ſix months, an intereſt of ſix *per cent.* upon their bills, which before were only three *per cent.* And, at the ſame time, his Lordſhip offered them a conſiderable ſum of money; as did alſo ſeveral other Peers, particularly the Dukes of *Marlborough*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Somerſet*. On the other hand, the Directors of the Bank having reſolved to call in twenty *per cent.* upon their capital ſtock, they were in a condition to anſwer the demands of the moſt importunate, among whom were reckoned, firſt, the diſaffected, who improved that conjuncture to diſtreſs the Government with impunity; ſecondly, the timorous uſurers, who were unreaſonably alarmed at the intended invaſion; and laſtly, the goldſmiths, who having, in great meaſure loſt the advantageous trade, which they carried on with the money, that private perſons lodged in their hands, before the eſtabliſhment of the Bank of *England*, had ever ſince endeavoured to ruin its credit. One of theſe, Sir *Richard Hoare*, was ſo concerned at his being reflected on, as having contributed towards the run upon the Bank, that he was very ſollicitous to vindicate himſelf as to that particular. But it was obſerved, to the honour of the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Jewiſh* Merchants, that they were ſo

Reſolution for preſervation of the public credit. Pr. H. C. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

Mar. 23.

(1) Mr. *de Gacé* (who commanded the land-forces, and was for this unſucceſsful ſervice made a Marſhal of *France* by the title of Marſhal *de Matignon*) gave alſo an account of the invaſion to Mr. *de Chamillard* in a letter dated at *Dunkirk* in *April*: 'I had the honour to acquaint you with our embarkation at *Dunkirk* the 17th paſt; and you ſhall ſee by the following journal what has happened ſince till our return.

The 17th, at four in the afternoon, the Chevalier *de Fourbin* ſet ſail with the fleet; but, about ten in the evening, the wind proving contrary, we were obliged to caſt anchor in the *Downs* off *Newport*, where we were detained the 18th and 19th. The *Proteus*, on board of which were four hundred landmen; the *Guerrier* and the *Barentin*, with two hundred men each, were obliged, by the high winds, to put back into *Dunkirk*. The ſame day, the 19th, at ten in the evening, the wind having chopped about, we ſet ſail again; and, having purſued our courſe the 20th, 21ſt, and 22d with a ſtrong gale, we made the *Frith* of *Edinburgh* the 23d in the morning, and in the evening caſt anchor at the mouth of it. The 24th in the morning, as we made ready to enter the *Frith*, we diſcovered a great number of ſhips, which we ſoon found to be the enemy's ſquadron to the number of twenty-eight ſail, whom we judged to be the ſame, that had appeared off *Dunkirk*; whereupon Monſieur *de Fourbin* reſolved to bear off by the favour of a land-breeze, which very luckily carried us from the enemy. They purſued us pretty cloſe all that day, the 24th, and, four of the beſt ſailors being come up with our ſternmoſt ſhips, the enemy's foremoſt ſhip attacked, at four in the afternoon, the *Auguſt*, with whom they exchanged ſome guns for ſome time; after which the *Engliſh* bore down upon the *Salisbury*, which was more a-ſtern, and endeavoured to put her between themſelves, and another *Engliſh* ſhip, that was coming up to her. The fight between theſe two ſhips, and ſome others on both ſides, laſted till night; during which time the *Salisbury* made a great fire with their ſmall arms.

Our fleet being diſperſed, and the enemy near us, Monſieur *de Fourbin* ſteered falſe during the night, which had a good effect; for the next day, the 25th, we found ourſelves with twenty ſail at a conſiderable diſtance from the enemy; whereupon I diſcourſed with Monſieur *de Fourbin*, to know of him, Whether, having miſſed our landing in the *Frith* of *Edinburgh*, we might not attempt it in another place? He propoſed to me *Inverneſs*, which is a very remote part in

1707-8. ſo far from calling in the money they had in the Bank, that, on the contrary, they carried more into it, to ſupport its credit.

Report ſpread by the French. Burnet. Lamberti.

Thus the intended invaſion was totally defeated, without its having the leaſt ill effect on the affairs of *Great-Britain*, tho' the Court of *France* had been ſo ſecure of ſucceſs, that their King wrote a circular letter to his Miniſters in *Rome*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, and other neutral places, directing them to declare in his name, "That he "had been long of opinion, that the aſſiſting the "King of *England* to poſſeſs the Throne of his "anceſtors would be for the general good of "all *Europe*. That he believed, that a peace "would be the conſequence of its ſucceſs: And "that this Prince's ſubjects would eſteem themſelves equally happy, in contributing to re-eſtabliſh him in the place of his predeceſſors, "and in being themſelves delivered from thoſe "continual impoſitions, wherewith they were "overwhelmed, to maintain a war altogether "foreign to them. That, as the *Scots* had yet "more reaſon than the *Engliſh* to be diſſatisfied "with the preſent Government of *England*, it "appeared to him a convenient opportunity to "reſtore to that Nation their lawful Sovereign, "and to inable the Prince to deliver it from "the oppreſſion it had ſuffered ſince the *Revolution*, which happened under the late King "of *England*, *James* the Second. That theſe "were the reaſons, which had determined him "to equip a ſquadron of his ſhips at *Dunkirk*, "and to furniſh the King of *England* with a "conſiderable number of his troops, to accompany him to *Scotland*, to ſupport thoſe his "faithful ſubjects, who ſhould declare for him. "That he [the pretended King of *England*] "left *Verſailles* the 7th of *March*, *N. S.* to go "to *Dunkirk*, in order to embark, and get, with "all expedition, to *Scotland*. That his intention was not to enter the Kingdom by right "of conqueſt, but to oblige them to receive "him as legal poſſeſſor of it. That he would "behave himſelf in like manner with reſpect to "all his other Dominions, that ſhould pay the "obedience they owed him; and his ſubjects "would only be diſtinguiſhed according to the "zeal and affection they ſhewed for him, without examining what Religion they profeſſed, "in which he left them to their intire liberty." The *French* King concluded, "That he had no "thoughts of enlarging his power, by aſſiſting "to re-eſtabliſh this Prince: That it was ſufficient, that he did an act of juſtice, in vindicating the honour of crowned heads, highly "affronted in the perſon of the late King, his "Father; and his wiſhes would be intirely accompliſhed, if (by God's bleſſing on his endeavours) the ſucceſs became the means of "procuring a laſting peace, ſo neceſſary to all "*Europe*."

1707-8.

When theſe Miniſters received this circular letter, they had likewiſe advice ſent them, which they publiſhed both at *Rome*, *Venice*, and in *Switzerland*, that the *French* had, before this expedition was undertaken, ſent over ſome ſhips with arms and ammunition to *Scotland*: And that there was already an army on foot there, that had proclaimed this pretended Prince, King. It was ſomewhat extraordinary to ſee ſuch eminent falſhoods publiſhed all *Europe* over: They alſo affirmed, that hoſtages were ſent from *Scotland* to *Paris*, to ſecure the obſerving the engagements, they had entered into; though all this was fiction and contrivance (1).

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in the North of *Scotland*; and we went immediately to ſpeak of it to the King of *England*, who entertained the motion with joy, and told us, *We ought to concert together the meaſures, that were to be taken, and he would purſue our reſolutions.*

The buſineſs now was to get pilots to conduct us thither, and give us the neceſſary notices. But there being none in our ſquadron, that was acquainted with that port, Monſieur *de Fourbin* detached a frigate with the Sieurs *Caron* and *Bouyn*, to fetch ſome from the Cape of *Buccaneſs*. All that day, the 25th, we ſteered with a pretty favourable wind towards the North of *Scotland*; but, about eleven at night, there aroſe a ſtrong contrary wind, which having continued the next day with violence, Monſieur *de Fourbin* told me, it was high time to acquaint the King with the inconveniencies of purſuing our courſe, which were the inevitable diſperſion of our fleet; the danger, which the ſhips, that ſhould be ſeparated, would be in, either of falling into the enemy's hands, or of periſhing on the coaſt, if they were driven thither; and even the wanting of proviſions.

The impoſſibility the Sieurs *Caron* and *Bouyn* found of approaching the ſhore, by reaſon of the ſtormy weather, and conſequently of bringing pilots to guide us; the uneaſineſs and dangers of landing in a port we were ſtrangers to, and where the enemy might come up again with us, together with other hazards and difficulties, having been repreſented to the King by Monſieur *de Fourbin* in the preſence of the Duke of *Perth*, my Lord *Middleton*, Mr. *Hamilton*, my Lord *Galmoy*, and Meſſieurs *de Beauhornois* and *d'Andrezel*, the King of *England*, with the unanimous advice of all thoſe Gentlemen, reſolved to return to *Dunkirk*, where we could not arrive before this day, by reaſon of the calms and contrary winds.'

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(1) *Lockhart*, in his *Memoirs* (p. 342, &c.) has given us a large account of the grounds, on which the ſucceſs of this undertaking was founded. As ſoon as the *Union* took place, two Commiſſions were appointed for managing the Cuſtoms and Exciſe of *Scotland*, being partly *Engliſh*, and partly *Scotſmen*; but, at the ſame time, vaſt numbers of Surveyors, Collectors, and other Officers, being ſent down from *England*, and executing the new laws with all rigour, were ſo grievous to the People, that men of all ranks and perſuaſions reſented the loſs of the Sovereignty, and were eaſily perſuaded by the Pretender's friends, "That "nothing but the Reſtoration of the Royal Family "by the means of *Scotſmen* could reſtore them to "their rights." Nor were many of the Nobility and Gentry leſs deſirous to ſee the Pretender amongſt them; and therefore had, for ſome time paſt, preſſed his coming over, as the luckieſt opportunity for reſtoring him, and advancing the intereſt of *France*, by giving a diverſion to the *Engliſh*. Upon the repeated inſtances of the Court of *St. Germain's*, and the ill ſucceſs of the *French* arms in 1706, the *French* King began to reliſh the propoſal, and ſeemed in earneſt to do ſomething for the Pretender; but, before he proceeded any farther, he ſent over Colonel *Hookes* to get intelligence, and treat with the *Scots*. It was the opinion of many, that *Hookes* was pitched upon by the Court of *France*, as one, who would follow their directions, and aſſerted, That he ſhewed more concern to raiſe a civil war (which was what the *French* King chiefly wanted) than to promote the Pretender's ſervice and intereſt. However that was, it is certain, he rather widened than made up the diviſion he found among the *Scots* Jacobites, which was occaſioned, by a miſunderſtanding between the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol*. *Hamilton* claimed merit upon account of his paſt actions,

1708. *The Parliament diſſolved.*

The Seſſion of Parliament was cloſed the 1ſt of *April*, ſoon after defeating the deſign of the invaſion. The Queen made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Cannot conclude this Seſſion, without acknowledging the wiſe and ſpeedy proviſions, which you have made for the public ſecurity.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I am alſo to thank you in particular, for the large and timely Supplies, which you have provided for the effectual proſecution of the war. I aſſure you, they ſhall be carefully and punctually applied to the uſes for which they are appointed.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I take theſe (eſpecially at this juncture) to be ſuch undeniable proofs of your zeal and affection to my ſervice, as muſt convince every body of your doing me the juſtice to believe, that all which is dear to you, is perfectly ſafe under my Government; and muſt be irrecoverably loſt, if ever the deſigns of a Popiſh Pretender, bred up in the principles of the moſt arbitrary Government, ſhould take place. 1708.

" I am ſatisfied, that very falſe repreſentations of the true inclinations and intereſts of my people muſt have been made by ſome of my ſubjects, who have given encouragement to this deſperate attempt; ſince, without ſomething of that nature, it ſeems very little conſiſting with the uſual precaution of our enemies, to hazard the expence of ſo vain and ill-grounded an undertaking. However, it is certain, we muſt be all inexcuſable, if we do not take warning from this attempt, to compleat what may be neceſſary for our ſecurity at home, and the diſcouraging the like for the future; to which, by God's bleſſing, nothing ſhall be wanting on my part.

" And to the ſame end I muſt recommend to you, at your return into your Counties, to

" uſe

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tions, his intereſt, and qualifications; and *Athol* valued himſelf on the intereſt he had got of late with the North-country Gentry, and the great numbers of men he could raiſe. Many, being diſguſted with the Duke of *Hamilton* for his equivocal behaviour in the laſt *Scots* Parliament, inclined to think, that the Duke of *Athol* would venture further for the Pretender; which, as it piqued the one, ſo it elevated the other; and this jarring went ſo far, that ſome of the Duke of *Athol*'s Partizans railed openly at the Duke of *Hamilton*, and pretended to do all themſelves. Others, again, reflecting on the Duke of *Athol*'s conduct on ſeveral occaſions, were afraid he was not firm, but acted rather from a deſire of revenging himſelf of the Courtiers, who had ſlighted him, than a true principle of loyalty to the Pretender; and, conſidering that he was by no means qualified to be the head of a party, thought he was not to be humoured ſo far, as to diſguſt the Duke of *Hamilton*. For, though the latter's cautious behaviour in concerting meaſures was not approved, yet the Jacobites being perſuaded of his intire affection to their cauſe, and convinced, at the ſame time, that he was abſolutely neceſſary to be with the Pretender, by reaſon of his intereſt, courage, and conduct, and particularly his dexterity in managing the different parties; upon all theſe conſiderations they thought he was to be reſpected, and adviſed with; and therefore recommended him to the Earl of *Middleton*, who, agreeing with them, repreſented him to the Pretender, as the fitteſt perſon to ſerve him in *Scotland*. But the Duke of *Perth*, who intirely differed from the Earl of *Middleton*, ſoon cloſed with the Duke of *Athol*; and, having more intereſt with the Prieſts and *Roman* Catholics than the Earl of *Middleton*, prevailed ſo far with the Court of *France*, or at leaſt with *Hookes*, that *Hookes*, upon his arrival in *Scotland*, in the beginning of *March* 1707, made his chief application to, and concerted meaſures with his correſpondent, the Duke of *Athol*. Beſides his credentials from the Pretender and *French* King, impowering him to treat with the people of *Scotland*, *in order to bring about the King's reſtoration, and to recover the Nation's ſovereignty, and ancient privileges*; Colonel *Hookes* produced a paper, containing ſeveral queries drawn by the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, relating to the number of men, that could be raiſed in *Scotland*; the conveniencies for ſubſiſting and quartering troops, and carrying on a war; and the number of forces, ſums of money, and quantities of arms and ammunition, neceſſary to be ſent from *France*. A diſtinct anſwer being made to each query, containing a full account of the ſtate of affairs, particularly the inclination of the people to venture all for the Pretender's ſervice, and earneſtly intreating him to come over as ſoon as poſſible; that paper was ſigned by the

Duke of *Athol*,	Lord *Nairn*,
Lord *Drummond*,	*Fatheringhame* of *Powrie*,
Earl of *Errol*,	*Lyon* of *Auchterhouſe*,
Earl of *Strathmore*,	*Graham* of *Fintree*,
Viſcount of *Stormount*,	*Drummond* of *Logie*,
Lord *John Drummond*,	*Ogilvy* of *Boyne*,

and others, and it was then delivered to Colonel *Hookes*, who carried it to *France* in *May* 1707. It is to be obſerved, that he had brought over letters from the Pretender to the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Earl *Mariſchal*; but, before he tranſmitted thoſe letters to them, he had ſo cloſely attached himſelf to the Duke of *Athol*, and made ſuch advances in the treaty, that the Duke of *Hamilton* and Earl *Mariſchal* highly reſented their being thus diſregarded, and did not think fit to ſend their anſwers by *Hookes*, but choſe another hand to communicate their thoughts to the Earl of *Middleton*. Hereupon *Hookes* ſent them impertinent threatening letters; and when he arrived in *France*, flushed with the ſucceſs of his embaſſy, he triumphed over the Earl of *Middleton*, whom, and his friends in *Scotland*, he accuſed of backwardneſs to ſerve the Pretender. Before he imbarked for *France*, he had aſſured the Jacobites, that their King would be with them by the month of *Auguſt* following; but, before that time came, notice was ſent to *Scotland*, that the attempt could not be made ſo ſoon. There being afterwards little appearance of its being executed, people began to ſuſpect, that, the *French* King's affairs being ſomewhat retrieved by the battle of *Almanza*, he reſerved the deſign in favour of the Pretender to another occaſion; which ſurmiſe proceeded from a well-grounded jealouſy, that the Court of *France* regarded him no farther, than they thought him ſubſervient to their own intereſt and private views. Of this opinion was the Duke of *Hamilton*, who having waited till the end of *January* 1707-8, without ſeeing any effect of the *French* King's promiſes, and his affairs requiring his preſence in *England*, he ſet out from *Kenriel* with his Ducheſs and family towards *Lancaſter*. The third day he was on his journey, an expreſs from Captain *Straton* informed him, that he had certain advice, that the Pretender would proceed on his expedition before the middle of *March*; whereupon the Duke ſeemed extremely perplexed what to do; but, after ſome conſideration,

1708. " uſe your utmoſt care and diligence in putting " the laws in execution againſt Papiſts, and all " others diſaffected to my Government, and in " making them pay towards the public taxes, " to the full of what the law requires from " them; nothing being more reaſonable, than " that they, who, by their principles and prac- " tices, encourage (if not actually foment) ſuch " diſturbances, ſhould doubly contribute to the " charge of quieting them, and ſecuring the " Kingdom's peace; and ſhould know them- " ſelves, on all ſuch occaſions, to be reſponſi- " ble for the many inconveniencies that may " enſue."

Then the Parliament was prorogued to the 13th of *April*; and, two days after, was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued out for the elections of a new Parliament. On the 26th of *April*, a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all the Peers of *North-Britain* to aſſemble at *Holy-hood Houſe* in *Edinburgh*, the 17th of *June*, to nominate and chuſe, by open election, the ſixteen Peers, who were to ſit and vote in the Houſe of Peers in the enſuing Parliament of *Great-Britain*, purſuant to the twenty-ſecond article of the treaty of Union; and accordingly the Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Montroſs*, and *Roxburgh*; the Marquiſs of *Lothian*; and the Earls of *Orkney*, *Crawford*, *Rothes*, *Leven*, *Mar*, *Loudoun*, *Wemys*, *Roſeberry*, *Glaſgow*, *Northeſk*, *Seafield*, and *Ilay*; ſome of whom were juſtly ſuſpected of diſaffection to the preſent Settlement. But in *England*, the juſt fears and viſible dangers, to which the attempt of the invaſion had expoſed the Nation, had ſo good an effect, that the elections, for the moſt part, fell on men well-affected to the Government, and zealouſly ſet againſt the Pretender. 1708.

The Lord Griffin *and others committed to the* Tower. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

Four days after the diſſolution of the Parliament, *Edward Griffin*, late Lord *Griffin*, *John* Lord *Clermount*, and *Charles Middleton*, two ſons of the Earl of *Middleton*, and Colonel *Francis Wauchope*, who had been taken on board the *Saliſbury*, were brought up to *London*; and, having been examined by a Committee of the Privy-Council, were committed priſoners to the *Tower* for high-treaſon, by warrant of the Earl of *Sunderland*, Secretary of State; and, two days after, the following *Iriſh* Officers, taken alſo

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ration, he reſolved to proceed on his journey, as a maſk to cover his real deſign; and, in the mean time, directed Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwath*, who had accompanied him ſo far, inſtantly to repair to the Shire of *Lanerk* to raiſe their friends, and lead them to *Dumfries*, where he promiſed to meet him, and where he was ſure to be joined with a great number of horſe and foot. Beſides the good diſpoſitions and ſolemn aſſurances of the Pretender's friends, the Court of *France* had reaſon to expect ſucceſs in *Scotland*; for the regular troops there did not exceed two thouſand five hundred men, moſt of whom were diſaffected, and ready to join the Pretender: The garriſons, being unprovided with warlike ſtores, muſt have yielded at the firſt ſummons: A good part of the *Equivalent* money, being in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, would have helped to carry on the war: And a fleet of *Dutch* ſhips had ſome time before run a-ground on the coaſt of *Angus*, in which was a vaſt quantity of ammunition, beſides cannon and ſmall arms, and a great ſum of money, which the Jacobites of that country would have ſecured. So that all things ſeemed to concur to give ſucceſs to the attempt upon *Scotland*. As ſoon as the *French* fleet was ready to ſail, the Pretender diſpatched Mr. *Charles Fleming*, brother to the Earl of *Wigton*, to acquaint his friends in *Scotland* therewith; and with him he ſent ſeveral copies of a paper, containing inſtructions to his party how they were to behave, particularly deſiring them not to ſtir till they were ſure he was landed; and that then they ſhould ſecure all the money, horſes, arms, and proviſions, that were in the hands of ſuch as were not well-affected to him, and even their perſons, if poſſible; and Mr. *Fleming* was to provide pilots to meet him at the mouth of the *Frith* of *Forth*, and guide his fleet up the ſame, being reſolved to land on the South-ſide thereof, at or about *Dunbar*.

Mr. *Fleming* arriving at *Slains*, the Earl of *Errol* immediately ſent him to *Perthſhire*, where he communicated his inſtructions to ſuch as he thought proper. The Earl of *Errol* likewiſe ſent Mr. *George*, a Skipper in *Aberdeen*, to be ready to go from *Fifeneſs* with Mr. *Malcolm* of *Grange*, to pilot the Pretender up the *Frith*; and farther deſired him to go over the water to *Edinburgh*, to advertiſe Captain *Straton* and Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwath* of Mr. *Fleming*'s arrival and inſtructions. The appearance of the *French* fleet in the *Frith*, as it wonderfully elated the ſpirits of the Jacobites, ſo it ſtruck no ſmall terror into the well-affected. However, the Magiſtrates and Corporation of the City of *Edinburgh* ſhewed ſuch zeal and readineſs to aſſiſt the Government, and ſuch care and diligence were uſed in obſerving and ſecuring ſuſpected perſons, that, by this means, together with the ſpeedy march of ſome *Engliſh* forces northwards, and Sir *George Byng*'s continuing in *Leith-Road*, till certain news came of the Pretender's return to *Dunkirk*, the peace of *Scotland* was happily preſerved.

Mr. *Lockhart*, from whom this account is extracted, obſerves, p. 375, that the reaſons alledged by the Marſhal *de Matignon*, in his letter to Monſieur *Chamillard*, for not landing in the North or Weſt of *Scotland*, were frivolous. 'And yet, *ſays he*, conſider the want of reſolution and firmneſs, that has of late appeared in the *French* counſels; and it is not improbable, that, having miſſed of the firſt aim of landing in the *Frith*, and being afraid of the *Engliſh* fleet's falling upon them, they might be at a ſtand, and deſpair of ſucceeding. But is it not ſtrange they ſhould have undertaken ſuch an expedition, and not reflected upon, and been provided with orders for all accidents, that might happen? And was it ſo extraordinary a thing, that they could not foreſee, that the *Engliſh* fleet, which was then at ſea, might have endeavoured to prevent the landing in the *Frith*; and yet on ſuch an emergency leave all to the Admiral's own diſpoſal? But ſince, as I mentioned before, the King was ſo preſſing to have landed in the North, I am apt to believe *Fourbin* had ſecret orders from his Maſter, which he did not communicate to the King. And therefore I cannot altogether condemn thoſe, who are of opinion, that the *French* King did never deſign the King ſhould land; for being fully perſuaded and ſatisfied, that the *Scots* were zealouſly bent to riſe in arms, he might think, that, upon his fleet's arrival on the coaſt, they would have appeared; and having once ſet the Iſland by the ears together, and kindled a civil war, he might ſpare his men and money, and reſerve the King in his power, to ſerve him on another occaſion. Elſe, ſay they, why did he not ſend ſuch a number of forces, as was capitulated? For the Treaters demanded ſix or ſeven thouſand, and others ten thouſand; which was promiſed, and yet they were but betwixt four and five thouſand, and, thoſe none of the beſt; neither was the ſum of money, nor quantity of arms, and other warlike ſtores, near ſo great as was demanded and agreed to. And ſince he had been at ſo much charge in equipping this expedition, and made ſuch a noiſe of it all the world over, Why did they not land in the North or Weſt, where they could meet with no oppoſition? It is true, indeed, the South-ſide of the *Frith* was the place adviſed, and moſt proper (though other places, both in the North and Weſt, had been ſpoke

1708. alſo on board the ſame ſhip, were, for the ſame crime, committed to *Newgate*: *Edward Fitzgerald*, *Oliver Bourk*, *Daniel Baily*, *Stephen Connor*, *Conſtance Kiefe*, *Michael Pendergaſt*, *Edmund Fitzgerald*, *Teague Macmahon*, *Cleary*, ——*Fitzmorris*, ——*O Sullivan*, ——*Maccarty*, ——*Fannon*, ——*Denovan*, ——*Hymes*, and *Anthony Stanburker*. Several perſons were likewiſe ſeized in *Scotland*, and ſent up to *London* (1).

Compliment on Sir George Byng by the City of Edinburgh.

Before Sir *George Byng* ſailed from *Leith-Road* to the *Downs*, he was viſited by Sir *Patrick Johnſton*, Repreſentative in the late Parliament for the City of *Edinburgh*, in the name of the Magiſtracy of that City; and preſented with an inſtrument, whereby he was made a citizen of *Edinburgh*, incloſed in a gold box, and accompanied with a letter from Sir *Samuel Meldrum*, Lord Provoſt of that City, wherein he "deſired the Admiral to accept of it, as a "mark of their high reſpect to him, who had "been the happy inſtrument of ſo ſeaſonable a "deliverance to this Iſland, for which his me-"mory would be honoured in future ages." 1708. Not many days after Sir *George Byng* arrived at Court, and was received, both by the Queen, and her Royal Conſort, with thoſe marks of favour, which his late eminent ſervices had deſerved. All this while, the Miniſters of ſeveral foreign Princes and States had audiences of the Queen and Prince, to congratulate the diſappointment of the Pretender's deſign on *North-Britain*; but, on the 7th of *April*, Signior *Cornaro*, Ambaſſador from the Republic of *Venice*, was forbid the Court, upon account of ſome diſreſpect ſhewn by the Cuſtom-Houſe Officers of *Venice* to the *Gondola*, and two boatmen of the Earl of *Mancheſter*,

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ſpoke of too) becauſe the North-Country was ſecure againſt any attempts, and well inclined to ſerve the King, and the landing on the South-ſide of the *Frith* gained them *Edinburgh*, and opened a communication betwixt the North and the South, and the Weſt of *Scotland* and North of *England*. But ſure the difference betwixt Weſt, South, and North, was not ſo great, as, if any one failed, the whole deſign was fruſtrated. But not to inſiſt further on the *French* King's ſecret deſigns (which are all myſteries to us) this is certain, that, had the *French* managed their affairs right, they might have landed even in the *Frith*; for, had they ſailed their courſe directly from *Newport-Pits*, they might have reached it a day ſooner than they did; but, in place thereof, though they knew the *Engliſh* fleet was in queſt of them, and that *England* and all the world knew of their deſign, they ſtood out ſo far to the North-ſeas, for fear, as they ſince alledged, of alarming *England*, that the firſt ſight they had of *Scotland* was near thirty miles to the North of *Aberdeen*; and ſo, though they had the ſtart by near a day of Sir *George Byng*, yet he arrived in the *Frith* in a few hours after them; and one of their ſhips, which proved leaky, and was obliged to return to *Dunkirk*, and remained there two days after they ſailed, reached the *Frith* ſeveral hours before them. And if it was true, as I have been informed, that the *French* King's orders to *Fourbin* were, that, provided he could land on any place on the South of the *Frith*, rather than loſe the opportunity, he allowed him to deſtroy his ſhips, and join his ſeamen to the land-forces; Why did they drop their anchors at the mouth of the *Frith*, and loſe half a day and a whole night? For, had he ſailed on, he might have reached the windings in the head of the *Frith*, before the *Engliſh* fleet could have come up to the *Frith*, and lain ſome time concealed from them, who, he ſaw, knew not where the *French* were, but dropped their anchors. But, ſuppoſing the *Engliſh* had diſcovered them, next day they would at leaſt have got ſo many hours ſailing of them, that, before they could have come up, their great ſhips might have unloaded, and the leſſer ones run into creeks and ſhallow places (which abound there) where the *Engliſh* big ſhips could not have come at them. Laſtly, it was unaccountable in them to come from *Dunkirk*, where were abundance of *Scots* ſeamen, who would have been glad of the occaſion, and not bring a pilot, who knew the coaſt, with them; the loſs of which they found, when they arrived there, and were obliged to take in ſome fiſhermen for that purpoſe off of *Montroſe*. I know ſome have attributed their landing to the Duke of *Perth*, whoſe heart, they ſay, failed him when it came to the puſh. But, for my part, I cannot conceive how this opinion or inſtruction could have that weight in the managing a matter of ſuch importance. Again, it has been ſaid, that the Earl *Mariſchal* omitted to anſwer the ſignal of a ſhip, which was ſent by agreement to the coaſt near his houſe, to learn intelligence from him of the ſtate of affairs. It is true indeed, his Lordſhip failed on his part; but can it be thought, that the vigorous execution of the project could ſtop on ſo ſlight a diſappointment? Beſides, Mr. *Malcolm* of *Grange* did actually go aboard that ſhip, which, I told you, came after the *French* out of *Dunkirk*, and arrived in the *Frith* before the fleet, and informed them of all that was needful. But to leave theſe ſpeculations with this animadverſion, that the *French* might have landed, if they had pleaſed, or managed their affairs right; and that time muſt diſcover the true reaſon of their not landing, of which, by the bye, none of the Court of *St. Germains*, though often wrote to on this ſubject, will give any return, which makes it the more myſterious.'

(1) Towards the end of *April* 1708, the chief State-priſoners in the caſtle of *Edinburgh*, *viz.* the Marquiſs of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Errol*, *Seaforth*, and *Nithſdale*; the Lords Viſcounts *Stormount* and *Kilſyth*, the Lord *Drummond*, the Lord *Nairn*, and *James Murray* (the two laſt named brothers to the Duke of *Athol*) Sir *George Maxwell*, and others, ſet out from thence, in order to be brought up to *London*, guarded by a party of dragoons. As for the Duke of *Hamilton*, who, on the 10th of *April*, arrived at *Weſtminſter* with his Ducheſs, attended only by one of her Majeſty's Meſſengers, his Grace made ſuch large profeſſions of his loyalty and affection to her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, that he was ſoon after diſcharged; as were alſo the Earl of *Aberdeen*, the Lord *Balmerino*, the Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, Sir *Walter Bruce*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Balfour*, Mr. *Fletcher* of *Salton*, *Dugal Stuart*, brother to the Lord *Bute*, and ſome others. On the 7th of *June*, the Lord *Drummond*, Sir *George Maxwell*, and *Robert Murray* of *Palmy* were committed priſoners to the *Tower* of *London*; and the Lairds of *Cardeen* and *Keir* to *Newgate*, by warrants from the Lords of her Majeſty's Privy-Council. The next day the following priſoners were brought up to *London* from *Edinburgh*, the Duke of *Gordon*, Viſcount *Kenmure*, *Fotheringham* of *Powrie*, *Lyon* of *Auchterhouſe*, Lord *James Murray*, *Robinſon* of *Strowan*, *Seaton* of *Touch*, *Stuart* of *Starachio*, *Macdonnald* of *Keppock*, *Edmiſton* of *Newton*, Laird of *Keppendarvie*, *Gordon* of *Gallachy*, and *Stuart* of *Boyce*; as were, on the 14th of that month, the Earl *Mariſchal*, the Earl of *Murray*, the Earl of *Traquair*, the Lord *Belhaven*, the Lord *Sinclair*, Sir *John Macleane*, the Laird of *Lochiel*, the Laird of *Appin*, Major-General *Buchan*, and Mr. *Campbel* of *Glenderowick*. Theſe priſoners having ſeverally been examined by the Lords of the Privy-Council, ſuch, againſt whom there was no particular information, were admitted to bail; which favour extended to moſt of them, but the Lord *Belhaven* did not long enjoy it, for, on the 21ſt of *June*, he died of an inflammation or mortification in his brain, and in him expired the warmeſt Oppoſer of the *Union* of the two Kingdoms.

But it will be proper to hear what Mr. *Lockhart*, in his

1708. *Manchester*, the *British* Ambaſſador (1). But this matter was afterwards accommodated to the Queen's intire ſatisfaction (2).

Death and character of Sir Edward Seymour.

During the Seſſion of Parliament, on the 18th of *February*, died a very eminent Member of it, Sir *Edward Seymour*, at his ſeat at *Maiden-Bradley* in *Wiltſhire*. Nobility of deſcent, eminency of parts, great popularity, and a leading influence in the Houſe of Commons, were the diſtinguiſhing circumſtances of his life. Whether they were attended with real virtue and merit, cannot be deemed an improper inquiry; ſince without theſe outward appearances are inſignificant and offenſive. In the Reign of King *Charles* II, he laboured with uncommon diligence to promote the meaſures of the Court, for the deſtruction of civil and religious liberty; and was neither afraid nor aſhamed of any ſort of management. His contemptuous and brutal behaviour towards the Houſe of Commons, while he was in the Chair, was aſtoniſhing and ſcarce credible. He acted there as the Marſhal of the Court, and, agreeably to his inſtructions from thence, allowed the Houſe a long or ſhort day for buſineſs. He ſeemed to affect to be remembered by a ſeries of words and actions, full of indignity and inſolence; nor did he eſcape the public reproaches of many Members for the licentiouſneſs of his morals, which they declared to be a diſgrace to the ſtation, which he bore in their Houſe. In order to bring him under proper diſcipline and correction, the next Houſe of Commons choſe him their Speaker; but his Royal Maſter, to preſerve him from diſgrace and vexation, refuſed his approbation in an unuſual manner. His concurrence in the Revolution, and directing the *Aſſociation*, are to be aſcribed to a reſentment of what he eſteemed ill uſage under King *James*. To the eſtabliſhment, eaſe, and ſucceſs of King *William*'s Government, no one ever gave ſtronger proofs of an utter averſion. When that King had full evidence of his treaſonable practices, ſuch was his Majeſty's generous regard to his firſt appearances, that he gave him his choice of taking a place or his trial. Though he had often profeſſed a contempt for the Maſter and the Service, prudence and guilt diſpoſed him to a place. His conduct in this ſituation was a very ungrateful return for the favour, which he had received. 1708.

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his *Memoirs*, p. 382, ſays upon this ſubject. 'The caſtle of *Stirling* and *Edinburgh*, *ſays he*, and all the priſons in *Edinburgh*, were crammed full of Nobility and Gentry. At firſt, no doubt, the Government expected to have had proof enough to have brought ſeveral of them to puniſhment; but, failing, bleſſed be God, in that, the next uſe they made of them was to advance their politics; for no ſooner did any perſon, who was not of their party, pretend to ſtand a Candidate to be choſen a Parliament-man at the elections, which were to be next ſummer, but he was clapped up in priſon, or threatened with it, if he did not deſiſt; and by theſe means they carried, generally ſpeaking, whom they pleaſed. But to return to the priſoners, after they had been in cuſtody for ſome weeks, orders came from *London* to ſend them up thither, which was accordingly done, being divided in three claſſes, and ſent up three ſeveral times, led in triumph under a ſtrong guard, and expoſed to the raillery and impertinence of the *Engliſh* mob. And now it appeared to what a fine market *Scotland* had brought her hogs, her Nobility and Gentry being led in chains from one end of the iſland to the other, merely on account of ſuſpicion, and without any accuſation or proof againſt them. Whilſt this was a doing, the Duke of *Hamilton*, being likewiſe brought up priſoner to *London*, and taking the advantage of the diſcords between the Treaſurer and the Whigs, ſtruck up with the latter, and prevailed with them to obtain, not only his, but all the other priſoners liberation (excepting the *Stirlingſhire* Gentlemen, who were ſent home again to undergo their trial, upon their finding bail to appear againſt a certain day (which was likewiſe ſoon remitted) and engaging to join with them (the Whigs) and their friends in *Scotland*, viz. *the Squadrone*, in the election of the Peers for the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, which having accordingly done, ſeveral of the Court-party were thrown out. This certainly was one of the niceſt ſteps the Duke of *Hamilton* ever made; and, had he not hit upon this favourable juncture, and managed it with great addreſs, I am afraid ſome heads had paid for it; at beſt, they had undergone a long confinement; ſo that to his Grace alone the thanks for that deliverance was owing.'

(1) That Earl gives the following account of this affair, in a letter to the Earl of *Sunderland* from *Venice*, *March* 30, 1708, printed in Mr. *Cole's memoirs of affairs of ſtate*, p. 519, which letter begins thus: 'I write under all the concern imaginable, being ſenſible, that the affront they have done me here is of the higheſt nature, as you will ſee by my memorial; and, unleſs it is repaired in the moſt public manner, it will reflect extremely on the honour of the Queen and the whole Nation. This has been occaſioned by the roguery and villainy of one *B*—— a Merchant, ſon to Mr. *B*—— in the City, who inveigled and perſuaded two of my boatmen to go on board a ſhip, and load from it ſome cloth, which is prohibited here. It is well known, that the boat of an Ambaſſador is ſo ſacred, that it is not to be viſited or ſtopped on any account whatſoever, though there was a priſoner of State in it. This made *B*—— conclude, that his cloth was ſecure, though my honour and reputation muſt have ſuffered; for it could not but be known here, though this had not happened.' The circumſtances of the affront are thus related in the Earl of *Manchester*'s *Memorial*, preſented on the 29th of *March* 1708: 'On *Monday* laſt my *Gondola*, with two of my boatmen, dreſſed in my ordinary and well-known livery, was attacked in coming from *Malamocco* by the Officers of this moſt ſerene Republic, armed with fire-arms and ſteel-weapons. Theſe Officers entered the boat by main force; and, after having done what they thought fit, they ſuffered the *Gondola* to row away.'

(2) The Earl of *Manchester*, in a letter to the Earl of *Sunderland* from *Venice*, *July* 6, 1708, printed in *Cole's Memoirs*, p. 540, obſerves, 'that the Senate of *Venice* had conſented to reſtore the cloth in the manner the Earl had deſired; to condemn the men into the gallies; and, in lieu of the pillory, to bring them at the hour of juſtice from the priſon through the place of *St. Mark* into the galley, and the chief of them to have a paper prefixed to him, denoting their crime and puniſhment, *&c.*' The concluſion of this affair will appear from the following paſſage of the Earl of *Manchester*'s letter to the Earl of *Sunderland* from *Venice*, *September* 7, 1708: 'I can now acquaint your Lordſhip, that yeſterday the men were brought through the place of *St. Mark* to the galley. The chief of them had a paper on his breaſt and back with the inſcription, as it was agreed on. There were great numbers of people. This day they delivered the cloth to my boat, in the place, where they took it. I ſent it immediately to the four hoſpitals, ſo all is paſſed to our intire ſatisfaction, and much to the honour of the Queen; and I have the good fortune to have the approbation of all people here in this affair. As ſoon as the men have made their ſubmiſſion, I intend to go to the College to get them releaſed. One of the men being lame of the gout, he was carried in a chair, which made it more remarkable. They were eleven in all.'

1708. ceived. In purſuance of his counſels early and ſeaſonable remedies were neglected; every thing was to wait the attention of Parliament. Thus the coin was reduced to a ruinous ſtate, which proved the occaſion of infinite miſchief to affairs both at home and abroad. Whilſt he declaimed againſt and proſecuted real or imaginary corruptions in others, he was a conſtant and moſt able practitioner this way. Rival Companies and rival Projectors ſucceſsfully employed the ſure method of procuring his protection. Foreign powers were very ſenſible of the certain way of aſſuring to themſelves ſo ſignificant and daring an advocate. Much of this kind was ſuſpected, and many things well known; yet with an amazing ſufficiency he continued to ſupport his authority and influence. The regards of his party were ſecured by his unwearied ſincere hatred of King *William*. In this Reign, he, who in a former had betrayed and trampled on the privileges of a Houſe of Commons, commenced the patron and enlarger of its rights.

His higheſt pretenſions to public ſpirit and public virtue were owing to oppoſite motives. His zeal in the impeachment of the Earl of *Clarendon*, was not the effect of offences ſuggeſted in the articles, but flowed from a deſire of recommending himſelf to a corrupt Court. Malevolence had been long working there, on the account of that Earl's having joined with the Earl of *Southampton*, in preventing profuſe and deſtructive ſettlements of Parliament. The proſecution of Lord *Sommers* aroſe from that Lord's ability and fidelity in the ſervice of his Prince and the Public; for neither Sir *Edward*'s obligation nor inclination would have urged him to purſue a real enemy of *France*. After he had been the terror of his enemies, and lived amongſt his friends with a haughty ſuperiority, a mean wretch hurried him out of the world, its moſt imperious diſturber. When infirmities had confined him to his chair, his houſe was deſerted by the ſervants on the account of ſome new diverſions; and, in the mean time, an old female beggar of the maddiſh tribe happened to wander into the apartments. Finding the great man thus alone, ſhe reproached him for all his cruelty and oppreſſions, threatened, terrified, and handled him in a manner, the effects of which ſoon put an end to a life, through the whole courſe of which he ſeemed equally inſenſible of crimes and 1708. puniſhments.

The removal of Mr. Secretary *Harley* having occaſioned ſome other vacancies, *Robert Walpole*, a Gentleman of quick parts and maſterly eloquence, was, in Mr. *St. John*'s room, made Secretary at War; and the place of Secretary to the Marines, which had been likewiſe held by Mr. *St. John*, was given to Mr. *Joſiah Burchet*. Some time after, the Queen delivered to the Earl of *Cholmondley* the Staff of Comptroller of her Houſehold; and, about the middle of *April*, her Majeſty made a promotion of general Officers, by which the Earl *Rivers* was advanced to the poſt of General of the horſe (1). *Promotions.*

Some time before, Orders and Commiſſions were delivered for new-raiſing the regiments of *Montjoy*, *Gorges*, *Alnut*, *Mordaunt*, *Wade*, *Maccartney*, and Lord *Mark Kerr*, which ſuffered moſt at the battle of *Almanza*; and their Officers, who were priſoners in *France*, were ſupplied by others. About the ſame time, the Earl of *Wemys* and Sir *John Leake* were added to the Lord High-Admiral's Council. On the 22d of *April*, her Majeſty nominated Dr. *William Fleetwood* to the Biſhoprick of *St. Aſaph*, vacant by the death of Dr. *Beveridge*, and Sir *William Giffard* was appointed Governor of *Greenwich* Hoſpital; and *Hugh Boſcawen* Warden of the *Stannaries*.

The *Scotch* Privy-Council being diſſolved by virtue of the late act, entitled, An act for rendering the Union of the two Kingdoms more intire and compleat, the Queen, on the 10th of *May*, appointed the firſt Privy-Council of *Great-Britain* (2). *The firſt Privy-Council of Great-Britain.*

On the 15th of *May*, the Lord *Griffin*, one of the priſoners taken on board the *Saliſbury*, being attainted by outlawry for high-treaſon, committed in the Reign of King *William*, was brought to the bar of the *Queen's-Bench*, and, after reading of the outlawry, being aſked, What he had to ſay, why execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him? He ſaid, in his defence, "That he was neither in arms, nor in Council "with the enemy; but was forced by the *French* "Court upon the expedition, intirely againſt "his judgment and inclination, notwithſtanding "he had expreſſed his diſlike of it, as a raſh and "fooliſh attempt;" adding, "That he threw "himſelf at the Queen's feet for mercy, and "hoped *Lord* Griffin *ordered for execution.* Hiſt. of *Europe.*

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(1) *Henry Withers*, *Cornelius Wood*, *Charles Roſs*, *Daniel Harvey*, Lord *Raby*, Earl of *Eſſex*, Earl of *Arran*, ——*Maine*, *William Seymour*, *Hutton Compton*, *Robert Echlyn*, Marquiſs of *Lothian*, and ——*Tidcomb*, were declared Lieutenant-Generals; Sir *William Douglaſs*, Lord *Montjoy*, Earl of *Crawford*, *Richard Gorges*, *Nicholas Sankey*, *Henry Holt*, *William Cadogan*, *Thomas Meredyth*, *Francis Palmes*, *James Stanhope*, Lord *Shannon*, Lord *Charlemount*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, Major-Generals; *Luke Lillingſton*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, *John Liveſay*, *Edward Braddock*, *Gilbert Primroſe*, *Roger Elliot*, *William Evans*, *Thomas Pearce*, *Joſeph Wightman*, and *John Newton*, Brigadiers.

(2) Conſiſting of,

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,
William, Lord *Cowper*, Lord-Chancellor of *Great-Britain*,
Sidney, Earl of *Godolphin*, Lord-High-Treaſurer,
Thomas, Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord-Preſident,
John, Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Lord-Privy-Seal,
William, Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord-Steward,
James, Duke of *Ormond*,
Henry, Marquiſs of *Kent*, Lord-Chamberlain,
James, Earl of *Derby*,
Thomas, Earl of *Stamford*,
Charles, Earl of *Sunderland*, Principal Secretary of State,
Charles Bodvile, Earl of *Radnor*,
Charles, Earl of *Berkeley*,
Francis, Earl of *Bradford*,
Hugh, Earl of *Cholmondley*,
Henry, Lord Biſhop of *London*,
William, Lord *Dartmouth*,
Henry Boyle, Principal Secretary of State,
Thomas Coke, Vice-Chamberlain,
Sir *John Trevor*, Maſter of the Rolls,
Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Lord-Chief-Juſtice,
Sir *Charles Hedges*,
James Vernon,
John Howe,
Thomas Erle.

At the ſame time *John Povey*, *Edward Southwell*, and *Chriſtopher Muſgrave* were ſworn Clerks of the Council.

1708. " hoped the favour of the Court." His defence being judged intirely foreign to the outlawry, upon which he was brought to the bar, the Court made a rule for his execution, as is uſual in ſuch caſes: But though the Queen was prevailed with to ſign the warrant for ſentence to paſs upon him, a reprieve, however, for a fortnight, was ſent the night before to the *Tower*; and that, expiring the laſt day of *June*, was then renewed, and afterwards continued from month to month, till he died a natural death in the *Tower*, about two years after.

He is reprieved till he dies in the Tower.

On the 20th of *May*, *Meinhard*, Duke of *Schomberg*, and *John Smith*, late Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, who, about this time, was conſtituted Under-Treaſurer and Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, in the room of Mr. Secretary *Boyle*, were ſworn of the Privy-Council, as was the Duke of *Somerſet* a week after; and, towards the latter end of the ſame month, the Duke of *Queenſberry* was made a Peer of *Great-Britain* by the title of Baron of *Rippon*, and Marquiſs of *Beverley* in the County of *York*, and Duke of *Dover* in the County of *Kent*.

Proclamation for the diſtribution of prizes.

An act had paſſed the laſt Seſſion for the better ſecurity to our trade by Cruizers and Convoys, and for the encouraging Privateers, particularly in the *Weſt-Indies* and *South-Sea*. They were to have all they could take, intirely to themſelves; the ſame encouragement was alſo given to the Captains of the Queen's ſhips, with this difference, that the Captains of the Privateers were to divide their captures, according to agreements made among themſelves, but the diſtribution of prizes taken by men of war was left to the Queen. A proclamation was therefore publiſhed at this time in *May*, ordering the prizes to be divided into eight ſhares. The Captain was to have three eighths, unleſs he had a ſuperior Officer, in which caſe the Admiral or Commodore was to have one of the three. The Commiſſion-Officers and Maſter were to have one eighth, the Warrant-Officers one, and the Petty-Officers another, and the Sailors the other two.

The Duke of Marlborough *goes to* Holland.

The ſtorm, which threatened *Great-Britain*, being diſpelled, and the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of the Government taken, the Duke of *Marlborough* ſet out from *London* the 29th of *March*, and, having reached *Margate* that evening, embarked there, and the next day, at two in the afternoon, came in ſight of the coaſt of *Holland*, and arrived late the ſame night at the *Hague*, where Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* was come, two days before, to meet him.

The Princes of France *ſent to the armies in* Flanders.

The advantages gained by the *French*, the laſt year, prompted them to entertain ſeveral projects, and to make ſtill greater efforts to recover their former ſuperiority. And indeed their forces this year ſeemed to be more numerous than ever, eſpecially in the *Netherlands*, where it was believed the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Duke *de Vendoſme* would have again commanded. But an unexpected alteration was ſuddenly made, and the *French* King declared the Duke of *Burgundy* Generaliſſimo of his forces, appointing the Duke *de Vendoſme* to ſerve under him; and he was to be accompanied by the Duke of *Berry*. The Pretender (who was returned from his unſucceſsful expedition to *Scotland*) went with them, without any other character than that of the Chevalier *de St. George*. The Elector of *Bavaria* was to command on the *Rhine*, with the Duke of *Berwick* under him, the Marſhal *de Villeroy* being recalled, and appointed to command in *Dauphiné*. Theſe proceedings of the *French* King ſurprized every one; but he conceived great hopes from theſe alterations of his Generals. The credit with relation to money was ſtill very low in *France*. For, after many methods taken for raiſing the credit of the Mint-bills, they were ſtill at a diſcount of forty *per cent*. No fleets came this year from the *Weſt-Indies*, and therefore they could not be ſupplied from thence. 1708.

Deſigns of the campaign are concerted. Brodrick. Mil. Hiſt. Burnet.

On the 12th of *April*, *N. S.* in the evening, there was a great Conference between Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Deputies of the *States*, for private affairs, and Penſionary *Heinſius* in the Chamber of *Triers*, the uſual place of Conferences in the *States* apartment; which was pitched upon to avoid the trouble of the ceremonial; for otherwiſe it muſt have been at the Duke of *Marlborough*'s, as Ambaſſador Extraordinary; whereas Prince *Eugene* had no character, his credentials importing only, " That his Imperial Majeſty had ſent his " firſt Counſellor, Preſident of the Council of " War, and General-Lieutenant, Prince *Eugene*, " to concert the operations of the campaign, in " whom the *States* were deſired to put an intire " confidence." As ſoon as they were entered the room, the Duke of *Marlborough* took Prince *Eugene* by the hand, and led him to a ſeat above his own; after which the *States* Deputies placed themſelves, without obſerving any precedency among them. Prince *Eugene* opened the Conference with a ſpeech, wherein he gave a particular " account of the Emperor's forces in " *Naples*, *Lombardy*, and *Piedmont*, and of thoſe " deſigned for *Spain*; and having mentioned " the troops, which his Imperial Majeſty in- " tended to employ in *Germany*, he gave, in " very modeſt terms, his own opinion of the " operations of the next campaign, both on the " *Upper Rhine* and the *Low-Countries*; con- " cluding, that he had inſtructions from his Im- " perial Majeſty to uſe his endeavours to en- " gage the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the " *States-General* to approve the ſcheme he had " propoſed, and to ſecond, on their parts, his " Imperial Majeſty's efforts, both to reduce the " exorbitant power of *France*, and to reſtore his " Brother King *Charles* III. to the whole Mo- " narchy of *Spain*."

After Prince *Eugene* had ended his ſpeech, the Duke of *Marlborough* acquainted the Aſſembly with the inſtructions he had received from the Queen his Miſtreſs, in relation to the buſineſs before them; and at laſt mention was made of a ſeparate army to be commanded by Prince *Eugene*. This Conference, which laſted above an hour, was but a kind of preliminary; for the Deputies of the *States* were not impowered to make any anſwer, either to Prince *Eugine*'s, or the Duke of *Marlborough*'s propoſals, but only (according to the uſual methods obſerved by that Republic) to receive them, and to report the ſame to their High Mightineſſes; which they did on the 16th.

Several other conferences were held, though more privately, between the Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, and the Deputies of the *States*; the reſult of which was (as it afterwards appeared) ' That moſt of the Imperialiſts employed the year before on the *Upper Rhine*, with

1708. the *Saxons* and *Heſſians* in the pay of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, and the troops, which the Elector *Palatine* was to furniſh, in conſideration of his Imperial Majeſty's reſtoring him to the poſſeſſion of the *Upper Palatinate*, with the prerogatives enjoyed by his Anceſtors, ſhould march into the *Netherlands*, to act there, under Prince *Eugene*, in concert with the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* forces, commanded in chief by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and, under him, by Veldt-Marſhal *Auverquerque*.' Whether Prince *Eugene*, who took *Hanover* in his way to the *Hague*, then communicated this ſcheme to the Elector of that name, and found him averſe to it, or propoſed other meaſures to his Electoral Highneſs, is not known; but it was thought fit, that Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* ſhould now both wait on that Prince, in order to obtain his concurrence to the reſolutions taken at the *Hague*, and engage him to return to command the army on the *Upper Rhine*.

The Duke of Marlborough *and Prince* Eugene *go to* Hanover.

The Duke of *Marlborough* intended to have gone back to *England*, before the opening of the campaign; but Prince *Eugene* was very earneſt with him to meet him at *Hanover*; and the *States* having repreſented to the Queen of *Great-Britain* the neceſſity of his preſence on that ſide, and how uncertain the winds might make his timely return, the ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, he reſolved upon the journey to the Court of *Hanover*. Prince *Eugene*, having finiſhed his negotiations at the *Hague*, ſet out the 20th of *April*, *N. S.* arrived the 22d at *Duſſeldorp*, and, having ended his buſineſs, the next day, with the Elector *Palatine*, and ſent an expreſs to *Vienna*, purſued his journey towards *Hanover*. The Duke of *Marlborough* met him the 26th two *German* miles from that place, and, arriving there the ſame evening together, they alighted at the *Britiſh* Envoy's. The Duke went firſt to Court, and was followed thither ſoon after by Prince *Eugene*, where the ſeveral audiences of ceremony, which they had of the Electoral family, being over, they had together a long Conference with the Elector, who gave orders for their being accommodated at his own palace. Their Conferences were continued the three following days, the Count *de Rechteren* aſſiſting on the part of the *States-General*. They met with ſome difficulties at firſt, which were removed by the dextrous and prudent management of Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*; and his Electoral Highneſs, though he was ſenſible, that, by this ſcheme for making vigorous efforts in *Flanders*, the army, which he was to command himſelf on the *Upper Rhine*, muſt be extremely weakened, and he ſhould be obliged to ſtand on the defenſive; yet, at length, he conſented to part with ſeveral regiments, and, being ſatisfied with the laurels he had already gained, chearfully ſacrificed to the common cauſe the glory he might have reaped by acting offenſively. But though it was agreed, that Prince *Eugene* ſhould come into the *Netherlands*, yet it was induſtriouſly given out, that he was to act with a ſeparate body on the *Moſelle*, which obliged the enemy to ſend a conſiderable number of forces that way under the command of the Duke of *Berwick*. 1708.

Prince Eugene *goes to* Vienna,

On the 29th of *April*, *N. S.* Prince *Eugene* ſet out for *Leipſic*, to confer with King *Auguſtus*, who was come thither on purpoſe, two days before, from *Dreſden*. On the Prince's arrival he finiſhed his negotiations in a few hours, and purſued his journey the next day to *Vienna*.

and the Duke of Marlborough *to the* Hague.

The Duke of *Marlborough* made no long ſtay after Prince *Eugene* at *Hanover*; for he ſet out from thence the day after, and arrived the 3d of *May* at the *Hague*, where he communicated to the *States-General* the reſult of the Conferences held at *Hanover*; and, having concerted with their High-Mightineſſes further meaſures for opening the campaign, he went to *Ghent*, where having reviewed the *Britiſh* forces, he proceeded to *Bruſſels* (1). The Duke having conferred with Veldt-Marſhal *d'Auverquerque*, who, notwithſtanding his infirm ſtate of health, preſerved a vigorous mind, and ſeemed reſolved to die, like a hero, in the field, gave orders to the troops to march to *Andernach* near *Bruſſels*, where the *Dutch*, *Pruſſians*, and *Hanoverians*, began to form the army the 23d of *May*, *N. S.* The 26th they marched to *Billinghen*, where the Duke of *Marlborough* took up his quarters in the Abbey of that name; and the Veldt-Marſhal fixed his at *Hall*, a little town, which lay in the front of the firſt line. The *Britiſh* forces repaired to this camp likewiſe with all poſſible expedition, as did alſo a conſiderable body of troops in the ſervice of the *States-General* from their reſpective garriſons in *Flanders*. And, laſt of all, the Field-Deputies of their High-Mightineſſes arrived there, who behaved themſelves this campaign with ſo much prudence and reſolution, that they contributed very much to the ſucceſs of it.

The campaign in Flanders.

Upon notice of theſe motions, the Duke *de Vendoſme* aſſembled his army, on the 25th of *May*, between *Mons* and *St. Ghiſlain*, and took up his head-quarters at *St. Simpronien*, from whence he marched the next day to *Soignies*, poſting his right at *Naiſt*, and his left at *Canchie Notre Dame*, within three leagues of the Confederate camp. He was joined the ſame day by the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had the chief (at leaſt titular) command of the army, together with the Duke of *Berry*, his brother, and the Pretender.

On

(1) Here the Duke was honoured with a letter from the Queen, dated *May* 6, by the manner of which, as the Ducheſs of *Marlborough* obſerves in the *Account of her Conduct*, p. 255, her Majeſty ſeemed ſtill to have retained a great degree of regard for Mr. *Harley*. After complaining to the Duke of being ſo tired that day with importunities from the Whigs, that ſhe had not ſpirits left to open her afflicted heart ſo freely and fully as ſhe intended. She goes on to ſay, that ſhe was intirely of his opinion, thinking it neither for her honour nor intereſt to make ſteps (meaning the firſt ſteps) towards a peace, as the Duke had been preſſed to do abroad; and aſſures him, that, whatever inſinuations her enemies might make to the contrary, ſhe would never give her conſent to a peace, but upon ſafe and honourable terms. She begs the Duke to be ſo juſt to her, as not to let the miſrepreſentations made of her have any weight with him; adding, that it would be a greater trouble to her than could be expreſſed; and concludes with theſe words; 'I cannot end without begging you to be very careful of yourſelf, there being nobody, I am ſure, that prays more heartily than her, who will live and die moſt ſincerely yours, *&c.*'

1708. On the 29th of *May*, the Confederate army, which conſiſted of a hundred and eighty ſquadrons of horſe, and a hundred and twelve battalions, made a motion from *Bellinghen*, advancing the right to *Herſelinghen*, the left to *Lembecy*, and fixing the head-quarters at *St. Renelle*, in hopes of bringing the enemy to an engagement, which, by their bold march to *Soignies*, they ſeemed rather to ſeek than decline, being ſuperior, at leaſt, in number, to the Allies; for their army conſiſted of a hundred and ninety-ſeven ſquadrons, and a hundred and twenty-four battalions. The ſame day the enemy received their heavy baggage from *Mons*, but ſent it back thither on the 31ſt, which ſtill gave the Confederates hopes they ſhould come to an engagement; and thereupon, the Duke of *Marlborough* ordered the troops to be in a readineſs to march at an hour's warning. The ſame evening the Duke received intelligence, that the enemy's heavy baggage, having received a counter-order, was returned to the camp, and that they had foraged for two days; whence it was reaſonably concluded, that they would not march the next day, as the deſerters had reported. The Duke of *Marlborough*, having adviſed with the other Generals, reſolved to ſend the horſe to forage the next morning; and they went out, before break of day; but they had not been out an hour, before advice came, that the enemy had begun the night before, at ten, to ſend their heavy baggage to *Mons*, and decamped without any noiſe at eleven, marching towards *Nivelle*. The foragers were immediately recalled, and, to avoid all loſs of time, the infantry marched firſt of all about noon from *St. Renelle*, and were followed by the cavalry. About four they formed four columns, intending to incamp the right towards *Anderlech*, and the left to *Lake*; but upon farther notice, that the enemy had not incamped at *Nivelle*, but had continued their march by *Bois Seigneur Iſaac* to *Braine la Leu*, the Duke judged, that they could not have any other deſign, than to poſt themſelves on the banks of the *Deule*, to hinder the Allies from paſſing that river, and to ſeize *Louvain*; being the very ſame project, which the Duke *de Vendoſme* had formed the laſt year, but miſcarried in it. To prevent the enemy, there was no other remedy, but to continue marching all night; ſo that, on the 3d of *June* in the afternoon, the army of the Allies arrived at the camp of *Terbank*, very much fatigued, as well by this long march, as by the continual rains, which had fallen for four and twenty hours together. The *French*, having received intelligence of this expeditious march of the Confederates, did not venture to advance farther than *Genap*, but incamped their right to that place, and their left to *Braine la Leu*. Upon which the Duke of *Marlborough* took up his quarters in the Abbey of *Terbank*, and Monſieur *d'Averquerque* his in the Suburbs of *Louvain*. On the 4th, ſeveral bridges were laid on the *Deule*, between *Havre* and *Louvain*; and, on the 5th, almoſt the whole Confederate army foraged in the neighbourhood of their camp. The 6th being appointed by the Duke as a day of thankſgiving for the paſt ſucceſſes of the arms of the Allies, and to implore a bleſſing upon the preſent campaign, it was religiouſly obſerved throughout the whole army. 1708.

The enemy continuing quiet in their camp, the Duke of *Marlborough* took that opportunity of reviewing his troops, which he began to do the 7th, and continued for eight or nine days following, when he had the ſatisfaction to find, that the reſpective bodies were all very compleat, the men in the moſt excellent order, animated with their former victories; and eager to engage an enemy, that was deſpicable in their eyes. In this camp it was, that the Electoral Prince of *Hanover* (his preſent Majeſty King *George* II.) came to the army, and was received with the greateſt marks of reſpect and diſtinction by all the general Officers.

It was now plain, that the enemy had no inclination to engage the Confederates. They had indeed in view the recovery of the places they had loſt in the year 1706; but it was by their uſual method of ſurprize and treachery. Nor were their hopes altogether vain, for the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had gained ſome intereſt in the Provinces of the *Netherlands*, among people of all ranks, by his profuſeneſs and popular behaviour, with the aſſiſtance of Count *de Bergeyck*, a perſon of great credit, and no leſs activity, and other friends of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, eaſily found means to practiſe upon the levity and reſtleſs ſpirits of the chief inhabitants of the Cities of *Ghent* (1), *Bruges* (2), and *Antwerp*, who promiſed to open their gates to the troops of *France* and *Spain*, as ſoon as they could find a fair opportunity (3). The truth was, the *Dutch*

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(1) *Ghent* is a vaſt large City and Caſtle, one of the principal of the *Low-Countries*, the Marquiſate of the Earldom of *Flanders*, and territory of *Ghent*, a Biſhoprick under the Archbiſhop of *Mechlin*. It was ſurprized by, or rather betrayed to the *French* the beginning of this campaign; but beſieged and recovered by the Duke of *Marlborough* towards the end of the year. It ſtands on the river *Scheld* and *Lys* (which divide it into twenty-ſix iſlands) twenty-ſeven miles almoſt South-Weſt of *Antwerp*, thirty North-Weſt of *Bruſſels*, ninety-four almoſt South of *Amſterdam*, and an hundred and fifty four North-Eaſt of *Paris*.

(2) *Bruges* is a fair, ſtrong, and noble City of the *Low-Countries*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*, the head of the territory of *Bruges*, a Biſhoprick under the Archbiſhop of *Mechlin*. This town made its ſubmiſſion to the Duke of *Marlborough* after the famous battle of *Ramillies*; the *French* ſurprized it, or rather had it betrayed to them the beginning of this campaign, but abandoned it upon the approach of the Confederates, towards the end of *December*, the ſame year. It ſtands twenty-four miles North-Weſt of *Ghent*, eleven Eaſt of *Oſtend*, thirty-four North-Eaſt of *Dunkirk*, and forty Weſt of *Antwerp*.

(3) Dr. *Hare*, in his *Thankſgiving-ſermon before the Houſe of Commons*, *on* Thurſday February 17, 1708-9, tells us, p. 11, 'That there was a Conſpiracy to have all the *Netherlands* betrayed to the enemy by the intereſt of that unhappy Prince, who has ſuffered ſo much in their cauſe. When we ſaw the ſons of *France* come into the field, we could not but ſuſpect there was ſomething more than ordinary in agitation. It was not enough to think they came to learn the art of war in an army, that aims at nothing but inaction, or to give courage to their troops, which their greateſt General had not been able to do, though fetched from *Italy* on purpoſe at a time when he leaſt could have been ſpared; for the event has ſhewn, he brought no more courage with him than he left behind him; nor could it be expected, that their bare preſence ſhould make

1708. *Dutch* were ſevere Maſters, and the *Flandrians* could not bear it. Though the *French* had laid heavier taxes on them, yet they uſed them better in all other reſpects. Their bigotry, being wrought on by their Prieſts, diſpoſed them to change their Maſters. The Duke of *Marlborough* reſolved not to weaken his army by many garriſons; and therefore put none at all into *Bruges*, and a very weak one in the citadel of *Ghent*, reckoning, that there was no danger, as long as he lay between thoſe places and the *French* army. The two armies had lain about a month looking on one another, ſhifting their camps a little, but keeping ſtill in ſafe ground; the Confederates, for their parts, being in expectation of Prince *Eugene*'s taking the field, with an army compoſed of *Pruſſian* and *Heſſian* troops, ten thouſand *Palatines*, and ſome *Imperialiſts*. The motion of this body was retarded by ſeveral difficulties about the march of the *Palatine* forces; of which the *French* getting intelligence, they concluded, that the Confederates would hardly venture to force them in the paſſes and defiles they were poſſeſſed of, and therefore commanded a detachment to march towards *Ghent* and *Bruges*, to ſurprize thoſe towns; which was effected in this manner:

Bruges *and* Ghent *taken by the* French.

On the 5th of *July*, *N. S.* a party of the enemy's troops, commanded by the Brigadiers *la Faille* and *Paſteur*, advanced before break of day towards *Ghent*, and, at the opening of the gates between five and ſix in the morning, half a dozen foot-ſoldiers, with two or three troopers, who were ſent before, pretending to be deſerters, were admitted into the town by the watch of Burghers, who were no more in number than themſelves. When they were going to be carried to the main-guard, ſome of them pretended a wearineſs, and ſetting themſelves down on the ground, deſired ſome brandy, to delay time; which being brought, they drank with the Burghers, and, amuſed them with a ſtory of the march of the *French* army, and their own deſertion. Soon after, another ſmall party of pretended deſerters came, and entertained the watch with the like frivolous ſtories, till Brigadier *la Faille*, who not long before had been High-Bailiff of that City, and had ſtill a conſiderable intereſt there, coming in perſon, commanded the Burghers, who guarded the gates, to lay down their arms, and admit the *French* troops. They began at firſt to make a ſhew of reſiſtance; but the pretended deſerters, riſing up at once, preſented their bayonets, and ſtopped them. Reſiſtance would now have been to little purpoſe; ſo the Brigadier's commands being immediately obeyed, he left ſome of his men there, and with the reſt marched directly into the town. It being early, they only met with a few labourers in the ſtreets, ſome of whom took them for deſerters, and others they quieted with gold. In this manner they advanced to the gate of *Bruges*, which they ſeized with little or no reſiſtance, as they did likewiſe the bridge of *Meuleſtede*. In the mean time, Monſieur *Grimaldi*, who followed Monſieur *de la Faille* at a diſtance, entered the town likewiſe, and marched with the reſt of the detachment to the market-place. All the gates being ſoon after ſeized, about ten, Monſieur *de la Faille* marched to the Town-houſe, and, having aſſembled the Magiſtrates and chief Burghers, he cauſed a pardon to be read to them, ſigned by the Elector of *Bavaria*, and underneath by the Count *de Bergeyck*; upon which they readily ſubmitted. 1708.

The enemy, being thus become maſters of the town, ſummoned the Governor of the caſtle to ſurrender; but Monſieur *de Labene*, Major of Sir *Richard Temple*'s regiment of foot, who commanded in that fortreſs with about three hundred men, expecting either to be reinforced by Major-General *Murray*, or relieved by the approach of the Confederate army, anſwered, "That he would defend it to the laſt extremity." The *French* began to prepare for attacking the caſtle; and Major-General *Murray*, who was poſted at *Marienkirk* with two *Engliſh* regiments of foot, and one of *Spaniſh* dragoons, in vain attempted to throw a reinforcement into the place. Major *Labene*, having been ſummoned a ſecond time, and being wholly unprovided for defence againſt ſo powerful an army, obtained an honourable capitulation.

Some hours after the enemy had ſurprized *Ghent*, Count *de la Motte* appeared with a ſtrong detachment before *Bruges*, which ſurrendered the next day, without making the leaſt reſiſtance, or putting the enemy to the trouble of firing more than three pieces of cannon. There was indeed a ſort of capitulation agreed upon, in which the Sieur *Briel*, Receiver of the contributions, and Mr. *Volmar*, his Comptroller, were included; but it appeared by every circumſtance, that this was a thing of form only, and that the articles had been long before ſettled by other perſons than they that pretended to grant and accept them.

This done, Count *de la Motte* marched immediately to *Damme*, hoping to meet with the ſame ſucceſs there; but as this place was fortified and garriſoned, the Governor opened the ſluices, and put the whole country under water, which obliged the Count to retire. From thence he marched to *Plaſſendahl*, a little fort on the canal, which leads from *Bruges* to *Oſtend*, and is a ſecurity to the communication of thoſe two places.

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make a ſtarved and naked army act with as much vigour, as if they had been warmly clothed and well paid. No, we were ſure it muſt be ſomething elſe they came for, not to gain any honour in the field, but to reap the mean glory of ſome ſucceſsful treachery, and ſo it proved. A deſign, we found, had been formed ſome time to ſurprize *Antwerp*; all was agreed, and every thing within a day or two ripe for execution, when the Princes joined the army; but the plot, which was more than they knew, was then actually diſcovered; and this was a deſign of ſuch importance, that we were inclined to think it was the whole they aimed at. But the ſequel ſhewed the treachery was deeper laid; and, while we were waiting the forces from the *Rhine*, another part of it ſucceeded better. Had both taken effect, what condition had our affairs been in? We had then, it is likely, without a blow loſt all the fruits of the *Ramillies* campaign; and the conſequence of that had been, not only putting the war two or three years back; it is more than probable the conſternation, it would every where have raiſed, would have ſoon frightened the Allies into an ill peace; or the ſucceſs of the *Italian* league, which then could not have miſcarried, might in another year have forced them to it.'

1708. places. The Officer, who commanded in it, refuſed to ſurrender; upon which the Count attacked and took it ſword in hand.

Major-General *Murray*, having found it impoſſible to reinforce the caſtle of *Ghent*, retired to *Sas vos Ghent*, where he found the Deputies of the *States-General* for the affairs of *Flanders*, and concerted with them the neceſſary meaſures for putting the frontiers in a poſture of defence, and ſecuring thoſe poſts, which were moſt expoſed.

The Confederate army march from Terbank.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, who was yet in camp at *Terbank*, received advice, that a conſiderable detachment was marched towards *Tubize*, and, in the night, that their whole army had followed at nine in the evening. The Duke gave immediate orders for the Confederate army to be in readineſs to march. Accordingly, about three in the morning, the 5th of *July*, they marched from the camp at *Terbank*, paſſed the canal in four columns, and incamped with the left at *Anderlech*, and the right at the mill of *Tomberg*. Here the Duke got intelligence of the enemy's deſign on *Ghent*, and that the detachment they had made for that end was advanced as far as *Aloſt*, and had broken down the bridge over the *Dender:* He thereupon ordered Major-General *Bothmar*, with four regiments of horſe and dragoons, to paſs over at *Dendermond*, in order to obſerve the enemy, and to prevent their deſign upon *Ghent*; but he came too late.

The French *paſs the* Dender *with great diligence.*

The ſame day the *French* paſſed the *Senne* at *Hall* and *Tubize*, and were paſſing at the mill of *Goicke* till night, within a league of the right wing of the Allies; which coming very late into the camp, and the army having made a very long march through difficult ways, it was not thought practicable to attack the enemy that night. However, the greateſt part of the horſe and foot having been brought to the right during the night, in order to engage the enemy, the whole army was formed the next morning early in order of battle; but their deſign was fruſtrated by the *French*, who were employed the whole night, with all poſſible expedition, in paſſing the *Dender* through the town of *Ninove*, and over ſeveral bridges built near that place for the ſame purpoſe; ſo that the detachment, ſent to attack their rear-guard, came too late to find any thing but their ſmall baggage, which was attended by a ſtrong guard. Theſe Major-General *Schulemberg* and Sir *Richard Temple*, with ten ſquadrons and five battalions, ſupported by Major-General *de Veyne*, with ten ſquadrons more, ſoon defeated, put them to flight, and took a great deal of baggage.

Prince Eugene *comes to the army.*

The Confederate army incamped the ſame night at *Aſche*, where Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, having made a quick march from the *Moſelle*, and left his cavalry at *Maeſtricht*, reſolving to be preſent, as ſoon as poſſible, at whatever action might happen, though his troops ſhould not come up in time, arrived that evening with Major-General *Cadogan*, whom the Duke of *Marlborough* had ſent to attend him. The arrival of Prince *Eugene*, and the approach of his troops, not only revived the ſpirits of the ſoldiers, but was very acceptable to the Generals themſelves, after the ungrateful news they had received that very day of the *French* having ſurprized *Ghent*. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, from the very moment they met, acted with the moſt perfect unanimity. The next day a Council of war was held, in which it was reſolved to regulate the march of the army according to the motions of the enemy; and the Pioneers were ſent on every ſide to make ways; the reſolution, which the Duke had before taken of bringing the enemy, if poſſible, to an engagement, being again confirmed. And ſo eager were the Generals for it, that it was determined, if a fair opportunity offered, not to wait the arrival of the Imperial troops. In the afternoon Prince *Eugene* went to *Bruſſels* to pay a viſit to his mother, the Counteſs of *Soiſſons*; and the day following, the Duke of *Marlborough* being much indiſpoſed and feveriſh, the orders were given at Monſieur *Auverquerque*'s quarters; and, according to theſe orders, four battalions marched to reinforce the garriſon of *Bruſſels*, and eight battalions were ordered, with Major-General *Cadogan* and the Quarter-maſters, to make the ways. 1708.

The ſmall advantage, which the enemy had in ſurpriſing *Ghent*, proved the occaſion of their own much greater loſs; and the Governor of that caſtle not delivering it, till the 8th of *July*, had this good effect, that it amuſed the enemy two or three days in their camp from above *Aloſt* to *Schilebille* on the *Scheld*. This delay proved fatal to them; for the *French* Generals receiving intelligence, that Prince *Eugene* was bringing a reinforcement of about thirty thouſand men, with all expedition, from *Germany* into *Brabant*, bethought themſelves of retiring towards their lines and ſtrong towns, before the conjunction of the Confederate troops, in hopes, that being reinforced with a good body of troops, which were coming to join them from *Alſace* (though not with ſuch ſpeed as the *Germans*, who were remarkably expeditious on this occaſion beyond their uſual cuſtom) under the command of the Duke of *Berwick*, they might afterwards be a match for the Confederates, or, at leaſt, might preſerve their late eaſy conqueſts. Oudenard *inveſted by the* French. They likewiſe imagined, that they might ſurprize or reduce *Oudenard*, the only paſs the Allies had on the *Scheld*, ſince the taking of *Ghent*, before the Allies could be in any readineſs to prevent it; and to this end, Count *de Chemerault* having broke down all the bridges on the *Scheld*, and intimidated all the leſſer places in thoſe parts, they cauſed *Oudenard* (1) to be inveſted on the 9th of *July* early, and intended to have taken poſſeſſion of the advantageous camp of *Leſſines*.

Monſieur *de Sigterman*, who commanded in *Oudenard*,

(1) *Oudenard* is a rich and very ſtrong town of the *Low-Countries*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*, the Marquiſate of the territory of *Oudenard:* It ſurrendered to the Duke of *Marlborough* in 1706. The *French* laid ſiege to it the beginning of this campaign; but the approach of the Confederate army made them abandon the place, and engaged them in a battle near it, which proved a fatal overthrow to them. It ſtands on the river *Scheld*, thirteen miles South of *Ghent*; thirteen North-weſt of *Aeth*, thirty-ſix Weſt of *Bruſſels*, and thirty-ſeven almoſt North of *Mons*.

1708. *Oudenard*, fearing, that the inhabitants might be treacherous, as it was ſuſpected they had been in other places, immediately called a Council of war, to conſider of means how to keep them within the limits of their duty, if they ſhould be otherwiſe inclined. It was reſolved to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and to declare to the townſmen, that it was hoped they would contribute all that lay in their power to that end; but that, if they offered to make the leaſt attempt towards ſurrendering the place, they would ſet fire to it in every part, and reduce it to a heap of aſhes. The inhabitants made all poſſible proteſtations of their fidelity, and aſſiſted the Governor in putting the town in the beſt poſture of defence.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, having either information or ſuſpicion of the enemy's deſign, ordered Brigadier *Chanclos* to throw himſelf into *Oudenard*, with ſeven hundred men, detached from *Aeth*, *Courtray*, and *Menin*, and *Walef*'s dragoons, which was performed accordingly. This proved a great diſappointment to the enemy; for, if they could have ſecured this place, they would have cut off the communication of the Allies with *Menin* and *Courtray*.

The ſame day *Oudenard* was inveſted, the Confederate army (which was incamped at *Aſche*) marched in four columns, the Earl of *Albemarle* being left, with all the grenadiers of the army, and thirty ſquadrons, to make the rear-guard, in caſe the enemy ſhould have made any motion towards *Bruſſels*. The ways being in good repair, the army marched with the greateſt expedition, and advanced as far as *Herfelingen*, above five leagues from *Aſche*, before eleven in the morning. Here the Duke of *Marlborough* gave orders for the army to pitch their tents, fronting towards the enemy; who being far from expecting, that the Confederate army could poſſibly make ſo ſwift a march, did not beat *the General* till three in the afternoon, thinking themſelves ſure of the camp of *Leſſines*, in order to cover the ſiege of *Oudenard*, for which they had their artillery ready at *Tournay*. Prince *Eugene* having rejoined the army at *Herfelingen*, the Duke of *Marlborough* detached Major-General *Cadogan* about four in the afternoon, with eight ſquadrons, and as many battalions, to take poſſeſſion of the camp of *Leſſines*. Accordingly, eight hundred men of this detachment entered the town, of that name, about midnight; and the reſt having paſſed through, at four in the morning, poſted themſelves on this ſide the river *Dender*. On the other hand, *the Retreat*, which was the ſignal for ſtriking the tents, being beat at ſeven, the evening before, in the camp at *Herfelingen*, the whole army marched immediately, and, moving on all night, began, the 10th, about eleven in the morning, to paſs the *Dender* over the bridges laid by Major-General *Cadogan*, and continued their march to the camp of *Leſſines*, on the other ſide; the chief ſtrength whereof conſiſts in the rivulet, which falls below it into the *Dender*. The enemy, perceiving themſelves diſappointed of this camp, altered their march towards *Gavre*, in order to paſs the *Scheld* there.

Motions of the Allied army. The 11th in the morning, upon intelligence, that the enemy had quitted *Oudenard*, and were purſued by Brigadier *Chanclos* with *Walef*'s dragoons, *Cadogan* was ſent with ſixteen battalions and eight ſquadrons to make the ways and bridges at *Oudenard*. The army began to march at eight o' clock by the left, ſtill in four columns, as they had incamped; and after the news came, that the enemy were ſtill paſſing at *Gavre*, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* reſolved to endeavour to bring them to an engagement. In order to this, the army continued their march with ſuch ſpeed and diligence, that, at two in the afternoon, the front was at the bridges, over which *Cadogan*'s ſixteen battalions were then paſſing. Eight ſquadrons, and part of the former detachment, with the Quarter-maſters, and Major-General *Rantzaw* at the head of them, were poſted behind a rivulet that runs into the *Scheld*, where they obſerved, that the *French* army were partly marching, and partly drawn up in order of battle. They took notice likewiſe, that the enemy had thrown ſeven battalions into the village of *Heynem* (which is ſituated on the banks of the *Scheld*) and the neighbouring plains, which confronted that ſmall village, were filled with the troops of the houſehold, who were drawn up exactly oppoſite to the eight ſquadrons under Major-General *Rantzaw*, no obſtacle but a ſmall rivulet dividing them. Behind the village were moraſſes, woods, and defiles; ſo that an army had no other way to march, but through the high-road. This diſpoſition of the *French* made it uncertain, whether their real deſign was to hinder the Duke of *Marlborough*'s paſſing the *Scheld*, or to gain their own lines between *Liſle* and *Tournay*, which they thought they might eaſily have done, not imagining, that ſo conſiderable a body, as that of the Confederates, could march five leagues in a cloſe country abounding in paſſes and defiles, have their roads levelled, croſs a great river, and make an attack upon them the ſame day.

The deſign of the Duke *de Vendoſme* in placing the ſeven battalions in the village of *Heynem*, and the ſquadrons, which the Confederates had diſcovered on the plain, which were to the number of twelve, was to have advanced towards the bridge, over which the Allies were paſſing, to a certain diſtance, in order to have waited there till half their troops were paſſed, and then to have attacked them with all the advantage, which his ſuperiority of number could have given him, not doubting, but he ſhould eaſily have defeated them, before the other half of their army could come to their aſſiſtance. It was with this intent, theſe troops were advanced, and the Duke would ſoon have followed with the whole army; but the Duke of *Burgundy* did not approve of this project. He had all along ſhewn an inclination to retire towards *Ghent*; and this propenſity appeared now ſtronger than ever; he ordered the troops to ſtop ſhort in their march at *Gavre* in the greateſt perplexity, not knowing which way to move. He even recalled the ſquadrons, which were in the plain, and prepared to retire; and to this the *French* attribute their misfortune, which enſued.

It would have been eaſy for the *French*, either to have cut off the detachment of the Allies, which had advanced and laid bridges over the *Scheld*, or, at leaſt, to have deſtroyed thoſe bridges, before the whole Confederate army could come up; and if then they had ſupported their left at *Heynem*, poſted their horſe behind the caſtle of *Beveren*, towards the mill of *Oycke*,

1708. and placed their center on the height between *Wertigem* and *Heurne*, they would undoubtedly have had all the advantage, which the moſt difficult ground could give; and perhaps the choice would have been on their ſide, whether to engage in a general action, or not. But the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Vendoſme*, who had been at variance for ſome days before, what courſe they ſhould take, ſtill differed in their opinions, and were both yet ſtrangely at a loſs, what meaſures they ſhould reſolve upon, and what diſpoſitions to make. This irreſolution laſted till three in the afternoon, when moſt of the young Commanders in the *French* army, to make their Court to the Duke of *Burgundy*, contradicted all, that was adviſed by the Duke of *Vendoſme*, and declared loudly for an engagement, which in a great meaſure determined the Duke of *Burgundy*; and the Duke of *Vendoſme* was obliged to ſubmit.

The battle of Oudenard. July 11 N. S.

Major-General *Grimaldi* was therefore ordered by the Duke of *Burgundy*, with the horſe of the King's Houſehold, to begin the attack on the right, and diſlodge Major-General *Rantzaw* from the eminence, on which he was poſted; but when they came to the rivulet, and found it marſhy, they were diſcouraged from attempting the paſſage, and retired towards their own right, though their army had twelve thouſand men more in number than the Confederates, and ſeveral other advantages. This attack the Duke of *Vendoſme* diſapproved of; and therefore ſent Monſieur *Jennet*, his Aid de Camp, to the left, to attack the Allies on that ſide. But the Duke of *Burgundy* countermanded it, upon information, as it was ſaid, that there was an unpaſſable moraſs on that ſide; which, however, the Duke of *Vendoſme* had paſſed over but an hour before. Upon this *Cadogan*, who had paſſed the river with twelve of his ſixteen battalions between three and four o'clock, attacked the village of *Heynem*, with ſuch reſolution (Brigadier *Sabine*, with his Brigade, being at the head) that they ſoon made themſelves maſters of it, and took three of the ſeven battalions intire, making many of the officers and private men priſoners that belonged to the other four. Immediately after, Major-General *Rantzaw*, with the eight ſquadrons, and the Quarter-Maſters, paſſed the rivulet, and advanced into the plain, where the *French* horſe had been drawn up, between the villages of *Singhem* and *Mullen*. Several of the ſquadrons of their rear-guard being ſtill paſſing through the plain, the eight ſquadrons, with the Quarter-Maſters, attacked them with great vigour, and drove them into the cloſe ground and the high-way, which led into the march of their own army.

The Electoral Prince of Hanover *diſtinguiſhes himſelf.*

Here it was, the Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, his preſent Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, gave diſtinguiſhing proofs of his early valour. He charged, ſword in hand, at the head of a ſquadron of his Father's dragoons *: His horſe was ſhot under him, and Colonel *Luſchky*, who commanded the ſquadron, was killed fighting bravely by him. Lieutenant-General *Schulemberg*, and ſeveral other Volunteers, behaved with great reſolution, and led up the ſquadrons. The *French* regiment of *la Breteche*, and ſeveral other regiments, were intirely broken; and the Colonel himſelf, being dangerouſly wounded, was taken, together with a great many other Officers, and twelve ſtandards and kettle-drums.

* Bulau's

The Confederate army continued, in the mean time, to paſs the bridges with all imaginable diligence. The *Pruſſian* horſe formed themſelves upon the right in the ſame plain, where the advanced guard was; and the reſt of the horſe, as they paſſed, followed the *Pruſſians* through the village of *Heurne*, into the plain; but the foot, becauſe of the length of the march, came later to the bridges; ſo that none but the ſixteen battalions were there till five o'clock. 1708.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* being at the head of the horſe, which were forming in the plain, and obſerving the great want there was of infantry, ſent orders to the foot, which had been employed in attacking the village, to leave their poſt, and throw themſelves into the hedges on the other ſide of the plain, whither the enemy ſeemed to be marching with great diligence. On that ſide of the plain were no more than two battalions of Major-General *Collier*'s and Brigadier *Grumkau*'s; which were attacked with great fury; but they maintained their poſt with equal bravery, till more foot came up to their aſſiſtance. The Duke of *Marlborough* ſent repeated orders to the foot, to preſs their march, the enemy being then forming, and ready to attack the infantry, which was already there, with very unequal numbers. In the interim, the Duke of *Argyle* arrived with twenty battalions, which were ſcarce poſted, when the *French* attacked them very briſkly, and drove ſome *Pruſſian* battalions from their poſt; but, notwithſtanding the inequality of numbers, about ſix in the evening, they retook it ſword in hand. By this time Count *Lottum* was coming up, to ſuſtain this attack, with the remainder of the foot of the right; and the Duke perceiving, that the great ſtreſs of the battle would lie on the right, ſent to the left for twenty battalions. The left wing arrived ſomething later than the right, and having paſſed their horſe through *Oudenard*, and their foot on bridges below the town, had formed themſelves in two lines, with the village of *Moreghem* behind them.

The ſucceſs, which the Confederates had already obtained in the ſeveral engagements near the villages of *Heynem*, *Mullem*, and *Heurne*, made the *French* Generals ſenſible they ſhould ſoon be attacked on all ſides. They therefore found themſelves under a neceſſity of making a ſtand; to which end, they poſted their foot very advantageouſly before the villages of *Wanigen*, *Lede*, and *Huyze*, having in their front ſeveral defiles, fenced with incloſures of hedges, ditches, or thickets, and placed moſt of their cavalry on their right, near the villages of *Oycke* and *Wirtigem*.

As ſoon as the Confederate foot arrived, they formed themſelves in two lines before the horſe, and then attacked, in very good order, the incloſures and villages in their front, where the *French* were poſted; ſo that about ſeven o' clock the fire grew general, both on the right and on the left; and, though the enemy gave way in moſt places, yet, being ſuſtained with freſh troops, the action was maintained very obſtinately a good while after.

There was before the left of the left wing a kind of opening, through which run a road, that led into the plain, on the top of the hill, and which the Prince of *Orange-Naſſau*, at the head of the *Dutch* foot, cleared with great vigour

1708. gour and reſolution. At the ſame time the Duke of *Marlborough* diſpatched orders to the Veldt-Marſhal *d'Auverquerque* and the Count *de Tilly*, who were on the top of the hill near *Oycke*, to preſs the enemy as much as poſſible on that ſide. Theſe orders were punctually obeyed; and *Auverquerque* ordered Major-General *Weeck* to march with the brigades of *Waſſenaer* and *Oudenburgh*; which, being ſupported by Count *Tilly* with the *Daniſh* cavalry under his command, paſſed through a narrow defile into a field, where all the *French* houſhold were drawn up.

The Confederate troops no ſooner approached, than the *French*, who did not in the leaſt apprehend being attacked on that ſide, retired, and endeavoured to ſhelter themſelves under the hedges between *Wirtigem* and the caſtle of *Beveren* towards the main body of their army, where the fire was very hot; but the Prince of *Orange-Naſſau*, with Count *Oxenſtiern*, coming up with four brigades of infantry, led them on with great gallantry, paſſed ſome defiles, attacked the enemy in flank, and obliged them to give way. Thoſe, who were thus retiring, were forced back into the incloſures in great diſorder; and it growing dark, many battalions and more ſquadrons being in the utmoſt confuſion, ſome were cut in pieces, and others deſired to capitulate for their whole regiments.

While this happened on the left, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who till then had been the whole time in company with Prince *Eugene*, viſiting the field of battle, leading on, poſting, and ranging the reſpective bodies of troops; but thinking now it would be more advantageous to ſeparate, and direct in different places, arrived there, having left the care of the right to Prince *Eugene*, who ſhewed great ſatisfaction in leading on the *Engliſh* troops, whom he ſaw perform wonders; ſo that at laſt the enemy, finding themſelves charged and borne down on all ſides by the Confederate forces, retired in the utmoſt confuſion, leaving great numbers of priſoners behind them. Their dragoons favoured their retreat, and, to ſave the troops of the houſhold, received ſeveral diſcharges from the Confederate infantry, and were moſt of them either killed or taken.

Night coming on, and the fire being directed ſo many ways at once, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh friends from enemies, the Confederate Generals gave poſitive orders to their troops to give over firing, and to let the routed enemy eſcape, rather than to venture putting themſelves into diſorder. This put an end to the ſlaughter, and ſaved the remainder of the enemy's army; for, had there been but two hours more of day-light, in all probability their whole body of foot, and their right wing of horſe, would have been intirely cut off, they being ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide. 1708.

During this memorable action, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* gave their orders with ſo much compoſedneſs of mind and clearneſs of judgment, as ſeemed peculiar to thoſe two great men. They expoſed their perſons to the greateſt dangers, when neceſſity required it; and yet had both the good fortune to eſcape unhurt. The Electoral Prince of *Hanover* had alſo a great ſhare in the glory of the day. At the head of his father's cavalry, he charged the celebrated troops of the *French* King's houſhold, bearing down all that oppoſed his career. The young Prince of *Orange-Naſſau*, Stadtholder of *Friſeland*, and Father of the preſent Prince of *Orange*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf likewiſe by his martial ardour, bravery, and conduct. The brave Veldt-Marſhal *d'Auverquerque*, tho' worn out with the fatigues of above thirty campaigns, and in a languiſhing condition, exerted his expiring vigour, and was on horſeback at the head of his troops in the hotteſt of the fire. Count *Tilly*, the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, Lieutenant-Generals *Rantzaw* and *Nutzmer*, Major-Generals *Webb* and *Cadogan*, Brigadier *Sabine*, and, in ſhort, all the Generals and Officers animated the ſoldiers every where by their own example.

The different troops, of which the Confederate army conſiſted, fought with ſuch emulation of each other, that it was difficult to determine, which deſerved the greateſt applauſe; yet it was obſerved, that the *Pruſſian Gens d'Armes* ſignalized themſelves in ſeveral vigorous charges, which they made and ſuſtained againſt the *French* cavalry, in which they loſt near half of their number.

If we may believe ſome of the *French* Writers, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* and the Pretender had a great ſhare in this battle; but, if the *Dutch* accounts are to be credited, they, or at leaſt the two latter, only beheld the engagement from the ſteeple of an adjacent village, and conſulted their ſafety by a timely retreat. As for the other Generals of the enemy's army, they committed ſeveral groſs errors, as well before as during the action, either for want of unanimity or judgment: But, for their troops, it muſt be acknowledged, that, in general, they fought better at this time than they had done upon any other occaſion.

The victory indiſputable on the ſide of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

The *French* endeavoured by their partial relations to palliate their defeat, and make a drawn battle of it (1); for which they had the only pretence of having ſaved their baggage. Now that could not be otherwiſe, ſince they left it behind them, as they did likewiſe their artillery, having only made uſe of four or five pieces of cannon

(1) All that Father *Daniel* ſays of it is in theſe words: 'Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* being arrived at *Oudenard* by long marches, they paſſed the *Scheld* with their army, which they drew up in order. The *French* army arriving there at the ſame time, in order of battle, gave the charge. The onſet was furious, and laſted from four in the evening till night came on, which put an end to the fight. The army of *France* retired towards *Ghent*: The left, which made the rear-guard, remained upon the field of battle till it was broad day, and then marched off in good order, under the conduct of the Chevalier *du Rozel*, Lieutenant-General, the enemy, who attacked them, not being able to do them any miſchief.' The Marquiſs *de Feuquieres*, in his memoirs, obſerves thus: 'Since we made no diſpoſitions for the encounter, our loſs of men, though very great, is not to be conſidered as a deciſive event: And indeed the confuſion, as well as our extraordinary loſs, happened in the retreat we made in the night, when the troops were neither ſenſible where they fled, nor by whom they were conducted. In a word, the diſpoſitions for their engagements, and the motives which induced us to undertake it, ought never to be repeated in any future conjuncture.'

(1) A

1708. cannon during the whole action. But the field, where the battle was fought, of which the Confederates remained masters, with six or seven hundred of the enemy's Officers, and about seven thousand private soldiers, who were made prisoners, together with ten kettle-drums, and above one hundred standards and colours taken, were all evidences of an indisputable victory on the side of the Confederates.

The French make a good retreat.

The enemy retired in the night, by the road which leads through the village of *Huyse* from *Oudenard* to *Ghent*. The Duke of *Vendosme* proposed to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that they should halt, in order to form their troops, and give their march, at least, the air of a retreat; but his advice was unregarded; for, of all the general Officers present, only the Count *d'Evreux* was of his sentiment. Observing therefore, that nothing was to be done with men terrified out of their senses, he gave the word for a retreat, which was no sooner done, than the Generals, as well as private Men, threw themselves into the road of *Ghent* with the utmost precipitation. The Duke of *Vendosme* looked with grief and shame on this scandalous behaviour: Finding, however, twenty-five squadrons of his best troops, and about the same number of battalions unbroken, he formed with these a rear-guard, and so preserved the army from a second defeat, which would certainly have proved more fatal than the first.

The Confederates, in the mean time, continued under arms, hoping to renew the engagement again the next morning, and impatient, in the mean time, for day, that they might have a true information how far this victory had extended, of which the darkness of the night left them in ignorance. To this end, as soon as it was light, the Duke of *Marlborough* ordered forty squadrons from the right, commanded by the Lieutenant-Generals *Bulau* and *Lumley*, with 1708. a considerable body of foot, to follow and attack the enemy's rear-guard, which they did with great vigour. But several Companies of *French* grenadiers, being advantageously posted along the highway leading to *Ghent*, killed and wounded several of the officers and private men of the Confederates, and obliged them to leave off the pursuit, there being but one road secured by hedges and ditches, lined with the enemy's grenadiers; but no place for the Confederate cavalry to form themselves in. On this occasion several officers of the grenadiers, commanded by Major *Erwin*, were killed or wounded; and General *Meredith* received a shot in the cheek; but the enemy, on their side, were much greater sufferers. The regiment of *Risburg*, which closed their rear, was intirely ruined, and two whole Companies taken prisoners; as was likewise Brigadier *Pourienne*, who commanded the hindermost Brigade, with several other Officers.

As to the killed and wounded on either side, the Allies reckoned among the slain Major-General *Berensdorf*; the Colonels *Adercasz* and *Bolzen*, Count *Rantzaw*, and Sir *John Matthews*, with Captain *Dean* of the *British* guards, and about eight hundred private men; and, among the wounded, Lieutenant-General *Natzmer*, Major-Generals *Gaudecker* and *Berner*; the Colonels *Groves*, *Pennyfeather*, and four others; a hundred and sixty other Officers, and about two thousand private soldiers; which loss was abundantly repaired by deserters and prisoners, *Germans*, *Swiss*, and *Savoyards*, who listed themselves voluntarily in the service of the Allies. The *French* endeavoured to conceal their loss with all possible industry; but that it was much greater than that of the Allies, is evident from several very authentic accounts (1); from which it appears, that the number of prisoners taken from

(1) A letter from the Field-Deputies of the *States-General* to the *States-General*:

High and mighty Lords,

By reason of the shortness of time, we could only let your High-Mightinesses know yesterday, that we engaged the enemy about four in the afternoon. Wherefore we give ourselves the honour of sending your High-Mightinesses farther advice, that our army, having marched on *Sunday* night from *Asche*, took the route of *Lessines*, in order to pass the *Dender* at that place, without opposition from the enemy, whom we had prevented by a sudden march; and, arriving there on *Tuesday* evening, we understood, that the enemy were marched from *Alost* towards *Gavre*, where they caused bridges to be made, in order to pass the *Scheld*; which made us believe they designed to post themselves upon the height of *Oudenard*, and hinder us from passing the *Scheld*. And, though our army was very much fatigued by the foregoing march, yet we resolved to proceed on our march yesterday, and, if possible, to prevent the enemy. We detached therefore sixteen battalions in the night, to take post on the other side of the *Scheld* near *Oudenard*, and to lay the bridges necessary for our passage. Yesterday morning about nine we received advice, that the enemy had passed the *Scheld*, and were marching towards *Oudenard*, which made us hasten our march as much as possible, for fear our detachment, that was sent over, should be defeated, and ourselves prevented in our design of passing the *Scheld*. But, by that time the enemy were come near *Oudenard*, they saw we had already taken post over the *Scheld*, which made them resolve to strike off to the right; but, to cover their march against ours, they thought fit to throw troops into the hedges and into a village upon the *Scheld* below *Oudenard*. About three in the afternoon, as soon as our foot began to come up, it was judged advisable to attack the village, and thereby oblige the enemy to go no farther, but stop their march. This attack was made with so much vigour and success, that the enemy were immediately driven out of the village, our men falling upon them with their bayonets on the muzzles of their muskets, and not firing a piece; so that they presently threw down their arms, and a whole Brigade, together with a Brigadier, surrendered prisoners. The few horse, that had passed with the detachment, attacked likewise the *French* squadrons posted behind the village with so much success, that they were put into disorder and pushed, our men taking from them eight or ten standards, and some horses. Hereupon the enemy were forced to face about to us, and form themselves about four o' clock, when, most of our foot being over, and formed, the general engagement began, first on the right, and afterwards on the left wing. The fight was properly between the foot, and was obstinate; but our men got ground, and drove the enemy from one hedge to another, till night put an end to the combat. The horse, who, by reason of the broken ground, could not act, were detached to the right and the left wing, and advanced so far, that they attacked the enemy in flank and rear; which, when they perceived, they fell in the night into the utmost confusion; and part of them retired, with their baggage and artillery, towards *Ghent* and *Deynse*; another part towards

1708. from the enemy amounted to ſeven thouſand men, among whom were two Lieutenant-Generals, two Major-Generals, five Brigadiers, about thirty Colonels, above an hundred Officers of the State-Major, and four hundred Subalterns, together with ſeventy or eighty ſtandards or colours. The largeſt liſt, on the ſide of the Allies, make the loſs of the enemy to be nine thouſand eight hundred priſoners, Officers included; four thouſand two hundred killed and wounded; two thouſand four hundred deſerted; in all nineteen thouſand four hundred: Taken, beſides ten pieces of cannon, fifty-ſix pair of colours, fifty-two ſtandards, eight pair of kettle-drums, four thouſand five hundred horſes. On the other hand, the loweſt computation amounts together to fourteen thouſand ſeven hundred killed, wounded, and taken priſoners, without mentioning deſerters; and the loweſt calculation, given by the *French* themſelves, allows their loſs to have been above ten thouſand men. 1708.

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wards the road of *Courtray*; and, according to computation, ſix or ſeven thouſand ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, with three or four hundred Officers at their head; among whom are ſeveral Dukes and General Officers. Had not the night come to their aſſiſtance, we believe they would have ſaved very little of their army. We therefore congratulate your High-Mightineſſes upon this compleat victory, which God Almighty has ſo graciouſly vouchſafed, and which gives us an opportunity, with this victorious army, and that of Prince *Eugene*, who was preſent at this action, to extend the frontiers further, and bring the enemy to reaſon. Each General made ſo good a diſpoſition, and every regiment attacked the enemy ſo well, and with ſo much intrepidity, that it was impoſſible for any one to diſtinguiſh themſelves in a particular manner. Our loſs, God be thanked, is ſo ſmall, that there is not, as we know of, one regiment out of a condition to make the reſt of the campaign. Among the horſe our loſs is nothing at all. Nor do we yet know, that we have loſt any Head-Officer of the State. With which, High and Mighty Lords, *&c.*

Signed,

Oudenard, July 12, 1708.
Ford. Van Collen,
G. Van Roſſum tot Ardenbroeck,
S. Van Goſlinga,
Count of *Rechteren,*
B. Van Vanvelde,
Adr. Van Borſelle tot Geldermalſen.

P. S. We thought, conſidering the importance of this affair, we ſhould not do amiſs, in ſending this to your High-Mightineſſes by the Head-Officer *Cook*, who may have the honour of informing your High-Mightineſſes of more particulars.

Veldt-Marſhal d'Auverquerque's *letter to the Greffier* Fagel.

On *Monday* laſt, at ſeven o' clock, we broke up (as I have already had the honour to acquaint your Lordſhip) with the army from *Herfelinghen* near *Enghien*. We marched the whole night, and the next day paſſed the *Dender* at and above *Leſſines*. Yeſterday morning we marched again from *Leſſines* towards *Oudenard*, where we arrived about noon. We had received intelligence, that the enemy broke up on *Tueſday* from the neighbourhood of *Aloſt*, and were incamped at *Gavre*, and that they alſo paſſed the *Scheld* yeſterday at that place; which indeed we found to be true, perceiving, upon our arrival at *Oudenard*, the enemy upon a full march towards *Tournay*. We laid the bridges over the *Scheld* in their ſight, and our troops paſſed the river, with an unſpeakable ſpeed and courage. About two o' clock the greateſt part of our army had paſſed, with which the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* formed the right wing near *Broan-Caſtle*, about half a league from the town, and began to engage the enemy in a battle. In the mean time I marched likewiſe with the troops of the *States*, which compoſed the left wing, in order to attack the enemy, which I did about five o' clock, having been obliged to make a great round to come at them: And God has been pleaſed ſo to bleſs the arms of the High Allies, that we have intirely beaten the enemy, and forced them to retire in great confuſion, ſome towards *Courtray*, and others towards *Ghent*.

I give myſelf the honour to congratulate their High-Mightineſſes upon this important victory. We ſhall endeavour all we can to make our advantage of it. The enemy will have much ado to bring their army into the field again this year in a good condition. The loſs of the ſlain on their ſide is very conſiderable, beſides a good number of Officers (ſome of them of diſtinction) and common ſoldiers, priſoners. We have alſo taken ſeveral ſtandards and colours, of which I will ſend their High-Mightineſſes a liſt by the next courier.

The bravery and wiſe conduct of the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* cannot be enough commended, nor the zeal and courage of the other Generals of the *States*, who did all, which their duty and regard for the ſervice required of them. All the Officers and Troops, without diſtinction, did all that could be expected from brave men and good ſoldiers. We ſent out a body of horſe and foot this morning to purſue the run-a-way enemy, and ſcatter them yet more, but they were got too far off by the favour of the night. I remain

Your Lordſhip's

From the camp of *Oudenard*, *July* 12, 1708. *Humble and obedient Servant,* AUVERQUERQUE.

Mr. Cardonnel's *letter to Mr.* Cole *at* Venice.

SIR, *Camp at* Oudenard, July 12, 1708.

As ſoon as the enemy had an account, that our army had paſſed the *Dender* at *Leſſines*, they recalled their troops, that were come to inveſt *Oudenard*, and marched with their whole army to *Gavre*, where they began to paſs the *Scheld* yeſterday morning, and continued paſſing till about four in the afternoon. And as my Lord Duke was reſolved to purſue them, in order to engage them to a battle, Major-General *Cadogan* was ſent away very early with a ſtrong detachment, to paſs the ſame river through this town, and to make bridges for the whole army, which followed with all poſſible diligence, to prevent the enemy's paſſing the *Lys*, or their retreat towards the lines. Accordingly, about three in the afternoon, the detachment, with the head of our army, began to attack the enemy in their march; and, in a little time, Brigadier *Sabine*, at the head of his Brigade, beat ſeven of the enemy's battalions, of whom he killed a great number, and took moſt of the reſt priſoners. The enemy then formed their line, and the battle began about five, and laſted with great firmneſs till near ten at night, it being chiefly the foot that were engaged, the enemy ſtill retiring; ſo that, beſides a great ſlaughter, we made a great number of priſoners. We cannot yet give the particulars of this great victory; but ſome thouſands of priſoners, and, among them, ſome general Officers are already brought into town. Forty ſquadrons of horſe, with twenty battalions of foot, are in purſuit of the reſt of their army, which is retiring towards *Ghent*. My Lord Duke, with the Prince of *Savoy*, and Monſieur *d'Auverquerque*, continued on horſe-back

1708. The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, with the Pretender, reached *Ghent* the morning after the battle, by five o'clock; and, about nine, the Duke of *Vendoſme*, who brought up the rear, arrived there alſo. As they were apprehenſive of being purſued by the whole Confederate army, the Duke immediately commanded his troops to march through *Ghent* to *Lovendegen*, on the canal, not far from that City; where, for their greater ſecurity, they caſt up intrenchments, and planted upon them their artillery, which they had left at *Gavre* with their heavy baggage. In this camp they recovered themſelves out of their firſt conſternation; but the former miſunderſtandings revived among their Generals, eſpecially between the Dukes of *Burgundy* 1708.

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the whole night, to animate our troops, and to give the neceſſary orders for the purſuit.

I am, &c.

H. CARDONNEL.

P. S. Since the writing of this, we have an account of about ſix thouſand priſoners brought into the town, beſides near five hundred Officers, of which ſeveral are of note. I heartily congratulate with you on this great and glorious victory, *&c.*

Letter from the Duke of Marlborough *to the Earl of* Mancheſter.

My Lord, *Camp at* Werwick, July 15, 1708.

I return your Lordſhip many thanks for the favour of your letter of the 22d of laſt month, and am glad to ſee your Lordſhip was like ſoon to have juſt ſatiſfaction from the Republic of *Venice*. You need not doubt then, but the Queen will readily grant your deſire of returning home. We are in great expectation of Sir *John Leake*'s being ſailed for *Catalonia*, where the ſuccours from *Italy* will have been very much wanting. We hear the Duke of *Orleans* perſiſted in the ſiege of of *Tortoſa*, notwithſtanding the loſs of his proviſion-ſhips taken by our fleet. Your Lordſhip will have heard with concern the enemy's taking the City of *Ghent*, by the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants. But the good news that will ſoon have followed of our defeating, on *Wedneſday* laſt, part of their army near *Oudenard*, and obliging them to retire behind the canal between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, will have made ſome amends. We took between ſix and ſeven thouſand priſoners, beſides about ſeven hundred Officers, of which ſeveral are of note, and a great number of ſtandards and colours. Our army lay on their arms that night, and on *Thurſday* incamped on the field of battle: On *Friday* we reſted, the troops having need of ſome eaſe, after their great fatigue; and about midnight we detached forty ſquadrons and thirty battalions towards the enemy's lines, between *Warneton* and *Ypres*. The whole army followed by break of day, and incamped at *Helchin*, whence we purſued our march to-day to this camp cloſe to the lines, which we found our detachment had forced, and taken five hundred priſoners, the only guard the enemy had left for their ſecurity. We do not think, that their army is marched from behind the canal, which, with their poſſeſſing of *Ghent*, will be a great obſtruction to our bringing up our heavy cannon and other artillery; ſo that I fear we ſhall be obliged to retake that place, before we can make any further progreſs.

Extract of an intercepted letter from a French *Officer, who was in the battle.*

I can only ſend you an unwelcome relation of the particulars of the battle, which happened yeſterday about two in the afternoon near *Oudenard*. It will prove a great blow to *France*; for, without exaggerating the matter, we had above ten thouſand men killed, wounded, or taken. The action was very ill managed on our ſide; for, inſtead of attacking the enemy when they began to paſs the *Scheld* near *Oudenard* at eleven in the morning, we let them come over the river quietly, which they never would have adventured to do, had we, in any tolerable manner, offered to diſpute their paſſage; but, ſeeing us ſtand ſtill, they were encouraged to proſecute their firſt deſign, and began to paſs over two bridges, which they had laid. As faſt as their horſe and foot came over, they ranged themſelves in order of battle againſt us; and while our Generals were in ſuſpenſe what reſolution to take, whether to venture an engagement or not, the enemy's army continued coming over the river, and ſoon poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome villages and hedges; ſo that, at laſt, our Generals were compelled to endeavour to diſlodge them. Accordingly, our infantry advanced, and the ground was diſputed two or three hours, with a terrible fire and great obſtinacy on both ſides; but our foot being tired with charging the enemy five or ſix times, and being diſheartened to ſee themſelves not ſupported by our horſe (who could not act, becauſe the ground was full of incloſures) and preſſed hard by the enemy, were, at length, forced to retire, and quit the ground to them. We dragoons were obliged to endure the continual fire of the enemy's foot and cannon, without daring to ſtir, becauſe we were on the right of the King's houſhold, who ſuffered as much as we. Towards the evening we were fallen upon by a great number of the enemy's horſe, to hinder us from ſuccouring the reſt, who were put to the route, and of ſeven regiments of dragoons we loſt above half. At laſt, we had no other expedient left, than to force our way through the enemy; but firſt we ſent to ſee whether we could be aſſiſted in that deſign by any of our forces. In the mean time night came on apace, and we were informed, that the King's houſhold (whoſe retreat was covered in ſome meaſure by us) were at too great a diſtance. Things ſtanding thus, our reſolution of breaking through the enemy ſunk, and, ſome of the enemy's adjutants ſummoning us to yield ourſelves priſoners of war, we ſubmitted to it, ſeeing no other way to ſave our lives. At leaſt forty of our regiments are reduced to a wretched condition, the greateſt part of them being killed or taken; ſo that it will be long before they can be re-eſtabliſhed. Of four regiments of the King's houſhold, at leaſt half are taken priſoners, and among them are ſeveral perſons of note. The Chevalier *de Longueville* and fifteen other Officers were mortally wounded, and two of them are dead ſince the battle. The regiments of *Pfiffer* and *Villars* are quite ruined, and almoſt all their Officers are taken, with all their baggage, *&c.* Amongſt the priſoners were above ſeven hundred Officers, *viz.* a Lieutenant-General, four Major-Generals, five Brigadiers, fourteen Colonels, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, nine Majors, two hundred and ſix Captains, one hundred and forty ſeven Lieutenants, ninety-ſix Cornets, one hundred and eighty-ſix *Gens d'Armes*, *Chevaux Legers*, or Life-guards, and forty-ſeven Quarter-Maſters. The Marquiſs *de Ximenes*, Colonel of the regiment of Royal *Rouſſillon*, and the Sieur *de la Bretache*, Colonel of horſe, with a great number of other Officers, were killed.

A letter written by one of the Duke of Vendoſme's *confidents, ſuppoſed to be Monſieur* Capiſtron, *the Duke's Secretary.*

Away with your conſternation, Sir, and do not betray in yourſelf the weakneſs common to your Nation, who never light of a misfortune, but preſently all is loſt. I tell you, in the firſt place, that the reports you hinted to me are falſe, and the Duke of *Vendoſme* laughs at them. As for the three marches, which he ſuffered to be ſtolen from him, and his not guarding the

1708. gandy and *Vendoſme*, who, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Court, could never be brought to a reconciliation (1).

While the *French* were intrenching themſelves behind the canal between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, the Confederate troops being returned to their camp (which was the field of battle) they reſted two days. Mean time the Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, Monſieur *Auverquerque*, and the States Deputies, debated in a Council of war, how they might beſt improve their late ſucceſs. The reſult was, That the Duke of *Marlborough*'s army ſhould immediately march to *Menin*, paſs the *Lys*, level the *French* lines between *Ypres* and *Warneton*, and hinder any detachment from getting into *Ypres*, or the *French* army from retiring that way; and that Prince *Eugene*, with a detachment of the grand army, ſhould march, at the ſame time, towards *Bruſſels*, to aſſemble his forces, obſerve the motions of the Duke of *Berwick*, and hinder likewiſe the enemy's army near *Ghent*, from retreating through *Brabant* the ſame way they came. According to theſe reſolutions, Count *Lottum*, General of the *Pruſſians*, marched, the 13th of *July*, at night, with thirty battalions, and forty ſquadrons, the next day advanced towards the *French* lines, and took ſeveral ſmall places. The ſame day the army took their route towards *Menin*, paſſed the *Lys* near that place, and incamped at a ſmall diſtance from the town. Whilſt a detachment from the Confederate army demoliſhed the *French* lines between *Ypres* and the *Lys*, another was ſent to raiſe contributions as far as *Arras*, which ſtruck ſuch a terror every where, that it reached the very City of *Paris*. 1708.

Whilſt theſe affairs were in agitation, the Confederate troops expected their heavy cannon, in order to undertake an important ſiege; and the *French* continued in their poſts along the canal of *Bruges*, without giving the Allies any diſturbance. The only method they pitched upon, as moſt proper to be put in execution, was to harraſs the *Dutch Flanders* with ſmall parties. This they did, and, whilſt the Confederate army raiſed great contributions in *Picardy* and elſewhere, the *French* plundered a few Boors under the Government of the *States*. Their next attempt was againſt the forts of the *Red-Houſe*, and fort *Plaſſendale*, which they made themſelves maſters of ſword in hand. But, whilſt they were endeavouring to amuſe the Confederates by theſe proceedings, ſeveral detachments of the Allies plundered the countries of *Picardy* and *Artois*. Count *Tilly*, the Lieutenant-Generals *Orkney*, *Rantzaw*, and *Hompeſch*, the Major-Generals *Webb*, *Rantzaw*, and Count *d'Arbach*, with forty ſquadrons, twelve battalions, and a thouſand grenadiers, advanced into *Picardy*, to lay the ſame under contribution, or to put that province under military execution. This detachment fell in with eight hundred horſe near *la Baſſeé* and *Lens* (part of the cavalry belonging to the Duke of *Berwick*'s army) of which a conſiderable number were killed, and a Colonel, a Major, a Captain, and two hundred Troopers taken priſoners. The Confederate troops purſued the enemy to the gates of *Lens*, wherein they

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the *Dender*, every body knows, the Duke of *Vendoſme* was for diſputing the paſſage of that river; and that, after three days conteſt, he was forced to ſubmit to the ſentiments of thoſe, who, to avoid an engagement, voted for paſſing the *Scheld*. However it was then, that they were obliged to own, what that Duke had foretold them, *viz.* That, whenever Prince *Eugene* underſtood they had a mind to avoid fighting, he would force them to do it, whether they would or no.

As to what they ſay, that the Duke of *Vendoſme* ought to have attacked the van of the enemy's army, in their paſſing the *Scheld*, he knew better things. For as ſoon as he received advice from the Marquiſs of *Biron*, that part of the enemy's army was over, he was for attacking it, while he ſaw the duſt made by the columns of that army on the other ſide of the river, about half a league from *Oudenard*; but he was ſingle in his opinion, and conſequently not hearkened to. This was at ten in the morning. At four in the afternoon Major-General *Grimaldi* was ordered, without the Duke of *Vendoſme*'s knowledge, to begin the attack; which, however, when he ſaw, he was for continuing it. Accordingly he ſent Monſieur *Jenet*, his Aid de Camp, to the left, with orders for them to engage, but he was killed in his return. Theſe orders were not executed, ſome Officers inſinuating *mal a propos* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that there was a quagmire and an impracticable moraſs; whereas the Duke of *Vendoſme* and the Count *d'Evreux* had paſſed an hour before.

As to the retreat, the Duke of *Vendoſme* was not for it; but, as he was backed in his opinion by the Count *d'Evreux* only, he was again obliged to ſubmit. No ſooner therefore had he given the word for the army to retreat, but all got on horſeback, and with aſtoniſhing precipitation fled to *Ghent*; and there were not wanting thoſe, who adviſed the Princes to ſet out poſt from thence for *Ypres*.

The Duke of *Vendoſme*, who was obliged, for a good part of the time, to make the rear-guard with his Aid de Camp, did not reach *Ghent* till almoſt nine in the morning, when he made a firm reſolution to poſt the army behind the canal, which goes from that place to *Bruges*, though againſt the advice of all the General Officers, who threatened for three days together to abandon him; and ſaid, they ought to endeavour to join the Duke of *Berwick*. That firmneſs ſaved the King's army, and *France* itſelf; for the fright the army was in would have cauſed a greater diſgrace than that of *Ramillies*. Whereas the Duke of *Vendoſme*, by poſting himſelf behind the canal, has covered *Ghent* and *Bruges*, which is the eſſential point, and thereby revived and put courage into the troops, and given the Officers time to recollect themſelves, and to know the Country. In a word, he has thrown the enemy out of action; and if they attack any of our ſtrong places, as *Ypres*, *Liſle*, *Mons*, or *Tournay*, the Duke of *Vendoſme* will take *Oudenard*, make himſelf maſter of the *Scheld*, and ſo puzzle them. This, Sir, is the very truth, and the ſame the Duke of *Vendoſme* has ſent to the King, *&c.*

(1) *Burnet* obſerves, *Vendoſme* took ſo much upon him, that the other Officers complained of his neglecting them; ſo they made their Court to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and laid the blame of all his miſcarriages on *Vendoſme*. He kept cloſe to the orders he had from *Verſailles*, where the accounts he gave, and the advices he offered, were more conſidered, than thoſe that were ſent by the Duke of *Burgundy*: This was very uneaſy to him, who was impatient of contradiction, and longed to be in action, though he did not ſhew the forwardneſs, in expoſing his own perſon, that was expected: He ſeemed very devout, even to bigotry; but by the accounts we had from *France*, it did appear, that his conduct, during the campaign, gave no great hopes or proſpect from him, when all things ſhould come into his hands: *Chamillard* was often ſent from Court to ſoften him, and to reconcile him to the Duke of *Vendoſme*, but with no effect. Vol. II. 509.

(1) *Liſle*

1708. they had poſted fourteen hundred foot, which abandoned the place upon the approach of the Confederate infantry. After this the Generals raiſed conſiderable ſums in the province of *Picardy*, burnt the ſuburbs of *Dourlens*, and returned with hoſtages for the contributions they had agreed on to be paid to the Allies, without any manner of oppoſition.

Some time after, a detachment from the *French* army at *Lovendegen*, under the command of the Chevalier *de Rozen*, made an irruption into the *Dutch Flanders*; but they performed little more than the other part of the army commanded by the Duke of *Burgundy*. They fell in upon the *Dutch* lines of *Bervliet*, which they took, having no manner of guard to defend them, Lieutenant-General *Fagel* and Major-General *Murray* retiring before them, for want of a ſufficient force to make a ſtand; their troops not amounting to more than three battalions, and a regiment of dragoons. Afterwards the *French* advanced, and fell into the Iſland of *Caſandt*, where they plundered and burnt above a hundred houſes belonging to the country Farmers and Boors, and beſides, obliged the inhabitants of the Iſland to pay contributions. Thus they finiſhed their expedition, without putting any thing farther material in execution, and retired back to rejoin their main body.

This invaſion of *Dutch Flanders* did not occaſion any alteration in the meaſures, that had been concerted for a conſiderable ſiege; in order to which a great train of artillery, and a vaſt number of waggons laden with warlike ſtores, had, with all poſſible expedition, been provided at *Bruſſels*. Prince *Eugene*'s army from *Germany* had now joined the Confederates; and the *French* foreſeeing the ſtorm, and rightly conjecturing, that *Liſle* was the place, which the Allies intended to bend their main force againſt, had made proviſions ſuitable to the greatneſs of the danger they apprehended. For, beſides the preſence of the Marſhal *de Boufflers*, Governor of all *French Flanders*, and of the Lieutenants-General *de Surville*, *Lee*, and other Officers of diſtinction, they threw into the place twenty-one battalions of the beſt troops of *France*. But notwithſtanding the difficulties, that muſt naturally attend the ſiege of ſo ſtrong and ſo well-provided a place, beſides others occaſioned by the Confederates being cut off from their magazines in *Antwerp* and *Saovan-Ghent*; all which made the Duke of *Vendoſme* ſay, "That he "did not think ſo wiſe a Captain as Prince "*Eugene* would venture upon ſo raſh an enter-"prize;" yet nothing was able to deter the Confederate Generals from their reſolutions. So that, having brought a great convoy of proviſions, ammunition, and other warlike ſtores from *Bruſſels* to *Menin*, *Liſle* (1) was inveſted on the 13th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* on one ſide by Prince *Eugene*, and on the other by the Prince of *Orange-Naſſau*, Stadt-holder of *Friſeland*, in the following manner: The artillery being arrived at *Pottes*, and all things concerted for the ſiege, the Prince of *Orange-Naſſau* was detached with thirty-one battalions, to take poſt at *Marquet* upon the *Deule*, within half a league of *Liſle*, and Lieutenant-General *Wood*, with thirty-four ſquadrons, marched to *Potteghem*. The grand army marched likewiſe from their camp at *Werwick* to *Helchin*; and, the ſame day, Prince *Eugene*, having paſſed the *Marque* at *Pont-a-Treſſin*, inveſted the town between that place and the *Upper Deule*, whilſt the Prince of *Orange-Naſſau* did the ſame with his detachment between the *Upper* and *Lower Deule*; by which means the enemy were ſhut up, and could put no further reinforcements into the place. The Duke of *Marlborough* took upon him to cover the ſiege; and to that end incamped at *Helchin*, where he had a conveniency from time to time to reinforce the troops imployed in the ſiege, or to march and fight the enemy, as occaſion ſhould require. 1708.

Liſle *inveſted.*

This important ſiege was to be carried on with fifty battalions; ſix *Imperialiſts*, nine *Palatines*, five *Heſſians*, and thirty from the grand army; and, all matters being put into a proper poſture for a vigorous ſiege, the trenches were opened on the 22d of *Auguſt*, between ſeven and eight in the evening, on the right and left of the *Lower Deule*; the right againſt the gate of *St. Andrew*, under the direction of Monſieur *des Roques*, and the other againſt *St. Magdalen Gate*, under the care of Monſieur *du Mey*. Four thouſand workmen were commanded for this ſervice, covered by ten battalions of the *Imperial*, *Palatine*, and *Heſſian* troops, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Wilke*, and Major-General *Volkerſhoven*. Ten battalions and ſix hundred horſe were ready to ſuſtain them; but the trenches were carried on with ſo good ſucceſs, that the Allies had above two hours time to cover themſelves, before they were perceived by the enemy; who made a terrible fire from the town, though with ſo little execution, that the Confederates had not above three or four men killed, and about fifteen wounded. On the 23d, Lieutenant-General *Pettenſdorf*, in the ſervice of the Elector *Palatine*, and the Major-Generals *Sacken* and *Soble*, relieved the trenches with four *Imperial* and ſix *Heſſian* battalions, and one thouſand workmen at each attack. But *Pettenſdorf* going from one attack to the other, and miſſing his way in the night, had the misfortune to be taken priſoner, and carried into the town. The 24th, Lieutenant-General *Spaar* relieved the trenches, with Major General *Collier*, the Brigadiers *Waſſanaer* and *Keppel*, and the *Britiſh* battalions of *Godfrey* and *Ingoldſby*, two *Pruſſian*, the *Daniſh* guards, and the battalions of *Orange*, *Bellem*, *Swarts*, and *Mey*. The ſame night, three hundred and twenty grenadiers were commanded to attack the Chapel of *St. Magdalen*, wherein the enemy had a hundred and twenty grenadiers, with two Captains, and ſome ſubaltern Officers, who having loſt one of their Captains, and about twenty men, the reſt ſurrendered. The Beſiegers had, in this action, near thirty

(1) *Liſle* is a large, rich, and ſtrong City, the Capital of *French Flanders*, and, next to *Paris*, was reckoned the chief place of the King of *France*'s dominions. The Allies inveſted it *Auguſt* 13, 1708. The Town was ſurrendered to them, *October* 23, and the Citadel, *December* 11. It ſtands among the pools and marſhes, fifteen miles Weſt of *Tournay*, twenty-eight North of *Doway*, thirty-ſix South-Weſt of *Ghent*, thirty-ſeven South-Eaſt of *Dunkirk*, and thirty-eight almoſt Weſt of *Mons*.

1708. thirty men killed and wounded; ſome Officers and Monſieur *du Mey* (Director of the attacks) received a ſmall contuſion. The 26th the Beſieged retook the Chapel, having made a ſally with moſt of the grenadiers and two ſquadrons of dragoons. But the Prince of *Orange-Naſſau*, being in the trenches, cauſed two battalions to advance, who retook it, and cauſed the enemy to retire with precipitation into the counterſcarp. The 27th in the morning, the Beſiegers fired fifty pieces of cannon and twenty mortars upon the town with ſo good ſucceſs, that they beat down one of the enemy's batteries. On the 29th, early in the morning, the Confederate troops ſtormed a fortified mill on the right near the gate of *St. Andrew* with three hundred grenadiers, beat the enemy from that poſt, and took ſeveral priſoners; but, at the ſame time, the enemy made ſo terrible a fire from the ramparts, that the Beſiegers were obliged to quit it. The next day three hundred grenadiers were commanded to retake that mill, but the enemy ſet it on fire, and abandoned that poſt. On the laſt of *Auguſt* the Prince of *Holſtein-Beck* relieved the trenches; and each battalion was ordered to furniſh ſix waggons, to carry ſtones near the batteries, to throw the ſame with mortars into the enemy's works. The 1ſt of *September*, at night, the Imperialiſts relieved the trenches, and the Beſiegers carried on the ſap towards the ſaliant angle of the counterſcarp of the horn-work, within fifty paces of the palliſadoes; and a vaſt quantity of faſcines and gabions were prepared for making their lodgment on the counterſcarp. At the ſame time the breach being very wide, and the ditch almoſt filled up with the ruins of the walls, Marſhal *Boufflers* was apprehenſive, that the town would fall into the Confederates hands, and therefore ordered ſeveral of the largeſt pieces of cannon to be removed into the citadel. On the 4th the Prince of *Holſtein-Beck* relieved the trenches; as did alſo Lieutenant-General *Spaar* the next day; and the approaches were carried on ſo ſucceſsfully, that it was judged, the counterſcarp would be ſtormed the ſame evening; but that enterprize was deferred till the 7th.

The French in vain attempt to relieve Liſle.

Whilſt the ſiege of *Liſle* was thus vigorouſly carried on, the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Vendoſme*, and *Berwick* made two or three feint advances, as if they deſigned to attack the Duke of *Marlborough*; who, upon thoſe motions, gave orders for his army to be ready to march upon the firſt occaſion; and, in the mean time, detached the Earl of *Athlone*, with fifteen hundred horſe, to obſerve the enemy. The Earl advancing towards *Leuſe*, his van-guard fell in with an hundred horſe, detached from the Duke of *Berwick*'s army, whom they charged, defeated, and took thirty priſoners. The enemy made ſeveral marches and counter-marches, whereby it was apparent, that they deſigned to attempt the raiſing of the ſiege. The Duke of *Burgundy* likewiſe ſent a ſpy, to endeavour to get into *Liſle*, and acquaint the Marſhal *Boufflers*, that, their army being on this ſide *Tournay*, he might depend upon being relieved; but that Meſſenger happened to be diſcovered and ſeized by the Allies. Upon this the Duke of *Marlborough*, in expectation of an engagement, ordered the Confederate army, on the 5th of *September*, to march to the ground marked out for them, in order to give the enemy battle; and being reinforced by Prince *Eugene* with ſeventy-two ſquadrons and twenty-ſix battalions from the ſiege (with which troops came alſo King *Auguſtus* and the Landtgrave of *Heſſe*, as Voluntiers) and Lieutenant-General *Fagel* having marched with incredible ſpeed out of *Dutch Flanders* and *Brabant*, and joined the Confederate army with ſeven battalions and as many ſquadrons, they continued till ten o' clock in order of battle. But the enemy declined coming to an engagement; ſo that the Confederate Generals ordered the tents to be pitched again, and the detachment of Prince *Eugene* returned to the camp before *Liſle*, except ſome Imperial and *Heſſian* ſquadrons. The Generals concluding, that the enemy had no other deſign than to give them frequent alarms, to retard the ſiege, and ſtreighten them in their forage, without venturing an engagement, one hundred men out of each battalion were ordered to caſt up an intrenchment in the front of their army, which would both ſecure the troops from any ſudden ſurprize, and leave the Beſiegers at liberty to carry on their attacks without interruption. 1708.

The counterſcarp is attacked and taken.

The Confederates, thus finding it impracticable to bring the enemy to a battle, thought fit to ſtorm the counterſcarp of *Liſle*, which had been delayed by theſe movements; and, on the 7th of *September* in the morning, they made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for that enterprize, having received a reinforcement from the grand army of ſeven hundred grenadiers, and the like number of fuſileers, and ſix hundred workmen. Eight hundred grenadiers, ſupported by the like number of fuſileers, thirty carpenters, and two hundred workmen, were commanded for the attack of the right, between the *Lower Deule* and the gate *St. Andrew*, under the direction of the Sieur *des Roques*; and ſixteen hundred grenadiers, ſupported by the like number of fuſileers, thirty carpenters, and two thouſand workmen, were commanded for the attack of the left, between the river and the gate of *St. Magdalen*, under the direction of the Sieur *du Mey*. The batteries of the Confederates made a continual fire before the attack on all the baſtions to diſturb the enemy; and after the ſignal of three guns, and a general diſcharge of all the artillery, the attack was made with ſo much order and courage on the part of the Officers and Soldiers, that the counterſcarp was taken in a ſhort time, notwithſtanding it was defended by two hundred men of each regiment in the garriſon; and the Beſiegers lodged themſelves in the covered way. But the enemy made ſuch a terrible fire from their out-works with their cannon, mortars, and ſmall arms, and ſprung three mines in the covered way, that there were no leſs than one thouſand men wounded and ſlain.

The Confederates, having made themſelves maſters of the counterſcarp, endeavoured to perfect their works with all poſſible application. In the night, between the 9th and 10th, the enemy made a ſally, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. On the 11th, the Imperialiſts relieved the trenches, and an Adjutant came from the grand army, to acquaint Prince *Eugene*, that the *French* were advanced within ſight of the intrenchments, and ſeemed to have a deſign to attack them. Whereupon the Prince marched with fifteen battalions, and the cavalry, to reinforce the Duke of *Marlborough*. The Duke, being at dinner, received advice,

1708. that the *French* foragers were advanced within a quarter of a league of the Confederate camp, and were ſuſtained by ſeveral regiments. Lieutenant-General *Wood*, who happened to be at table, deſired his permiſſion, that he might charge them with two battalions only: The Duke granted his requeſt; and having detached the regiment of Sir *Richard Temple*, and another *Engliſh* battalion for that enterprize, they fell upon the enemy, whom they repulſed as far as *Ennevelin*, where they had poſted ſome forces in a caſtle, which was ſurrounded with ditches. The *Engliſh* endeavoured to diſlodge them from thence, and charged the *French* with great bravery. But the Duke of *Vendoſme* cauſed all his grenadiers, and the piquet of ſix brigades, which were incamped in the front of his army near *Pont-a-Marque*, to ſupport his troops in the caſtle. Whereupon the two battalions were obliged to retire, after a very ſtout reſiſtance, and retreated in good order, with the loſs of about ſix or ſeven Officers, and near two hundred men killed or wounded. The next morning the *French* troops began to be in motion, and about two in the afternoon the Allies ſaw the head of their army, conſiſting of ſeveral battalions and ſquadrons, with their workmen, who levelled the ground between them and the Allies intrenchments. The Confederate Generals now thought the enemy were reſolved upon an attack, ſo that the troops were immediately ordered to their arms, and the regiments commanded to their reſpective poſts behind the intrenchments. Prince *Eugene* likewiſe joined the army; and, at the ſame time, orders were ſent to the Earl of *Albemarle* (who was then between *Oudenard* and *Menin* with thirty ſquadrons, to guard a convoy from *Bruſſels*) to return to the camp with the utmoſt expedition; and accordingly the Earl, on the 12th, by break of day, arrived with his detachment. About four in the afternoon, the enemy began to cannonade the Confederate camp, directing their fire chiefly againſt the village of *Entiers* (where the Brigadiers *Evans* and *Wertmuller* were poſted with two Brigades of foot) and were anſwered by the artillery, planted on the intrenchments, which continued till it was dark. The Confederate troops, which lay upon their arms all night, were the next day formed in order of battle, and early in the morning the enemy renewed their cannonading with between thirty and forty pieces, moſt twenty-four pounders, and the Allies did the like with almoſt equal execution on both ſides. At length the enemy withdrew their heavy cannon; and the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* perceiving, that they had no other deſign, than by frequent alarms to delay the ſtorming the out-works of *Liſle*, the troops were ordered to incamp in ſuch a manner, as to be immediately ready to receive the *French*, provided they ſhould make any farther attempts, and the works about the village of *Entiers* were repaired, and enlarged for the greater ſecurity of that poſt. Prince *Eugene* being ſatisfied, that the Confederate camp was ſufficiently ſecured, he returned, on the 13th of *September*, with his troops to the ſiege.

In the mean while, the *French* Generals were contriving means to diſtreſs the Confederate army in ſuch a manner, as to oblige Prince *Eugene* to raiſe the ſiege; and, in order to this, they at laſt found an opportunity of engaging ſome of the inhabitants at *Aeth* in a conſpiracy to deliver up that town; while, on the other hand, they were indefatigable in concerting meaſures for cutting off the convoys, of which the camp before *Liſle* ſtood in need. The former ſcheme failed; for, before the conſpiracy at *Aeth* was ripe for execution, it was diſcovered. But, in in the latter part of their deſign, they ſucceeded; for, after various motions of both armies, they began to throw up lines for ſecuring the paſſes of the *Scheld*, and worked at them ſo hard, that they appeared rather like the fortifications of a town, than intrenchments thrown up in haſte, notwithſtanding they were ſeventy miles in length. On theſe they laid cannon, and poſted the greateſt part of their army upon them, ſo that they did effectually ſtop all communication by the *Scheld*. Upon which, the *States* ordered all that was neceſſary, both for the army and for the ſiege, to be ſent to *Oſtend*: And if the *French* had begun their deſigns, with the intercepting this way of conveyance, the ſiege muſt have been raiſed, for want of ammunition to carry it on. 1708.

Bold attempt of a French Officer. Mil. Hiſt.

The Duke of *Burgundy* was very uneaſy for want of intelligence from *Liſle*; which put *Dubois*, a Captain in his army, on one of the boldeſt enterprizes, which perhaps was ever undertaken by a ſingle man: He determined to attempt getting into the City, notwithſtanding the ſtrict guards kept by the Beſiegers. He undreſſed himſelf, and, having hid his clothes, ſwam over ſeven canals and ditches, and ſo got into the town. Marſhal *Boufflers*, having provided him with clothes, conducted him to both the attacks, ſhewed him the condition all things were in, and, having written a letter to the Duke of *Burgundy*, he rolled it up in wax, which the Captain put in his mouth. He then returned the ſame way he came, with the intelligence the Duke of *Burgundy* wanted; by which it is ſaid, Marſhal *Boufflers* acquainted him, that, if one of the Allies convoys could be intercepted, the ſiege would be raiſed; and that he would undertake, the place ſhould hold out till the 6th or 10th of *October*.

On the 12th of *September*, about nine in the morning, the Beſieged came out of the town in great numbers, with four colours, and attacked the trenches on the left in ſix different places, having, at the ſame time, another body of troops in the covered way, ready to ſuſtain them. But, before they could do any other damage than the overturning a few gabions, they were engaged by the next battalions in the trenches, and obliged to retreat in great diſorder, having had above ſixty men killed, and among them ſeveral Officers; and, of the Confederates, fourteen men were killed, and near thirty wounded. Lieutenant-General *Arnam* continued that night in the trenches, which were relieved the night between the 13th and 14th by the Prince of *Holſtein-Beck*; but the works were not advanced very much, becauſe the troops, which had joined the grand army with Prince *Eugene*, were not returned to their reſpective poſts. However, they arrived the 14th, a little before break of day. The ſame night the trenches were relieved by Lieutenant-General *Spaar*, with ten battalions, as uſual; and the Beſiegers began to work upon ſome mines, in order to fill up the ditch of the tenaille, and they placed a great many gabions on the paliſadoes.

1708. ſadoes. On the 15th, Prince *Eugene* thought fit to alter the former diſpoſitions for relieving the trenches, and ordered, that all the Lieutenant-Generals of his army ſhould roll according to their turns: That one of them ſhould mount the trenches every day with a Major-General: That the former ſhould take his poſt at the attack on the left, and the latter on the right: And that twelve battalions, inſtead of ten, ſhould mount the trenches, five *Imperialiſts*, *Palatines*, and *Heſſians*, and ſeven detached from the troops of the Prince of *Naſſau*. Accordingly, on the 17th in the evening, Lieutenant-General *Wilks* relieved the trenches with twelve battalions; and, the ſame night, Director *du Mey* attacked, with fifty grenadiers, and the like number of fuſileers, a traverſe in the covered way, from which he beat the enemy with conſiderable loſs. From the 17th to the 20th, the Beſiegers made their advances with all poſſible diligence. The aſſault was intended to be made on the 20th in the evening; but, the enemy having burnt the galleries and bridges, which were to be made uſe of therein, it was for this reaſon put off to the 21ſt in the evening. About half an hour after ſix, the trenches were relieved by Lieutenant-General *Wilks*, Major-General *Saiken*, and Sir *Richard Temple*, with the uſual number of battalions, the ſignal being given by a general diſcharge from the batteries, and the mines on the right and left ſprung with good ſucceſs. The grenadiers marched out with great intrepidity, mounted the breach of the tenaille on the right, obliged the enemy to retire into the retrenchment of that work, and made there a good lodgment. On the left, they had ſtill greater ſucceſs, for they poſſeſſed themſelves of a place of arms on the counterſcarp of the tenaille, and drove the enemy out of the counterſcarp before the grand breach, ſo that here they made two lodgments; but, on a ſudden, the enemy came down in ſuch numbers, that the Officer, who commanded this party of the Allies with a conſiderable number of his men, were preſently killed, the lodgments ruined, and the reſt of the grenadiers obliged to retire. Prince *Eugene* ſeeing this, and believing, that his preſence would re-animate the grenadiers, came out of the trenches, and, as the *French* accounts ſay, rallied them thrice, advancing at their head, till he received a wound by a muſket-ſhot, which, grazing over his left eye, beat off his hat. The Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, who was near him, took his own hat, which was likewiſe ſhot through, and put it upon Prince *Eugene*'s head, who was prevailed on to retire, in order to have his wound dreſſed. This action coſt the Allies near a thouſand men, to ſupply which, the Duke of *Marlborough* ſent, the next day, a reinforcement of four hundred *Britiſh* and *Pruſſian* grenadiers from his army to the ſiege. The ſame morning the Duke and King *Auguſtus* went to make Prince *Eugene* a viſit, and, finding him ready to mount on horſeback, they prevailed on him to continue a few days in his chamber, till he was perfectly recovered; during which time the Duke ſuſtained the weight of the command, both of the ſiege and his own army; for he immediately went into the trenches, viſited the works, and performed all that Prince *Eugene* would have done, had he not been prevented by his wounds.

On the 22d Major-General *Cadogan* ſet out for *Oſtend* to view a conſiderable number of troops, which were landed there from *England*, under the command of Lieutenant-General *Erle*, and to concert the neceſſary meaſures for ſecuring a great convoy they expected from *Oſtend*. Theſe troops had been embarked on board the fleet for ſome time, made a feint of landing in *Boulogne*-bay, and afterwards alarmed the *French* coaſt of *Normandy*, to the great terror and expence of the inhabitants; and, at length returning to their own coaſt, the Duke of *Marlborough* deſired they might be landed at *Oſtend*; and they proved a very ſeaſonable reinforcement to the grand army in that critical conjuncture. The ſame day the four hundred grenadiers, who were detached from the Duke's army, and five and fifty fuſileers, were to poſt themſelves that evening in the tenaille on the left; but the grenadiers arriving too late, the attack was deferred till the next day; ſo that, on the 23d, all things being in readineſs, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was in the trenches, cauſed a ſignal to be given for the ſtorm to begin, which was carried on with all imaginable ſucceſs. The troops drove the enemy quite from the tenaille on the left (that on the right being taken the 21ſt at night) and made a great lodgment along the covered way, without any conſiderable loſs, except ſome Engineers and Officers, who were wounded. It was obſerved on this occaſion, that the enemy did not defend theſe poſts with the ſame vigour, which they had formerly exerted; from whence it was conjectured, that either the garriſon had been much weakened in the hot diſputes, which they had ſuſtained, or began to want ammunition, which afterwards proved very apparent. For, the ſiege having been protracted to an unuſual length, and the garriſon having ſuſtained ſeveral aſſaults, and made all the while prodigious fire, Marſhal *Boufflers* found means to acquaint the Duke of *Vendoſme*, that he had ſcarce ammunition ſufficient for four days; which preſſing neceſſity obliged the enemy to venture upon a bold attempt of ſupplying the place. In order to that, the Duke of *Vendoſme* detached the Chevalier *de Luxemburg*, and under him Monſieur *de Tournefort*, with a body of horſe and dragoons to endeavour to ſupply the Beſieged, each man having a bag of forty pound weight of powder behind him. They advanced, the 28th at night, along the cauſey from *Doway* to *Liſle*, and were met by an out-guard of one hundred horſe, commanded by Count *Schlick*, who had been incamped at *Pont-a Treſſin* with thirty ſquadrons. This out-guard challenged them, and they declared, that they belonged to the Allies grand army, and were conducting ſome priſoners to the camp. But a ſubaltern Officer, having a miſtruſt, advanced to examine them, who, thinking it impoſſible to conceal themſelves any longer, rode full gallop along the cauſey, and got into the line of circumvallation. The guard and centinels having fired at them, the camp in general took the alarm, and ſeveral *Palatine* dragoons, getting on horſeback with the utmoſt expedition, fell upon the enemy, and purſued them to the barrier of the town, which the Beſieged were at firſt cautious of opening, and left their men for ſome time expoſed, by which means a great many were killed, and ſeveral returned back into the Confederate camp, and endeavoured to ſave themſelves by favour of the night.

1708.

1708. night. The infantry made ſeveral diſcharges at them, and the powder they had in their bags taking fire did great miſchief. Thoſe, who made their eſcape, threw away their powder, which was ſet on fire by their horſes ſtriking againſt the pavement. The Allies took ſeven officers and about forty priſoners; but what numbers were killed and blown up, could not eaſily be known (1).

The French endeavour to intercept the convoy from Oſtend.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting before *Liſle*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who, on the 25th of *September*, returned to the camp at *Lanoy*, was employed in making detachments, and taking other meaſures for ſecuring a great convoy of ammunition, that was expected from *Oſtend*. The Duke had ordered ſix battalions, and eight hundred horſe under Brigadier *Landſberg*, ten ſquadrons under Brigadier *Starkerberg*, and ſix battalions under General *Els*, to guard the convoy. But having received advice, that the *Engliſh* troops under Lieutenant-General *Erle* had advanced to *Leffingen*, on the canal between *Bruges* and *Newport*, and that the Count *de la Motte* had been reinforced with ſeveral Brigades from the *French* army to intercept him; he concluded, that the detachment, he had ordered, would not be ſufficient to oppoſe the enemy. And therefore Major-General *Webb*, and Brigadier Count *Naſſau-Woudenburgh*, ſon to the Veldt-Marſhal *d'Auverquerque*, marched the 26th, by break of day, with twelve battalions more, to join the detachment on the road between *Menin* and *Oſtend*, and were ordered to advance as far as *Ichtegem*, in the country called *le Franc de Bruges*, about four leagues from *Leffingen*. Major-General *Cadogan* marched, in the mean time, with a detachment of horſe and foot, to meet the convoy upon their paſſing the canal of *Bruges*. Notwithſtanding it was impoſſible to take other precautions for ſecuring that convoy, than thoſe which were taken, yet the Confederates were under great uneaſineſs for it, upon advice, that the body of troops, which the enemy had about *Bruſſels*, were marched by *Ninove* to *Ghent*, to join the Count *de la Motte*; and that the intercepting of that convoy was judged ſo important, that the Duke of *Berwick* was gone to *Bruges* to command the army aſſembled there. The *French* having concerted all the neceſſary meaſures for diſturbing the Allies, and depriving them of any ſupplies, the Count *de la Motte* marched from *Ghent* with above twenty-two thouſand men, and came up with ſix thouſand of the Confederate troops, that were ordered to guard the convoy; which occaſioned one of the moſt glorious and remarkable actions recorded in hiſtory, of which there cannot be a better relation, than what was preſented by Major-General *Webb* to the Queen, on the 6th of *October*, and afterwards publiſhed by authority in the following manner (2):

1708.

Battle of Wynendale.

After that the detachments, which were ſent to cover the march of the waggons from *Oſtend* to the ſiege of *Liſle*, had joined at *Turout* the 27th of *September*, General *Webb*, who, as eldeſt Major-General, commanded in chief, received advice, that Major *Savery* of the regiment of *Gethem* had poſſeſſed himſelf of the poſt at *Oudenburgh*; whereupon he ſent ſix hundred grenadiers under the command of Colonel *Preſton*, a battalion of *Orkney*'s, under the command of Colonel *Hamilton*, with that of *Fune*, commanded by Colonel *Voogt*; the whole under the direction of Brigadier *Landſberg*, to reinforce that poſt. The 28th, at eight in the morning, all the horſe (under the command of Major-General *Cadogan*) were ordered to *Hoglede*, to wait the arrival of the convoy there, except a hundred

(1) The Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel* gave the following account of this affair to the *States-General:*

High and Mighty Lords,

Yeſterday towards the evening we heard a great blow, which we ſuppoſed to be a mine: Half an hour after another crack was heard, and at midnight ſuch a blaſt, that the ground ſhook with it. This alarmed the whole army. I went to the right, from whence the noiſe came (having firſt given order to all the cavalry under my command to ſaddle and mount) and found, that a great detachment of the enemy, coming from *Doway*, had endeavoured to break through at the aperture of the line of circumvallation, on the highway between *Doway* and *Liſle*, where the *Palatine* horſe are incamped. Part of them having paſſed, and our men putting themſelves in a poſture to oppoſe them, the bags of powder, which moſt of the *French* horſe and dragoons had behind them, of about fifty pound weight each, took fire, which made a terrible noiſe. The foremoſt of them upon this accident rode full gallop towards the town. Nevertheleſs, before they could reach it, the ſame diſaſter befell them a ſecond time, juſt as they came up to the barrier, which might in all probability be occaſioned by the horſes ſhoes ſtriking upon the pavement, or by the ſparks of the firſt fire, that fell upon their men, who were not aware of it. It is ſaid, that at leaſt an hundred men periſhed in this manner near the gate; and it is likely, this is the laſt noiſe we heard. Between fifty and ſixty troopers were killed upon the place, where they paſſed the line; and it was a dreadful ſpectacle to ſee the way ſtrewed with dead carcaſſes, horſes, heads, arms, and legs half burnt. The others, who were behind, retired as faſt as they could. I cauſed them to be purſued, but it was impoſſible to overtake them. They found, however, upon the road, for two leagues beyond the camp, ſacks of powder, ſwords, piſtols, and looſe powder, which ſhews the precipitation, with which they made their retreat. Our *Heſſian Huſſars* ſet fire to a great many ſacks, which they found in the road, as they returned from the purſuit. We reckon, that about three hundred men got into the town, but carried too little powder with them, to balance their loſs. On the other hand, it is plain, that ammunition, which is ſo neceſſary for their defence, begins to fall ſhort in the place.

Your High Mightineſſes will, no doubt, have had direct advice of the advantage, which the troops, lately arrived from *England*, ſuſtained by thoſe General *Cadogan* carried with him from the army, have obtained near the canal, that goes from *Oſtend* to *Newport*, over the Duke of *Berwick*'s troops, that attacked them. The great convoy is arrived at *Menin*. I congratulate your High Mightineſſes upon both theſe accounts, and am, *&c.*

From the camp before *Liſle*, *September* 29, 1708. FREDERIC, Prince of *Heſſe*.

(2) The *London Gazette* of the 20th and 23d of *September*, having, from a wrong and partial information tranſmitted by Mr. *Cardonnel*, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Secretary, given the honour of the action to Major-General *Cadogan*, without ſo much as mentioning Major-General *Webb*, to whom it was intirely due, the latter, reſenting the affront, left the army in diſguſt, came over into *England*, and gave the Queen a true relation of the affair of *Wynendale*.

(1) *Wynen-*

1708. hundred and fifty horſe, which were ſent the night before, under the command of Count *Lottum*, to *Oudenburg*, with orders to the two battalions and ſix hundred grenadiers, to guard the convoy to *Cocklaer*, and afterwards to rejoin the foot at *Turout*. About noon, Count *Lottum* returned to *Turout*, with advice, that, in his way to *Ichtegem*, he met with an advanced guard of the enemy, which he puſhed into the plain, where he obſerved ſixteen ſquadrons mounting in great haſte, on the alarm, which their advanced guard gave them: Whereupon he thought it neceſſary to return in all haſte, to give the General an account of it. On this advice all the foot, conſiſting of twenty-two battalions, Count *Lottum*, with his hundred and fifty horſe, making the advanced guard, with the Quarter-Maſters and Grenadiers, that were not detached, were ordered to march immediately, to gain the village of *Ichtegem*, by the way of *Wynendale* (1). As ſoon as the advanced guard got to *Wynendale*, they perceived the enemy in the opening of the plain; whereupon the Quarter-maſters and Grenadiers were drawn up in order of battle. Major-General *Webb* and Count *Naſſau-Woudenburg*, at the head of the hundred and fifty horſe, advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, giving orders, at the ſame time, to the foot to advance, and form themſelves as faſt as poſſible in the plain. The horſe were left at the opening of the plain, under the command of Count *Lottum*, to amuſe the enemy, and, to embarraſs them the more, the Quarter-maſters and Grenadiers were poſted in a low coppice on that ſide of the plain, where the enemy were expected to paſs. As ſoon as our troops paſſed out of the defile into the plain, Major-General *Webb* drew them up in order of battle, poſting them in the opening, between the wood of *Wynendale* and the coppice, on the other ſide, where the Quarter-maſters and Grenadiers were poſted. We had ſcarce got ſix battalions into the opening, when the enemy began to cannonade us with forty pieces of cannon, whereof ten were of three bores. But, notwithſtanding the great fire of the enemy, the hundred and fifty horſe kept their ground; which produced the deſired effect, in giving the General time to form his foot in two lines. The left wing was extended beyond the low coppice, as well to prevent the enemy from paſſing that way, as to cover our flank. On our right wing was poſted, in the wood of *Wynendale*, the regiment of *Hukelom*; and on our flank on the left, the regiment of the hereditary Prince of *Pruſſia*, commanded by Colonel *Rhador*, with orders not to diſcover themſelves, nor fire, till they could take the enemy in flank. Some platoons of grenadiers were advanced forty paces upon the right and left, with the ſame orders; and the Quarter-maſters were alſo poſted in a road on the left, that croſſed through the forementioned low coppice. The enemy, after three hours cannonading, advanced towards us on the plain in twelve lines, whereof ſix were foot, and ſix horſe. Whereupon Count *Lottum* was ordered to retire, and poſt himſelf three hundred paces behind the foot, which he did in very good order. The *French* continued to march ſtrait up to us with forty battalions and ſixty ſquadrons. But, the General perceiving they extended themſelves to their right in the coppice, he ſent Count *Naſſau* to obſerve their motion, who immediately ordered thither the regiment of *Grumkau*, commanded by Colonel *Beſchefer*: And Brigadier *Eltz*, being come up with the laſt regiment, was poſted on the right in the wood of *Wynendale*. About half a quarter of an hour before the engagement began, Brigadier *Landſberg*, with the two battalions and ſix hundred grenadiers, that had been detached, having advice, that the enemy advanced to attack us, rejoined us juſt time enough to form a third line. Some minutes after the enemy began the attack, marching within a hundred and fifty paces of our flank on the right, where the battalions, who hid themſelves, according to the General's orders, and who were not to fire till the *French* flank came oppoſite to them, gave them ſuch a warm fire, that their left wing gave into the center; and the regiment of the hereditary Prince, who was poſted on the flank on our left, much about the ſame diſtance, did not miſs the opportunity of their diſorder, to give them a vigorous diſcharge, which put their whole line in confuſion. Nevertheleſs, the enemy puſhed on, and put two of our battalions into diſorder. But the *Swiſs* regiment of *Albemarle*, under the command of Colonel *Hirtgell*, advancing upon their horſe, that were endeavouring to penetrate, engaged them long enough to give time to the General and Count *Naſſau*, to bring up the regiments of *Benſdorf*, *Gauvain*, and *Lindeboom*, to ſupply the room of thoſe, that were preſſed; which was done in a moment. However, the enemy, ſupported by ſo many lines, made another attempt to penetrate; but our battalion rather advanced than gave way, though the General gave orders againſt advancing, fearing, leſt that might render the fire of our flanks uſeleſs. This precaution had all the deſired ſucceſs; the regiments and grenadiers making ſuch a continual fire, as forced their two wings upon their center, and obliged the whole to retire in the greateſt confuſion, notwithſtanding all the efforts their Officers could make by encouragement or violence, to keep them up; ſo that they only fired at a great diſtance on our lines, which ours returned, advancing by platoons, as at their exerciſe, with all the order imaginable. Major-General *Cadogan*, who came up ſome time after the action began, offered to charge the enemy in their diſorder with two ſquadrons of horſe; the other four, which he had ſent for, not being arrived till near ſeven at night. But it was not thought adviſeable to expoſe ſo ſmall a number to charge the enemy, who had brought up all their horſe to favour their retreat. The battle laſted two hours, and was very hot, in which we had nine hundred and twelve officers and ſoldiers killed and wounded. But the enemy (as we were aſſured by letters from *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and by report of priſoners and deſerters) loſt betwixt ſix and ſeven thouſand men. They made their retreat in ſo great confuſion, that they left moſt of their cannon 1708.

(1) *Wynendale* is an inconſiderable place in *Spaniſh Flanders*, adjoining to a wood, called the wood of *Wynendale*, eleven miles South-Weſt of *Bruges*, and twenty-eight North of *Liſle*.

1708. cannon in a wood, which they did not carry off till next day at eleven o'clock, after hearing, that our convoy were paſſing *Rouſſelaer*. We remained on the field of battle till two o'clock the next morning, having firſt carried off all our wounded, and ſeveral of the enemy. This victory is the more ſurprizing, that, by reaſon of ſeveral detachments, we had not above ſix thouſand in the action; whereas the enemy, by their own accounts, had no leſs than twenty-four thouſand men.

The convoy arrives ſafe at Menin. Sept. 29. N. S.

The Count *de la Motte*, being obliged to retire, gave the convoy an opportunity to arrive the ſame night unmoleſted at *Rouſſelaer*, and the next day at *Menin:* And, as this critical action was chiefly owing to General *Webb*'s conduct and military abilities, ſo that eminent ſervice was deſervedly acknowledged, both by the unanimous thanks of the Commons of *Great-Britain*, and, in a particular manner, by the King of *Pruſſia*, who conferred on that General the noble Order of *Generoſity* (1).

Siege of Liſle *proſecuted.*

On the 30th of *September*, Prince *Eugene*, being recovered of his wound, viſited the trenches, to the inexpreſſible joy of the Confederate troops. The next day the trenches were relieved by the Prince of *Holſtein-Beck*, Major-General *Sacken*, and Sir *Richard Temple*, with five battalions on the right, and ſeven on the left; and that evening they attacked and made a lodgment on the counterſcarp, before the great breach on the right, the enemy retiring behind the traverſes on the left. On the 3d a diſpoſition was made for attacking the ravelin on the right, and three hundred grenadiers were detached from the Duke of *Marlborough*'s army to join the troops for that ſervice. The attack began about noon, and ſucceeded ſo well, that by half an hour after one they made a lodgment on the ravelin, and forced the enemy behind the traverſes to leap into the water, where moſt of them were killed or drowned; ſo that the Beſiegers were now maſters of both the counter-guards and the ravelin. On the 7th the Beſiegers continued to finiſh the batteries on the counterſcarp, to ruin the batteries of the enemy on the courtine, and beat down the bridge of communication, which they had from a place of arms to the ravelin. They carried on two mines on the left attack towards the ſaliant angle of the counterſcarp, over-againſt the breach, and the miners diſcovered two mines of the enemy, from which they took out the powder. On the 8th, in the evening, the enemy ſallied out, and overturned ſeveral gabions about our places of arms at the left attack; and the next day was partly ſpent about repairing the works, and ſetting up the gabions again, which the enemy had overturned the night before. On the 12th the Beſiegers continued to inlarge the place of arms for the general aſſault, and finiſhed two deſcents into the ditch on the right. But on the left the enemy returned behind two traverſes of the covered way behind the courtine, which hindered the advancement of the work on that ſide. On the 13th the Beſiegers ſprung a mine under the place of arms, which blew up ſeveral of the enemy's men; and in the evening thirty grenadiers attacked the enemy behind the two traverſes on the left, and overſet the boat, by which they would have retired; ſo that, of a Lieutenant, a Serjeant, and twenty men, three only were made priſoners, the reſt being either killed or drowned. The 15th the Beſiegers ſprung four mines in the place of arms on the right, where the enemy had caſt up an intrenchment; inlarged the places of arms for the general aſſault; and on the left made ſome progreſs in the lodgment in the covered way. The 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th, the Beſiegers made all the neceſſary preparations for a general ſtorm, by continuing to drain the ditch, making apertures in the walls, working on the galleries, filling up the ditch, perfecting their lodgments and places of arms, and finiſhing their batteries, which conſiſted of forty-five pieces of cannon and fifty-five mortars; to ſupply which a new convoy of twenty thouſand weight of powder, with a great number of bombs, cannon-balls, and hand-grenado's, arrived at the ſiege from *Oſtend*.

The French *attack* Leffinghen.

The Duke of *Vendoſme*, exaſperated at Count *de la Motte*'s ſhameful defeat at *Wynendale*, marched in perſon to *Oudenburg* with the beſt part of the *French* army, and ordered the dykes between *Bruges* and *Newport* to be cut in ſeveral places, in order to lay the country under water, and hinder the communication between *Oſtend* and the Duke of *Marlborough*'s army. But, notwithſtanding the great inundation, Major-General *Cadogan*, favoured by the *Britiſh* troops at *Leffinghen*, found means to carry through the water conſiderable quantities of ammunition and other neceſſaries. Hereupon the Duke of *Vendoſme* bent his efforts againſt the village of *Leffinghen* with ſeven or eight thouſand of his men (2). They intrenched themſelves, and threw up batteries againſt the place, as if it had been one of the moſt regular fortifications in the world. On the 19th of *October*, the enemy fired the whole day from one of their batteries with red-hot bullets againſt the houſes, wherein about four hundred barrels of powder were lodged; but, to prevent miſchief, that ammunition was ordered to be laid under water, preſerving only as much as was thought neceſſary for maintaining that poſt. On the 20th, upon advice, that the Duke of *Vendoſme* was to be that night in the trenches, it was reſolved to attack the enemy on the other ſide of the canal; and fifty grenadiers of the *Dutch* regiment of *Vanderbeck*, commanded by Captain *Moor*, and the ſame number of the regiment of *Caris*, commanded by Captain *Clare*, the whole ſupported

(1) If this great convoy of eight hundred waggons had been intercepted, the ſiege muſt have been raiſed. For the Duke of *Marlborough* had ſent ſome ammunition from his army to carry on the ſiege, and he could ſpare no more: He began to deſpair of the undertaking, and ſo prepared his friends to look for the raiſing the ſiege, being in great apprehenſions concerning this convoy, upon which the whole ſucceſs of this enterprize depended.

(2) *Leffinghen* is an inconſiderable village in the neighbourhood of *Oſtend*, where a body of the Confederate troops were poſted, in order to keep open a communication, with the grand army of the Allies, to the Beſiegers of *Liſle*; and from whence the Duke of *Vendoſme* could not drive them, without attacking it in form.

1708. ported by two hundred *Engliſh*, were ordered for that ſervice. Four grenadiers were ſent before, who, pretending to be deſerters, amuſed the enemy, whilſt the reſt of the troops came up, who, charging the *French* with great bravery, drove them from that poſt to a ſecond intrenchment, and ſeized their battery, where they continued for ſome time. The enemy loſt an hundred men in this attack, beſides forty taken priſoners, among whom were a Captain and the Chevalier *de Croiſſi Colbert*, a Major-General and Engineer, who offered the ſoldier, that took him, two hundred piſtoles and a Commiſſion for his liberty, which he generouſly refuſed. On the Confederates ſide Captain *Clare* was killed, and Captain *Moor* received a mortal wound through his body with a bayonet, beſides which two ſubalterns were wounded, and fifteen private men killed or wounded. On the 15th, early in the morning, the *French* attacked a Church-yard, wherein Colonel *Caulfield*, who commanded in *Leſſinghen*, had poſted an hundred and fifty men, who made but little reſiſtance, and retired into a redoubt near the canal. At laſt a great body of the enemy, conſiſting of fifty companies of grenadiers, ſupported by ten thouſand foot, poſſeſſed themſelves of the village, and obliged Colonel *Caulfield*, with the reſt of his troops, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners at diſcretion.

The Confederates take poſſeſſion of the town of Liſle.

This eaſy conqueſt was not an equivalent for the great loſs, which the enemy ſuſtained two days after by the ſurrender of the town of *Liſle*. For the batteries of the Beſiegers, conſiſting of about fifty pieces of cannon and twenty-five mortars, began to fire, on the 21ſt of *October*, with ſo much ſucceſs, that, on the 22d, the garriſon beat a parley, and offered to capitulate for the town. Whereupon hoſtages were exchanged, and it was agreed, that Marſhal *Boufflers* ſhould capitulate for whatever related to the garriſon, with Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*; and that the Magiſtrates and Council of the town ſhould propoſe their own terms for themſelves and the caſtellary of *Liſle*, and agree about the ſame with the Field-deputies of the *States-General*; which was done accordingly. The 23d in the morning, the capitulation was concluded and ſigned, containing in ſubſtance, "That "the *French* ſhould, that afternoon, ſurrender "the *Magdalen-Gate*, and all magazines of "proviſions and ammunition in the town. "That all their ſick and wounded ſhould either "be tranſported to *Doway*, or remain in *Liſle* "till their recovery, at their own charge. That "the horſe, who had entered the town ſince "the ſiege, might be ſent to *Doway*, with the "wives and families of the officers and ſoldi-"ers, *&c.* That all priſoners taken during "the ſiege be reſtored on both ſides: And that "the troops of the Allies ſhould not enter the "town before the 25th of *October*; by which "time the *French* garriſon was to withdraw in-"to the citadel." Theſe articles being agreed on, and all things diſpoſed for the performance of the capitulation, the cavalry, which got into the place, under the command of the Chevalier *de Luxemburg*, marched out the 25th for *Doway*, with the other perſons, that were allowed by the capitulation; and, at the ſame time, the Prince of *Holſtein-Beck*, who was appointed to be Governor of the town, marched in with two *Engliſh* and thirteen other battalions, and a detachment of horſe. It is difficult to determine the loſs on either ſide, from the 13th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* when *Liſle* was inveſted, to the 23d of *October*, the day on which the town ſurrendered. But, according to the *French* account, they had twelve thouſand men in garriſon, when the Confederates broke ground againſt them, beſides three thouſand Burghers, who did conſtant duty with the regular troops; of which four thouſand five hundred only retired with Marſhal *Boufflers* into the citadel; and it is computed, that about two thouſand more were ſick and wounded at the time of the capitulation; ſo that the *French* loſt between ſix and ſeven thouſand men, upon a reaſonable computation, and the Allies near eight thouſand. 1708.

The ſiege of the citadel of Liſle proſecuted.

The ceſſation of all acts of hoſtility between the town and citadel, which was to expire the 26th, according to the articles of capitulation, was continued till the 29th; during which time the inhabitants, who were very much afraid, that the *French* would not have ſo much regard to their houſes, as the Allies had, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade *Boufflers* to capitulate. The enemy made extravagant demands of money, and pretended to march out with all their cannon; and that the Allies ſhould ſet at liberty Marſhal *Tallard*, with ſome other unreaſonable pretenſions, which the Allies rejected with ſcorn. Theſe negotiations being broke off, the hoſtilities began at five o'clock; but, during the ceſſation, the Beſiegers had caſt up intrenchments, and drawn a parallel from one end of the eſplanade to the other. They had alſo made ſeveral coupures on the wall near the citadel, to the right and left. The hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel* poſted himſelf at *la Baſſée*, and orders were given to fortify that place. The Duke of *Marlborough* continued at *Rouſſelaer*, for the more eaſy ſubſiſtance of the Confederate troops. From thence he detached the Earl of *Stair*, to provide corn for the army in the diſtricts of *Furnes* and *Dixmuyde*. That detachment had the good fortune to ſurprize four Companies of *French* grenadiers, at the bridge between *Dixmuyde* and *Newport*. On the other hand, they met with the great mortification to have four of their ſquadrons undergo the ſame fate. Thoſe troops were all *Pruſſians*, and defended themſelves for ſome time with great bravery; but finding, that all the avenues were cloſed, and that there was no poſſibility of forcing their way through the enemy's troops, they were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

Monſieur Auverquerque dies.

While theſe matters were tranſacted, the brave Veldt-Marſhal *Auverquerque* departed this life on the 18th, in his quarters at *Rouſſelaer*, in the 67th year of his age; whereby the command of the *Dutch* troops fell of courſe to the Count *de Tilly*, as the eldeſt General in the ſervice of the *States*. On the 29th, about five in the afternoon, the Beſieged in the citadel of *Liſle* began hoſtilities, by the diſcharge of five pieces of cannon, which they continued to fire the reſt of the evening, without doing the Beſiegers any conſiderable damage. On the other hand, the Allies contracted the lines of circumvallation, and erected batteries of cannon and mortars, which they were ready to fire upon the citadel by the 11th of *November*. The Beſiegers carried on their approaches by the ſap; and, the Beſieged ſparing their ſmall ſtock of ammunition, as well as the Beſiegers, the attack of that

1708. fortreſs was maintained with conſiderable loſs. On the 13th, the Confederates lodged themſelves by the paliſadoes of the firſt covered way; and the next day they made themſelves maſters of the whole counterſcarp, except two places of arms, which the enemy abandoned the 15th. The Allies erected two batteries on that work, but did not deſign to play their artillery from thence, till they had lodged themſelves on the ſecond counterſcarp. For which purpoſe, they prepared a great quantity of faſcines, continued to drain the ditch, made ſeveral openings into it, paſſed the ſame the 17th in the night, and lodged themſelves on the glacis of the ſecond covered way, without any loſs. Four days before the Prince *d'Auvergne* was detached from *la Baſſée*, to attack the fort *St. Venant* upon the *Lys*, on the frontiers of *Artois*, in which the enemy had poſted a hundred men, who, upon the approach of that Prince, made only one diſcharge, and retired towards *Aire*.

While the ſiege of the citadel of *Liſle* was carrying on with all the vigour, that is conſiſtent with the cautious method of ſapping, both out of a juſt regard for the lives of valiant men, who had already gone through incredible fatigue and innumerable dangers, and for want of ſufficient ſtores of ammunition; the enemy thought to have taken ſuch infallible meaſures for diſtreſſing the Allies, as well by their inundations between *Bruges* and *Newport*, as by their intrenchments along the *Scheld*, that their public Miniſters in *Rome* and *Venice* boldly aſſerted, "That the Confederate army was ſo cooped "up, that they would ſoon either be famiſhed, "or obliged to abandon *Liſle*." But the two great Confederate Generals being indefatigably intent upon their proper buſineſs, the Duke of *Marlborough* in providing corn out of the country of *Artois*, and the diſtricts of *Furnes* and *Dixmuyde*; and Prince *Eugene* in managing what was ſent him by the Duke of *Marlborough*, both armies lived in parſimonious plenty; and the ſiege of the citadel was carried on with all the ſucceſs, that could be expected.

The Elector of Bavaria's *deſign upon* Bruſſels.

The enemy opened a new ſcene: Their parties made incurſions into the diſtrict of *Boiſleduc*, burning and ravaging part of the open country; and, at the ſame time, the Elector of *Bavaria* approached *Bruſſels* with a body of ten thouſand men. But the Duke of *Marlborough*, having concerted meaſures with Prince *Eugene* to paſs the *Scheld*, immediately diſpatched orders for ſeveral *Britiſh* and *Dutch* regiments to be tranſported from *Oſtend* to *Antwerp*, and ſent to Monſieur *Paſchal*, the Governor of *Bruſſels*, to aſſure him, that he would certainly come to his relief. Upon which encouragement, the States Deputies reſolved to ſtay in *Bruſſels*; and the vigorous meaſures, they took with the Council of State and the Governor, were very inſtrumental in the preſervation of that important place. Nor were the *States-General* leſs ſollicitous for *Antwerp*, whither they diſpatched ſome of their own Members, with General *Freſheim*, an experienced Officer, and ordered troops to haſten thither from *Naerden*, *Heuſden*, *Grave*, and other places. On the 22d of *November*, *N. S.* the Elector of *Bavaria* inveſted *Bruſſels* (1); and, the next day, ſent a Trumpeter, with a ſummons to General *Paſchal* to ſurrender, in theſe terms: "His Electoral Highneſs "knowing, that the Commandant is not in a "condition to defend himſelf with the few "troops he has; if he obliges his Electoral "Highneſs to begin the attack, he ſhall have "no capitulation for himſelf or his garriſon. "Let not the Commandant flatter himſelf, that "he can retire with his garriſon to *Antwerp*, if "he delays to ſurrender; for he is to know, "that he will ſoon find troops poſted to hin-"der his retreat." The Governor, who had nine battalions and a thouſand horſe under him, returned an anſwer by the ſame Trumpeter: "That he was very unfortunate in not having "the honour to be known to his Electoral "Highneſs; that he durſt aſſure him, he would "do all that a man of honour ought to do, "and that he was ſatisfied with his garriſon." The Elector was not a little ſurprized at this reſolute anſwer; and, on the 26th of *November*, in the morning, the enemy began to fire from their batteries againſt the City (but with little ſucceſs) and in the evening, with their ſmall ſhot againſt the men in the outworks, and, about nine at night, they attacked the counterſcarp with great fury, between the gates of *Louvain* and *Namur*. The fire was terrible on both ſides, and laſted till five the next morning; during which time the enemy made nine attacks, and at laſt lodged themſelves on the glacis of the counterſcarp. But, about ſix o'clock, the Beſieged made a ſally from the covered way ſword in hand, with ſuch ſucceſs, that the enemy were driven out of their works, after a moſt obſtinate and bloody engagement. The action ceaſed the 27th, about ten in the morning, and the Allies expected to be attacked a ſecond time at night; for their ſpies unanimouſly reported, that the enemy had a deſign, not only to make a general aſſault, but would alſo fire with red-hot bullets, to excite the Burghers to ſedition; upon which the Beſieged diſpoſed all things as well as poſſible for reſiſting the enemy's attacks. But in the afternoon, inſtead of renewing the engagement, the Elector of *Bavaria* demanded a ſuſpenſion of arms, in order, as he pretended, to bury the dead, and draw off the wounded; which proved but a ſtratagem to raiſe the ſiege with leſs diſadvantage. For upon the arrival of two Couriers from *Mons*, with intelligence, that the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* had paſſed the *Scheld*, in order to relieve *Bruſſels*; his Electoral Highneſs ſent away his baggage, and in the night marched off with his troops, without ſound of trumpet or beat of drum, and with

1708.

(1) *Bruſſels* is a very fair, large, and noble City of the *Low-Countries*, the Marquiſate of the Dukedom of *Brabant* in the quarter of *Bruſſels*, ſubject to the Queen of *Hungary*, and the ſeat of her chief Governor for theſe parts. It was abandoned by the *French* immediately after the memorable battle of *Ramillies*, and made its ſubmiſſion to the Duke of *Marlborough*. The Elector made ſeveral furious aſſaults upon it during the ſiege of *Liſle*, but the Duke of *Marlborough*, paſſing the *Scheld*, made him precipitately quit the ſiege. It is pleaſantly ſeated on the river *Senne*, twenty-four miles South of *Antwerp*, thirty South-Eaſt of *Ghent*, and ninety-ſix South of *Amſterdam*.

(1) *Burnet*

1708. with ſuch precipitation, that the enemy left in their camp twelve pieces of cannon nailed up, two large mortars, and about twenty barrels of powder. They alſo left about eight hundred men wounded in the adjacent villages; and the Dragoons and Huſſars, who, the next morning, went out in purſuit of the enemy, brought in a great many priſoners, and ſome baggage. So that it was computed, that, what with their killed, wounded, priſoners, or deſerters, this unſucceſsful expedition coſt them above three thouſand men; whereas the loſs of the Allies did not amount to above five or ſix hundred killed or wounded.

For this brave and reſolute defence of the City of *Bruſſels*, Lieutenant-General *Paſchal* was juſtly advanced by King *Charles* III, to the dignity of a Marquiſs. However, it had not been poſſible for that General to defend himſelf much longer, with a garriſon of ſcarce five thouſand men, in ſo large and unfortified a place. The preſervation of *Bruſſels* was therefore principally owing to the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, who, with incredible ſecrecy and expedition, paſſed the *Scheld* the 27th of *November*, in the morning, with very little oppoſition; the *French*, in a panic fear, abandoning thoſe lines and intrenchments, which they had been caſting up for three months paſt. This affair was managed with ſo much precaution, as redounded greatly to the reputation of the Confederate Generals. For the Duke of *Marlborough*, being early acquainted with the extremity, which the City of *Bruſſels* was in, recalled the troops, which were in the diſtrict of *Furnes*, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, which joined the army at *Rouſſelaer* on the 22d, and alſo the detachment, which was at *Lens* and *la Baſſeé*. The ſame day they received advice, that the dam, which the enemy had been making near *Gavre*, to ſtop the courſe of the *Scheld*, was broke and carried away by the rapidity of the ſtream, which very much facilitated their paſſing that river. The army arrived the 25th at *Harlebeck*, and continued there till four in the afternoon, for giving time to Prince *Eugene* to come up to the place appointed.

Meaſures concerted for paſſing the Scheld

The meaſures were concerted thus: That Prince *Eugene*'s army ſhould paſs the river between *Eſkenaffe* and *Hauterive*; the Duke of *Marlborough* and Count *Tilly* at *Kerkhoven*; and Count *Lottum*, with the Earl of *Orkney*, between *Gavre* and *Aſperon*. Major-General *Cadogan*, and Brigadier *Evans*, were ſent before to lay the pontoons over the *Scheld*, who not only performed their orders, but paſſed the river, and poſted themſelves and their detachment on the other ſide, and put to flight a body of the *French*, which lay intrenched thereabouts. The Confederate troops were therefore ordered to march with all poſſible expedition, and, as they paſſed the river, they formed themſelves in order of battle. Prince *Eugene*, having advice of theſe proceedings, paſſed directly over the river, and joined the Duke of *Marlborough* at *Kerkhoven*. Upon their conjunction, they advanced to *Berchem*, in order to diſlodge the enemy from that poſt; but Monſieur *Souteron*, who commanded there, retired with the utmoſt precipitation. The *Dutch* cavalry purſued them, and happened to fall in with a party of grenadiers, who had lined ſome hedges and ditches, in order to ſecure the retreat of the reſt. In this action the Allies had about ſixty men either killed or wounded; among the latter Brigadier *Baldwin*, in the ſervice of the *States*, was ſhot through the body; and the Earl of *Albemarle*, Prince *William* of *Heſſe*, and Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, had their horſes killed under them. The Confederates purſued the enemy till it was dark, and incamped on the hills near *Oudenard*, to the joy of the whole army, who expected to have met with great difficulties in paſſing the *Scheld*, and to the ſurprize of the Generals themſelves, who could not have imagined, that the enemy would have ſo eaſily abandoned poſts ſo advantageous by nature, and which they had fortified with ſo much application and labour. In the ſeveral purſuits, the Confederate troops took great part of the enemy's baggage, their bread-waggons, ſeveral colours, ſtandards, and two or three pair of kettle-drums, and killed and made priſoners near a thouſand men (1).

The Duke of *Marlborough*, upon his arrival at *Oudenard*, took the neceſſary meaſures for advancing towards *Bruſſels*, and, in his march, he was informed at *Aloſt*, that the Elector of *Bavaria*, upon the firſt notice of the paſſage of the *Scheld*, had quitted the ſiege with great precipitation, leaving all his artillery and wounded men behind him. The Duke came to *Bruſſels* on the 29th of *November* in the morning, to take proper meaſures for ſending a ſupply of ammunition and ſtores to the ſiege of the citadel of *Liſle*, and to thank the garriſon of *Bruſſels* for their vigorous defence. He was received with great acclamations of joy, and complimented by the States of *Brabant*, and the Magiſtrates of the City, upon their deliverance, which they juſtly attributed to his conduct and expeditious march. The day before, Prince *Eugene*,

(1) *Burnet* ſays (Vol. II. 509.) The Duke of *Marlborough*, hearing the Duke of *Bavaria* was going to attack *Bruſſels*, made a ſudden motion towards the *Scheld*: But, to deceive the enemy, it was given out, that he deſigned to march directly towards *Ghent*, and this was believed by his whole army, and it was probably carried to the enemy; for they ſeemed to have no notice nor apprehenſion of his deſign on the *Scheld*: He advanced towards it in the night, and marched with the foot very quick, leaving the horſe to come up with the artillery: The lines were ſo ſtrong, that it was expected, that, in the breaking through them, there muſt have been a very hot action: Some of the General Officers told me, that they reckoned it would have coſt them at leaſt ten thouſand men; but to their great ſurprize, as ſoon as they paſſed the river, the *French* ran away, without offering to make the leaſt reſiſtance; and they had drawn off their cannon the day before. Our men were very weary with the night's march, ſo they could not purſue; for the horſe were not come up, nor did the garriſon of *Oudenard* ſally out; yet they took a thouſand priſoners. Whether the notice of the feint, that the Duke of *Marlborough* gave out of his deſign on *Ghent*, occaſioned the *French* drawing off their cannon, and their being ſo ſecure, that they ſeemed to have no apprehenſions of his true deſigns, was not yet certainly known: But the abandoning thoſe lines, on which they had been working for many weeks, was a ſurprize to all the world: Their Counſels ſeemed to be weak, and the execution of them was worſe; ſo that they, who were ſo long the terror, were now become the ſcorn of the world.

1708. *gene*, with his troops, and a detachment of eight battalions and thirty ſquadrons from the grand army, returned to *Liſle*, and the ſixteen battalions under Count *Lottum* marched back to the camp. But, the ſame morning, Lieutenant-General *Dompre*, with forty ſquadrons, advanced towards *Aloſt*, being ordered to incamp between that place and *Aſche*, in order to relieve *Bruſſels*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, with King *Auguſtus*, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, having been entertained at dinner by General *Paſchal*, and given the neceſſary directions, returned in the evening to his camp at *Aloſt*, where the troops reſted the 30th. The day following, the Confederate army removed from thence, and incamped with the right at *Oudenard*, and the left near *Bierleghiem*. At the ſame time, Lieutenant-General *Dedem* was ordered to advance with twenty battalions, and to paſs the *Scheld* at *Oudenard*, where he incamped on the other ſide of the river, to aſſiſt at the works, that were ordered to be made for the ſecurity of that place, and to be near at hand to join Lieutenant-General *Hompeſch*, who, with thirty-eight ſquadrons and eight battalions, were incamped near *Menin*; by which diſpoſitions a communication was maintained with Prince *Eugene*'s forces at *Liſle*.

1708. The ſiege of the citadel of *Liſle* was all this while carried on with great diligence; and, in the abſence of Prince *Eugene*, the Beſiegers had lodged themſelves on the ſecond counterſcarp, and began, on the 1ſt of *December*, to raiſe batteries thereon; which being finiſhed in ſix days, the Prince ſent a ſummons to *Boufflers*, offering him an honourable capitulation, if he would ſurrender before the batteries had begun to fire; otherwiſe to expect no other terms, than for him and his garriſon to be made priſoners of war. The Governor, whoſe ſtock of ammunition was almoſt exhauſted, and who was informed, that the communication between *Bruſſels* and *Liſle* was free and open, thought fit to prevent the conſequences of a breach being made in the body of the citadel, by beating a parley the 8th of *December*, *N. S.* hoſtages being exchanged, the articles were ſigned the day following; and, on the 10th, the Marſhal, with the whole garriſon, marched out with all the uſual marks of honour, and were conducted to *Doway* (1).

The ſiege of the citadel of Liſle. *continued.*

The citadel ſurrenders.

If the difficulties of an enterprize increaſe the glory of it, the taking of *Liſle* muſt be one of the moſt glorious actions, that ever was known (2). The place itſelf was as ſtrong as art could make it, on the fortifications whereof the celebrated Monſieur *de Vauban* had exerted his utmoſt ſkill.

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(1) The Prince of *Orange* wrote the following letter to the *States-General* on this occaſion:

High and Mighty Lords,

All the lodgments before the Citadel having been joined, and all things being ready to make the deſcents into the covered way, and to finiſh the batteries on the left, in order to batter in breach; the enemy beat a parley yeſterday morning at ſeven o' clock. The hoſtages on both ſides being exchanged, Prince *Eugene* went with thoſe of the *French* to the Abbey of *Loos*; but the capitulation was not ſigned till this day at four in the afternoon; and I thought it my duty to ſend it by Major *Thilo van Thilau*, my Adjutant-General. I moſt humbly congratulate your High Mightineſſes on this new conqueſt, which is ſo much the more conſiderable, becauſe the enemy had been obliged to ſurrender in a ſeaſon of the year ſo far advanced, and that we have not on our part fired a gun, and have loſt very few men. I pray God to bleſs more and more the arms of your High Mightineſſes, and thoſe of your Allies; ſo that, after a ſeries of glorious and happy ſucceſſes, there may reſult from thence a firm and laſting peace; and that the luſtre and glory, which this State has attained to, by the particular favour of the Almighty, under the moſt wiſe Government of your High Mightineſſes, may be long preſerved. I am, *&c.*

From the camp before *Liſle*, *December* 9, 1708.

J. W. Friso, Prince of *Orange* and *Naſſau*.

(2) Dr. *Hare*, in his *Thankſgiving-ſermon* above-quoted, obſerves, that *Liſle* was looked upon by the *French* as impregnable, 'it being the maſter-piece of the ableſt Engineer that Kingdom has produced; and the great King had added ſuch beauty to its ſtrength, as ſhewed, he thought no body would dare to touch a place, which he had been at ſo much charge to make his own; and he was juſtified in thinking ſo by an undiſturbed poſſeſſion of more than forty years. In truth, the very ſlender knowledge our beſt Engineers had of it is a ſufficient proof, they never dreamt of ſeeing that glorious day, when a Confederate army ſhould be able to come againſt it. It was ſo great an enterprize in the judgment of the enemy, that they could not believe we really meant it, when it was plain we could mean nothing elſe: They thought it was a feint only to draw them from the poſts they were intrenched in, or pretended to think ſo, to colour their ſtaying ſo long in them to ſo little purpoſe, or to excuſe their not endeavouring to prevent our artillery from coming up. But, when it was too late to diſſemble their concern, then what confuſion were they in! What a noiſe was there, that they would and muſt raiſe the ſiege, coſt what it will! How many Councils were there held! What furious motions did they make, or rather what not! Sometimes they threatened a powerful diverſion, that they would beſiege this place and that, and a third, and a fourth, and give us ſufficient reaſons to repent ſo raſh an enterprize: Sometimes nothing would do, but they would fight us; and once they ventured nearer than they would have done, when we had by intrenching helped them to a decent pretence for not attacking us, and they were aſſured we ſhould not attack them. But in their cooler thoughts they were content to ſit down with a deſign to ſtarve us, a poor deſign, had not the ſiege been drawn out into an unexpected length; and, to compaſs it, there was no action ſo mean, they did not condeſcend to; no faith ſo ſacred, they did not violate. Once indeed they had the courage to try a braver part, and with a great body of troops marched to intercept a convoy, without which they knew the ſiege could not be carried on; but the event ſoon ſhewed, it had been better for them to have lain ſtill, their attempt having ſerved to nothing elſe, but to make another place famous by a freſh defeat of them. *Wynendale* will be always named among the ſucceſſes of this memorable year, where a ſmall body of foot, under the command of a Member of this Honourable Houſe, maintained themſelves againſt near thrice their number, though ſupported by a good body of horſe, and provided with a numerous artillery; and, after a brave defence, obliged them to a ſcandalous retreat. Thus we have the fulleſt proof even from the enemy, that the right uſe was made of our firſt ſucceſs, and that a more fatal blow could not have been given them; but we want not the voice of enemies or friends to witneſs the importance of this enterprize, by the ſucceſs of which not only their frontier is broke into in the moſt deſirable part, and a fair advance made towards penetrating into the heart of *France*; but, what the great Monarch

1708. ſkill. It was defended by a numerous garriſon, under the command of a Marſhal of *France*, and ſeveral other experienced Generals; provided with all manner of neceſſaries, and encouraged to a vigorous defence by the approach of a powerful army, which was as numerous, if not ſtronger, than the forces of the Allies. And yet the Allies, without having any communication with their own territories, ever ſince the Duke of *Vendoſme* took the village of *Leſſinghen* after a ſiege of eight days, reduced *Liſle*, found means to ſubſiſt about it till the reduction of the citadel, and got corn from the territories of the enemy. The *French* thought this beyond the power of man, and therefore boaſted, that, without ſtriking a blow, they would oblige the Allies to abandon the ſiege. And, indeed, the difficulties, which the Allies had to ſtruggle with, were ſo many and ſo great in themſelves, that the confidence of the enemy did not appear altogether unreaſonable. But what would have been impracticable by the Duke of *Vendoſme* and other *French* Generals, was accompliſhed by Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, who, after the reduction of the town and citadel of *Liſle*, were reſolved to crown their conqueſts, before the end of the campaign, with the recovery of *Ghent* and *Bruges* (1). 1708.

The French army ſeparates.

The *French* Generals not imagining, that the Confederates would have attempted any thing after the laſt important conqueſt, eſpecially in ſo advanced a ſeaſon of the year, ſeparated their army, and returned to *Paris*. But, all neceſſary preparations being made for the ſiege of *Ghent*, that City was inveſted on the 20th of *December*, *N. S.* in the following manner: Count *Lottum*, with thirty-nine battalions, and thirty-ſix ſquadrons, were poſted between the *Upper Scheld* and the *Lys:* The hereditary Prince of *Heſſe*, with forty ſquadrons, and twenty battalions, between the *Lys* and the canal of *Bruges*, and from thence to the canal of *Sas:* The Duke of *Wirtemberg*

Ghent inveſted.

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narch owes more to than his ſword, his treaſure alſo is extremely affected by it; it loſes him a great revenue, which at this time he can very ill want; it makes a mighty interruption in traffic and commerce through his own Kingdom, and almoſt cuts off the greateſt advantage he had by an open trade with our Allies. In ſhort, taking *Liſle* is cutting a nerve in the body politic, one of the largeſt and moſt uſeful nerves; from whence his greateſt armies received their nouriſhment, from whence his *Flanders*-forces were always paid.—— Could we not have formed that ſiege, little had remained of our victory, but the glory of regaining by the ſword what ſurprize and treachery had taken from us; but a ſiege, much leſs ſo great a one, we could not undertake without artillery; and to have artillery, while the enemy were in poſſeſſion of *Ghent*, every body, I believe, will own they thought impoſſible, till he, who has a genius equal to all difficulties, ſhewed the way, and contrived the means; which were executed with that wonderful dexterity and diligence, that the greateſt train, that perhaps was ever brought ſo far by land, was provided in a little time, and conducted between two armies of the enemies, without the leaſt diſturbance, ſafe to us. After this ſucceſs, which might juſtly be eſteemed a ſecond victory, there ſeemed to be little to do, but to attend quietly four or five weeks the iſſue of the ſiege; but, by ſetting out wrong at firſt, our Engineers ſoon came to want, what of all things was hardeſt to be ſupplied; and the ſlow progreſs, that was made afterwards, put the ſiege in the utmoſt danger of miſcarrying, and the army of ſtarving. And thoſe unpromiſing appearances made not a few wiſh the weather would give us a pretence to raiſe the ſiege we ſeemed unable to go through. Never ſure had covering army ſo much work, never had Commander ſo great a trial of all the qualities, that go to make a conſummate General. To hinder ſo long the junction of the enemy, to prevent their diſturbing the ſiege, or making a diverſion, to keep for ten weeks a communication with *Bruſſels*, and, when that was ſtopped, to open another with *Oſtend*, and after that ſtill to find out new reſorts, and ſubſiſt a great army thrice the time, that was expected, in an enemy's country, that we ſeemed to have eat up, even before we were perfectly confined to it; theſe are difficulties nothing could ſurmount, but a mind, that cannot be puzzled or diſmayed. But this is not all; while we were beſieging, we were beſieged ourſelves; the enemy had hemmed us in on every ſide, and for ten weeks together intrenched the *Scheld* with all the diligence they could, reſolved, it ſeems, we ſhould not paſs on any terms. But, when the ſiege they had laid to *Bruſſels* made the trial neceſſary, neither river, nor army, nor intrenchments availed any thing. We ſurpriſed the enemy, at a time, when they were moſt concerned to be upon their guard; and, what is beyond all belief, paſſed the river they had been ſo long fortifying, without the loſs of one man; and by that happy paſſage their ſiege was raiſed before it was well begun. Theſe are ſuch difficulties, as greatly inhance the value of the ſucceſſes we rejoice in; and ſerve for ſhades to illuſtrate and ſet off the many maſterly ſtrokes, which a curious eye cannot but diſcern in the beautiful plan of this great and wonderful campaign. I might add, that the length of our ſiege made it late in *December*, before we could attempt to retake the places the enemy had ſtolen from us, which is itſelf ſuch a circumſtance, as is without example in that country; but in the end this ſucceſs was alſo added to the reſt, and the campaign was happily concluded with the year.——There is nothing the interpoſition of God has more viſibly appeared in, than the favourable weather we were bleſſed with ſo long together; which was ſo neceſſary for us, that without it every body ſaw we could have done nothing; and yet ſo extraordinary, that the like has not been known in the memory of man; nor was there any thing the enemy truſted more to, than that the rains would overtake us; which, had they done, had not the heavens been ſhut up in the latter ſeaſon, we muſt inevitably have been obliged to raiſe our ſiege, though no diſturbance had been given by the enemy. Had we known in *December* to the very end of it ſo much ill weather, as they commonly have three or four months before, we muſt have been content to have let the enemy enjoy quietly their treachery, which could not but have had a very ill influence on the next campaign. To what can we impute this, but to his good providence, who opens and ſhuts the heavens as he will? Wonderful has his favours to us been in this reſpect, beyond our moſt forward hopes, beyond what we dared to wiſh for. To paſs by ſeveral very remarkable inſtances of this kind, the paſſing and re-paſſing of the *Scheld*, the firſt of which was the ſaving of *Flanders*, and the other of *Brabant*, both depended on great marches, that were made without the leaſt diſturbance from the weather, which might eaſily have defeated the ſucceſs of them; though the firſt was ſoon followed with a great rain the very night of the battle, and the other was preceded by a greater, which the enemy felt all the evil of, being then on their march to inveſt *Bruſſels*; but this weather, laſted no longer, than till we were ready to make uſe of better. But there was another circumſtance in our re-paſſing of the *Scheld*, which I cannot omit: A night march, which we were forced to make in order to it, was happily for us, by an unforeſeen coincidence, directed by the full aſſiſtance of the moon.'

(1) The Marquiſs *de Feuquieres* in his *Memoirs* gives the following account of the errors committed in the defence of *Liſle*. Marſhal *de Boufflers*, ſays he, Governor-General of *French Flanders*, and of *Liſle*

in

1708. *Wirtemberg* between *Muleſtein* and the *Lower Scheld*, with twenty-five ſquadrons, and twenty-ſix battalions: Count *Tilly* with thirty ſquadrons, and thirty battalions, between the *Upper* and *Lower Scheld:* And the Duke of *Marlborough* incamped at *Meerlebeck*, that he might be near the center of the ſeveral attacks. On the 14th, in the evening, the trenches were opened at the attack commanded by General *Lottum*; and two thouſand workmen, covered by ſeven battalions, and two more in reſerve, with ſix hundred horſe, were ordered for that ſervice, under the command of Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, Major-General *Weeke*, and the Lord *North* and *Grey*. The men worked about half an hour before the enemy diſcovered them, and then they made ſuch a terrible fire, that the Allies had near thirty men killed, and about ſeventy wounded. They carried on their works with good ſucceſs from *St. Peter*'s gate towards fort *Monterey*, and finiſhed a parallel of a thouſand paces from the right to the left, within two hundred paces of the counterſcarp. On the 25th at night, the trenches were opened at the Duke of *Wirtemberg*'s attack, with four battalions and ſix hundred horſe, commanded by Major-General *Murray*, who covered fourteen hundred pioneers, and this attack was directed againſt the caſtle. The ſame night they opened the trenches before the *Bruſſels* gate, between the *Upper* and *Lower Scheld*, with four battalions and ſix hundred workmen, commanded by Brigadier *Evans*, who carried on their works with great ſucceſs, and made a communication without any loſs. But, the works on the right being very difficult, and time as well as faſcines being wanting to finiſh the ſame, the garriſon made a ſally with ten companies of grenadiers, who put the firſt troops into ſome confuſion; and, whilſt Brigadier *Evans* was bringing up the next battalions to ſupport them, he was taken priſoner with Colonel *Grove* of the Lord *North* and *Grey*'s regiment. They had likewiſe about twenty officers and ſoldiers killed or taken; but the enemy retired upon the firſt firing of the troops, and had not time to level the works. On the 26th the batteries began to fire upon the *Red Fort*, and the garriſon, conſiſting of two hundred men, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. The following days the approaches were carried on with a great deal of ſucceſs; and, the batteries being ready to fire, on the 30th at ſix in the morning, with red-hot bullets, and the mortars to throw bombs and carcaſes into the town, the Count *de la Motte* ſent out a trumpeter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and demanded an honourable capitulation, which was granted him; purſuant to which, one gate of the city, and another of the caſtle, were delivered to the troops of the Allies on the 31ſt of *December*, *N. S.* and two days after Count *de la Motte* marched out with his garriſon, which conſiſted of above thirty battalions and ſixteen ſquadrons, in order to be conducted to *Tournay*. The Duke of *Argyle*, with ſix *Britiſh* battalions, immediately after took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel. 1708. *Ghent capitulates.*

The reduction of *Ghent* occaſioned a great ſurprize at the *French* Court, and was indeed in itſelf very wonderful, conſidering the ſituation and largeneſs of the place, the numerous garriſon, the hard ſeaſon of the year, and the fatigue, which the troops had already undergone in this extraordinarily long and difficult campaign. The conſequence of ſurrendering that important city was the enemy's quitting of *Bruges*, *Plaſendale*, and *Leffinghen*, and retiring into their own territories. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, having thus glorioufly finiſhed this campaign; and ſettled the winter- *The French abandon Bruges.*

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in particular, defended this place againſt the armies of the Allies, who beſieged it. The place was ſtrengthened with a garriſon of near ſixteen thouſand men; and yet the Beſiegers only attacked it on the ſide of *Magdalen-gate*, before a front of fortification, that comprehended near a thouſand fathoms in extent; and even this attack was ſeparated by the *Deule*; and conſequently the enemy approached the ſame front by two attacks, interſected by the river, which afforded them the only communication they had with each other. This conduct of the enemy might have induced the Beſieged to think it very practicable to make ſallies under the protection of the works, either on one ſide of the attack or the other; by which means they might have deſtroyed the works of ſeveral days; and yet they only made one ſally, with above five hundred men, which did not produce any conſiderable effect.

The Beſiegers, in the conduct of their works, committed a greater error, and of which the Beſieged neglected to take the advantage. The error was this: Their comprehenſion of this great front ceaſed in proportion as they approached the place; ſo that, when they advanced to the glacis, their grand front was ſo contracted, that it only equalled the extent of the two ſaliant angles before the tenaille of the counterſcarp; by which means the front of the attacks was more extenſive than that of the aſſailants. As the Beſiegers therefore were under no neceſſity of forming ſuch a diſpoſition, but committed this eſſential error in conſequence of mere incapacity in the conduct of works, it ſeemed reaſonable to chaſtiſe them for their proceeding; and yet the Beſieged wanted reſolution to attempt it, though they eaſily might have opened their glacis, under the protection of the counterſcarp, and thoſe works, that were not comprehended; and they might have made ſuch lodgments on the glacis, as would have conſtantly inabled them to gaul the flanks of the Beſiegers contracted front of the attack. This advantage was ſo much in favour of the Beſieged, as the Beſiegers made but one attempt to ſtorm the counterſcarp at the two ſaliant angles before the tenaille, where they only appeared with five or ſix hundred men, becauſe they could not march a greater number in the ſmall front they had formed. Moſt of theſe men were killed in their advance upon the palliſade; and this ſingle experiment ſhould have convinced the Beſieged, that their capital operation for the defence of the place was to make ſuch lodgments on the glacis, as were above-mentioned, in order to multiply the fires againſt the attack, and to take thoſe, who approached, in flank, and to greater advantage, than in the covered way, which was not comprehended within the Beſiegers works.

Though the want of powder frequently ſilenced the Beſiegers cannon, and conſequently ſuſpended the fire of the bombs; yet the Beſieged did not improve that favourable opportunity in any reparation of the breaches during the night, or clearing away the ruins in the day, though the inhabitants of *Liſle* were numerous and loyal, and might have been employed in this work, while the Beſiegers artillery ceaſed to batter the breaches. The guard even of the attacked work was kept with ſo little vigilance, that only one centinel was awake, and the poſt was ſurpriſed, while all the ſoldiers were aſleep, after the deſertion of that treacherous centinel, ſo that the work was carried without

1708. ter-quarters for the forces of the Allies, ſet out, the 9th of *January*, from *Bruſſels* for the *Hague*, having left all the Confederate troops under the command of Count *Tilly*, General of the *Dutch* forces.

A very hard winter. If *Ghent* and *Bruges* had not ſurrendered when they did, it would not have been poſſible to have kept them in the field much longer; for, within two or three days after, there was a great fall of ſnow, and that was followed by a moſt violent froſt, which continued the longeſt of any in the memory of man: And, though there were ſhort intervals of a few days of thaw, we had four returns of an extreme froſt, the whole laſting about three months. Many died in ſeveral parts by the extremity of the cold; it was ſcarce poſſible to keep the ſoldiers alive, even in their quarters; ſo that they muſt have periſhed, if they had not broke up the campaign before this hard ſeaſon.

Campaign in Italy. The miſcarriage before *Toulon* did not diſcourage the Duke of *Savoy* from meditating a new irruption into *France*, in return for the ſiege of *Turin*. The preparations made by his command through *Piedmont* during the winter and the ſpring, his aſſembling ſo great a body of troops on his frontiers, and preparing, not only a train of field-pieces, but a quantity alſo of heavy cannon, gave the *French* apprehenſions, not only of an incurſion, but of ſome important ſiege. And, according to the *French* Writers, the Duke never diſſembled his intentions, which were to enter *Dauphine*, and to extort contributions as far as *Lyons*. But, though the bad weather could not ſuffer him to take the field till the month of *July*, yet the lateneſs of the campaign was ſoon made up by the rapidity of his conqueſts; which the vigilance and activity of the Marſhal *de Villars* (whom the *French* uſed to call their *Fortunate General*) could neither foreſee nor prevent. The Duke, the better to cover his deſign, had firſt, with great labour and fatigue, bent his march towards *Savoy* over Mount *Cenis*, as if he intended to penetrate into *Dauphine* through fort *des Barreaux*; but, having by this feint drawn the enemy's forces on that ſide, he turned ſhort towards *Sezane* and *Oulx*, prevented *Villars*'s quick march, and took ſuch right meaſures, that from the 12th to the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* he compaſſed his true deſign, which was to make himſelf maſter of the important fortreſs of *Exilles*, fort *la Perouſe*, and the valley of *St. Martin* and *Feneſtrella*. By which conqueſts he ſecured his own dominions againſt *France*, and gained free entrance into the enemy's country, the *French* having built a ſtrong citadel at *Feneſtrella*, after the blowing up of the fortifications of *Pignerol*, in order to cover that frontier. The greateſt difficulty in taking theſe places was from the impracticableneſs of the ground, which drew the ſieges out into ſuch a length, that the ſnow began to fall by the time *Feneſtrella* was taken. By this means the *Alps* were cleared, and *Dauphine* was now open to him: And all things were ready for a greater progreſs in another campaign. Beſides theſe advantages, the Duke likewiſe made a diverſion in favour of King *Charles* III, obliging the enemy to ſend a great detachment from *Rouſſillon* to *Villars*'s ſupport and aſſiſtance. 1708.

Campaign in Spain. Burnet. M. S. Hiſt. of *Eur.* The Queen of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General* had ſollicited the Imperial Court and the *German* Princes to act with greater vigour than they had hitherto done, and particularly preſſed the Emperor to give the utmoſt aſſiſtance he could to his Brother in *Spain*, and heartily concurred with King *Charles* in deſiring, that Prince *Eugene* might be ſent thither to command in chief. But this point could not be obtained (1); and, Count *Guido de Staremberg* being appointed in that Prince's room, he arrived at *Barcelona* on the laſt of *April*, the ſupplies demanded by King *Charles* being arrived there before. Great hopes were conceived of this new General,

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the leaſt oppoſition on the part of the Beſieged. It would have been a very eaſy affair however to have doubled the centinels in every place, where the negligence or infidelity of one expoſed them to the Beſiegers.

But the moſt ſurpriſing circumſtance of all is, that Marſhal *de Boufflers* capitulated for the City, almoſt as ſoon as that half-moon was loſt, and without waiting ten or twelve hours, to ſee the Beſiegers fill up the ditch, which would have employed them, at leaſt for that time, on account of its breadth, depth of water, and quantity of ſoft ſoil on its bottom. For of what particular importance could it be to Marſhal *de Boufflers*, whether the reſt of the proviſions and ammunition were conſumed in the defending the City ſome time longer, or in a new defence of the Citadel? It was, however, a very eſſential point, to prolong the defence of the City, as much as poſſible, ſince the ſurrender of it to the enemy would afford excellent accommodations to an army, who greatly needed them in that advanced ſeaſon, when the rains are ſo frequent in *Flanders*, that, if they had happened during the ſiege of that City, they would certainly have rendered that great enterprize unſucceſsful.

The diſpoſitions for the defence of *Liſle* were very inconſiderate. The ſiege from the beginning was rendered too fatiguing to the garriſon, which was divided into two bodies, alternately upon duty for the ſpace of twenty-four hours. This time was much too long. Half of the troops were poſted in the out-works, and the reſt were ſtationed on the ramparts, and employed in the works; ſo that the garriſon had never any ſtated hours of reſt, which are ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the officers as well as the ſoldiers, both for the preſervation of their health, and to render them capable of defending the place for a greater length of time. The inhabitants of *Liſle* were numerous and well-affected; and yet they were not employed in any ſervice, either for the relief of the garriſon, or the preſervation of the place.

It was reported, that Marſhal *de Boufflers* wanted proviſions towards the cloſe of the ſiege, and could not ſupply the Citadel with a ſufficient quantity for the garriſon. This indeed is true, but the fault muſt be imputed to the diſorder and want of œconomy in the diſtribution of the proviſions, which was always equal; ſo that no care was taken to leſſen the allotments in proportion to the loſs of men. A company, that had been greatly weakened in the progreſs of the ſiege was allowed the ſame ſubſiſtence, as it received when it was much ſtronger; ſo that at the latter end of the ſiege the proviſions were diſtributed in almoſt double the quantity, that was neceſſary; and this irregularity alone would have occaſioned the loſs of the place, had it been accommodated never ſo well.

(1) This affair will be beſt explained by the following extracts of letters publiſhed by Mr. *Cole* in his *Memoirs of affairs of State:*

The Earl of Mancheſter *to the Earl of* Sunderland.

Vienna, January 7, 1707-8.

This evening Count *Gallas* is at Prince *Eugene*'s, where the affairs of King *Charles* are to be under de-

1708. General, who had before commanded the Imperial troops in *Hungary*; but it was generally believed, that the affairs in *Spain* would have had much better ſucceſs, if they had been managed by Prince *Eugene*.

Burnet. The Duke of *Orleans* ſtill continued to command in *Spain*; and, according to the vanity of that Nation, it was given out, that they were to have mighty armies in many different places, and to put an end to the war there. Great rains had fallen all the winter in all parts of *Spain*; ſo that the campaign could not be opened ſo ſoon as it was firſt intended. The troops of *Portugal*, which had lain at *Barcelona* ever ſince the battle of *Almanza*, were brought about by a ſquadron of *Engliſh* ſhips, to the defence of their own country. Sir *John Lake* came likewiſe over to *Liſbon* from *England* with recruits and other ſupplies, with which the Queen of *Great Britain* was to furniſh the Crown of *Portugal*. When all was landed, *Lake* ſailed into the *Mediterranean* to bring troops from *Italy*, for the ſtrengthening of King *Charles*, whoſe affairs were in great diſorder.

Soon after *Staremberg*'s arrival in *Spain*, Major-General *Stanhope* came to us (ſays the Author of the manuſcript ſo often mentioned) with a Commiſſion of Commander in chief of all her Majeſty's forces in *Spain*, as *Belcaſtle* had orders to command the *Dutch*. All the troops marched out of their winter-quarters to different camps, in the road to *Cervera* and *Lerida*. When *Lake* came with his fleet to *Barcelona*, King *Charles* ſent immediately for Count *Staremberg* from the camp at *Montblanc*, to conſult with the Generals *Stanhope* and *Carpenter*, and Admiral *Lake*, whether he could undertake any thing for the ſervice; and, nothing being fixed, the Admiral ſailed for *Italy*, from whence he brought both the new Queen of *Spain* and eight thouſand men with him. But, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of the Court of *Vienna*, theſe forces came too late to raiſe the ſiege of *Tortoſa*; before which place the enemy came the 30th of *June*. Upon the news of this, a Council of war was held, to ſee whether we could undertake any thing to ſave that town, which, on the ſea-ſide, was the key of *Catalonia* from *Valencia*. Count *Efferen*, a *Palatine* Major-General, was ſent to command in *Tortoſa*, with a good garriſon. The trenches were opened on the 9th of *June*, and, in about a month's time, the Governor, having no reaſon to expect any relief, ſurrendered upon honourable terms, and marched his garriſon to our camp at *Conſtantino*, in the *Campo de Terragona*. During the ſiege, *Lake* diſſipated a fleet of *Tartans*, ſent from *France* to ſupply the Duke of *Orleans*'s army, and took about fifty of them; which was a very ſeaſonable relief to thoſe in *Barcelona*, and which, it was hoped, though in vain, would have cauſed the ſiege to be raiſed. 1708. *Tortoſa beſieged and taken by the* French.

From *Conſtantino* the army marched for *Cervera* with a good train of artillery, where they were joined by all the forces from *Italy*, and by ſome *Dutch* and *Spaniſh* battalions from *Lampaurdan*. Beſides *Tortoſa*, the enemy alſo took *Denia*, and the garriſon were made priſoners of war. But theſe loſſes were abundantly made up to the Allies, by the reduction of the Kingdom of *Sardinia*, and of the famous *Port-Mahon*, with the whole Iſland of *Minorca*.

Sir *John Lake* having taken on board the fleet a few troops commanded by the Marquiſs of *Alconzel*, better known by his former title of *Conde de Cifuentes*, arrived before *Cagliari* (1), the capital of *Sardinia*, on the 12th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* and immediately ſummoned the Marquiſs of *Jamaica*, the Viceroy, to ſubmit to King *Charles* III. The Marquiſs inſiſted at firſt upon extravagant terms; but, on the throwing of a few bombs into the City, the inhabitants reſolved to compel him to ſurrender, with his garriſon, at diſcretion; whereupon both he and the Ma- *Reduction of* Sardinia.

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bate. I had orders from *Britain*, to urge their ſending Prince *Eugene* to *Spain*, and alſo a letter writ by the Queen to the Emperor, recommending the ſame as a matter of the greateſt conſequence, but to no purpoſe. Prince *Eugene* is to be at hand to defend them, in caſe of need, againſt the *Turks*, and to ſecure them from any future inſults from the *Swede*, who has demanded the like liberty for the Reformed to exerciſe their Religion in *Sileſia*, as by Count *Wratiſlaw*'s Convention at *Alt Ranſtadt* the *Lutherans* are to enjoy. Count *Guido* of *Staremberg* is declared General for *Spain*, without conſulting *Britain* or *Holland*, whether they will put their troops under his command. I have writ my thoughts pretty freely upon theſe practices, and Monſieur *Bruyninx* has done the ſame. Prince *Eugene* has a Commiſſion to act as the Emperor's Lieutenant-General, which but for the Duke of *Savoy* he had had laſt year; the Emperor's Lieutenant-General being to command all who may ſerve with him. I do not know how the Elector of *Hanover* will reliſh the being commanded by Prince *Eugene*. I believe he will not ſubmit to it; but they muſt rather let the Commiſſion lie dormant this next ſummer.

The Earl of Manchester *to the Earl of* Sunderland.

Venice, January 27, 1707-8.

I am glad, that both Houſes of Parliament have taken notice of the ſending Prince *Eugene* into *Spain*. If any thing will prevail with the Court of *Vienna*, I think that ſhould; but I am far from thinking, that it will.

The Dutch Envoy at Vienna *to the Earl of* Manchester.

Vienna, January 28, 1708.

We can by no means ſucceed to make Prince *Eugene* go into *Spain*, and his Imperial Majeſty alledges reaſons for this, that ſeem to have ſome weight; but the Emperor deſigns to ſend thither the Count *Guido* of *Staremberg*, who is likewiſe a good General.

The Earl of Sunderland *to the Earl of* Manchester.

Whitehall, February 17, 1707-8.

I wiſh, with all my heart, the Court of *Vienna* would come to reaſon, in relation to the ſending Prince *Eugene* to *Spain*; but that matter ſeems to be quite over, and *Staremberg* will be the man.

(1) In the *Memoirs of affairs of State*, publiſhed by *Chriſtian Cole*, Eſq; p. 545, is the following letter of Sir *John Norris* to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, relating to the deſigned expedition.

Ranelagh, *with the fleet bound to*
My Lord, Cagliari, July 26, 1708.

The 17th inſtant we arrived with the fleet and troops at *Mattero*, where we landed the Queen of *Spain*, ſhe being from thence to make her entry into *Barcelona*. The next day our tranſports got to *Barcelona*, where we landed the horſe and foot in good condition. We loſt but forty horſes in the paſſage, and nineteen that were in a *Genoeſe* veſſel, which loſt company

1708. Magiſtrates accepted ſuch articles, as the Admiral was pleaſed to grant (1). The greateſt part of the *Spaniſh* garriſon readily liſted themſelves in King *Charles*'s ſervice. Beſides which, near two thouſand horſes were found there, ready to be tranſported to *Spain*, for remounting the enemy's cavalry; part of which were diſpoſed of to the diſmounted dragoons, who were employed in this expedition. The Marquiſs *d'Alconzel*, who was conſtituted Vice-Roy and Captain-General of that Kingdom, having held an aſſembly of the Deputies of the ſeveral States, they gave aſſurances of their affection and fidelity to King *Charles* III, and, for a proof, offered to furniſh thirty thouſand ſacks of corn for that King's ſervice. This ſupply made the conqueſt of *Sardinia* the more conſiderable, for, in *Catalonia*, they were, at that time, much ſtraitened for want of proviſions.

The conqueſt of Minorca. N. S.

The conqueſt of the Iſland of *Minorca* (2), which followed ſoon after, was entirely owing to Major-General *Stanhope*, who was the firſt projector, and had the principal ſhare in the execution of the deſign. In the beginning of *Auguſt* he received a letter from the Lord-Treaſurer, to acquaint him, that the Admiralty had repreſented to the Queen, that it was almoſt impracticable, and very dangerous for our fleet to winter in the *Mediterranean*, except ſome ſafe harbour were procured for it. Upon this, General *Stanhope* immediately fixed his thoughts upon the Iſland of *Minorca*, which was a very great enterprize, and required a greater number of troops, than could be ſpared out of our army. He took 1708. a ſhort journey to *Barcelona*, to conſult the proper meaſures with the Admiral; which done, he returns poſt to the camp, and acquaints *Staremberg* with his deſign, who much applauded it; but as to forces he could ſpare none, for we were then within four miles of the enemy, who were much ſuperior to us, and we daily expected to be attacked. However, *Staremberg* conſented that *Stanhope* ſhould take *Southwell*'s regiment, a battalion of *Neapolitans*, another of *Portugueſe*, and a ſmall detachment of *Spaniards*. All which marched immediately to *Barcelona*. General *Stanhope* follows them, on the 10th, and had the good fortune of meeting there with Brigadier *Wade*, juſt returned from *London*, which was a great advantage to him. The 21ſt, he embarks with this handful of men and a few dragoons. What was wanting in troops, was in ſome meaſure made up by a fine train of *Britiſh* artillery, with mules to draw it, commanded by Colonel *Boreguard*, with that excellent Engineer Brigadier *Petit*, who, in that capacity, might be ſaid to have taken and defended *Barcelona*, for which ſervices King *Charles* had raiſed him to the rank of a General Officer. *Stanhope* was here informed of the ſtrength of the garriſon of fort *St. Philip*, which would have damped the courage of any man, that had not been ſo zealous in the undertaking. The fleet and tranſports ſailed from *Barcelona* the 23d, and the men landed the 26th to the South-weſt of fort *St. Philip*, within two miles of it. As they ſailed by the fort, the garriſon

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pany with the fleet, and was taken by a cruizer of the enemy. The troops have joined the reſt of the army, which all people ſay is in a good condition, and that there is a good agreement with the Commanders of each Nation. But from our unfortunate loſs of *Tortoſa*, and the accidents of this campaign, the foot we brought does but juſt make up the number we have loſt; and in that the enemy is much ſuperior; but in horſe we have the advantage, both in number and goodneſs, *&c.* We are under this difficulty, that the land we have there, with the iſland of *Majorca*, will not afford grain enough to feed the army and country; for which reaſon we are now going with the fleet, to try, if we can reduce the iſland of *Sardinia* to the obedience of King *Charles*. The troops we have to do it with are our ſeamen, twelve hundred marines, and ſome unmounted *Spaniſh* dragoons; and, if half be true of what is repreſented to us, we ſhall ſucceed in the reduction of that Kingdom. We have the *Conde Cifuentes* with us, but he is not to meddle till the place has declared. We go directly for *Cagliari*, which is the ſeat of the Vice-King, and the capital of the country. I am, *&c.*

JOHN NORRIS.

(1) Sir *John Norris* wrote the following letter upon the taking of this City to the Earl of *Mancheſter:*

From on board the Ranelagh *before*
My Lord, Cagliari, Aug. 18, 1708, O. S.

This being the firſt opportunity of my writing to *Italy*, ſince our arrival before *Cagliari*, will plead my pardon, that I did not ſooner tell your Lordſhip, that we anchored before the town the 3d inſtant in the afternoon, and ſent a ſummons to the Vice-King, to render the Town and Kingdom of *Sardinia* to the obedience of King *Charles*, with a letter to the Burghers, to aſſure them of their effects and antient privileges, in caſe they made their obedience. The Officer ſent had leave to wait four hours for an anſwer, if required; at which time, being night, he returned with an anſwer from the Vice-King, that it was ſo late, that he could not that night get all the Government together, but would do it the next morning, and ſend their anſwers. We judged it beſt to keep on the fright, and cauſe no delay, and that inſtant began bombarding, and hove that night an hundred and twenty ſhells into the town, and landed our men at the point of day; and, as ſoon as it was light, the Vice-King ſent off a flag of truce, to deſire to capitulate; after which the mob took poſſeſſion of the gates, and delivered them up to us. Thus we have got a City much ſtronger than *Barcelona*, and that has eighty-ſeven braſs cannon mounted, and the whole iſland, without the loſs of a man. In our capitulation we obliged them to furniſh *Catalonia* immediately with fourteen hundred tons of corn, and to-morrow it will ſail for *Catalonia*, it being embarked in our tranſports.

Laſt night we received letters from the King of *Spain* and Mr. *Stanhope*, and news, that the King had appointed fifteen hundred ſoldiers under Mr. *Stanhope*, to go to reduce the iſland of *Majorca* and the fortreſs of *Port-Mahon*. He deſires our aſſiſtance in the ſame; on which we this morning agreed to go to that ſervice, and to-morrow we ſail for that iſland; and, though the *French* have a garriſon there, yet, if the weather proves good, I believe I may ſay we ſhall carry it. This will ſuit us in viſiting the Pope, as we intended, for helping the Pretender, till another ſeaſon. But after this ſervice our winter-ſhips will go to *Naples*, to convoy to *Catalonia* the troops the King expects from thence, and the reſt of our ſhips will be obliged to go home to refit for the next year, *&c.* I am, *&c.*

JOHN NORRIS.

(2) *Minorca* (ſo called from being leſs than *Majorca*, another iſland about ſix leagues from it) lies in the *Mediterranean*. Its greateſt length is forty-five, and greateſt

[1708. riſon was not a little intimidated, to ſee a fleet with two flags (*Lake* and *Whitaker*) and ſo many tranſports, expecting no leſs than an army of ten or twelve thouſand men; and, indeed, it had the appearance of it. With the four battalions were landed about ſeven hundred and ſixty marines, commanded by Colonel *Lee*, which made up the whole number, Officers included, three thouſand two hundred and ſixty-four (1). This little army marched to a riſing ground over-againſt the fort, having made as great a ſhow as poſſible in their march; for it was all in ſight of the enemy, whoſe alarms were much increaſed by it; and ſtill more, when they ſaw our troops drawn up in a long line where they could be ſeen, but the beſt perſpective glaſs could not diſcover whether there was a ſecond or third line. From hence they went that evening to a camp marked out by the Engineer, within leſs than two miles of the fort. The garriſon conſiſted of a thouſand *Spaniards*, and ſix hundred *French* marines, under the command of Colonel *la Jonquiere*, an old Officer, who was ſent there by way of puniſhment, for not behaving ſo well as was expected from him againſt the *Cevennois*. The Inhabitants of *Minorca* were very much for us, being weary of the yoke of their King, who had taken all their privileges from them, as he had done from his ſubjects of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, from whence they had been tranſplanted to this Iſland.

Batteries were erected the next day, and the morning after they began to fire againſt two of the four towers, which are built at proper diſtances like little baſtions, in a wall of ſtones without cement, that covers the fort a quarter of a mile from it, and that from ſea to ſea. Theſe towers were ſoon battered down by our cannon. They had four pieces of cannon in each, with room enough for cannoneers and ammunition. General *Stanhope*, who wanted to induce the garriſon to a ſpeedy ſurrender, ordered a great many papers to be writ in *Spaniſh* and *French*, in which he promiſed very honourable terms to the Beſieged, if they did not put him to the trouble of raiſing batteries; but, if they refuſed, he threatened that all the *Spaniards* ſhould be ſent to the mines, and the *French* be worſe uſed. Theſe papers were tied round arrows, which were ſhot in great numbers into the Suburbs of the fort, and into the vacancy between the fort and the ſtone-wall, where ſmall parties were placed to obſerve us. It was by a ſhot from one of theſe parties that Mr. *Philip Stanhope*, brother to the General, Captain of the *Milford* galley, a young Gentleman of great hopes, was killed, the ball fixing in his forehead, as he was held up by two of his ſailors to look over the wall, which was nine feet high.

The arrows had a good effect, eſpecially upon the *Spaniards*, who dreaded the mines. After the towers were beat down, the cannon continued to fire upon the wall, and, in a ſhort time, levelled it to the ground. Through the breach General *Wade* marched to a redoubt, at the head of all the grenadiers and ſome marines, with ſo much intrepidity, even within reach of the enemy's fire, that it ſtruck the garriſon (as one of their Officers afterwards told our Author) with admiration and terror, inſomuch that the ſoldiers could not be brought to fire at them, though commanded, and the cannon could not reach them, the ground being too low where they marched. *Wade* took the redoubt, left ſome men in it, and returned to the camp unattacked. 1708.

The next day their panic increaſed; a battery of large cannon was fixed againſt fort *St. Philip*, and the firſt ball was ordered to be ſo fired, as to fall in the ditch; which it did, and was immediately taken up and carried to the Governor. A Council of war was inſtantly held, wherein it was reſolved, by a ſmall majority, to beat a parley. Hoſtages were quickly exchanged, and *Wade* was ſent to agree on a capitulation. When he came to the Governor's houſe, he found the large ball on the table, which moſt of the Officers had been wondering at. They were not many hours in agreeing upon the following terms: The garriſon was to march out the next day with all marks of honour, and to be ſhipped off immediately; the *Spaniards* to be tranſplanted to a harbour in *Murcia*, and the *French* to *Marſeilles* or *Toulon*: The magazines to be given up, their army to be left in the Court of the fort, and the outward gate to be delivered into our hands that evening, as ſoon as the capitulation was ſigned; which was done in a ſhort time, and a guard was ordered to the gate. *Wade* returned to the General in the camp, and both were extremely well pleaſed with this ſucceſs.

On the morrow, *Wade* went with all the forces to ſee the garriſon evacuate the fort; and he had not men enough to form the two lines through which the garriſon was to march to the ſea-ſide, except they were placed at an unuſual diſtance. The enemy then ſaw their miſtake, as well as before, when they were coming up from the camp, but it was too late. All the boats of the fleet which were come into the harbour the night before, when the capitulation was ſigned, were ordered to attend to carry the garriſon into the tranſports. When the *French* were got into three veſſels, a Field-officer was ſent to let them know, that General *Stanhope* made them priſoners of war by way of repriſals for the garriſon of *Denia*, which, after a brave defence, were, contrary to the capitulation, made priſoners of war by Count *d'Asfeld*.

Fort

greateſt breadth twenty-four *Engliſh* miles. The chief places are, 1. *Citadella* on the South-Weſt ſide about the middle of the iſland, in the bottom of a bay, thought to be the *Jamma* of *Ptolemy*. 2. Port *Fornelli* on the North-Eaſt ſide over-againſt *Citadella*. 3. *Port-Mahon* at the bottom of a large bay, which runs about three *Spaniſh* miles to the South-Eaſt. The harbour is guarded by fort *St. Philip*, and is accounted the beſt and largeſt in the *Mediterranean*. *Minorca* lies in Lat. 39. 45. It was taken by General *Stanhope* in 1708, and confirmed to the *Engliſh* by the treaty of *Utrecht*.

(1) *Engliſh* — 751
Neapolitans — 718
Spaniards — 298
Portugueſe — 757
Marines — 760
3284

(1) The

1708. Fort *St. Philip* being in our hands, the whole Iſland gladly ſubmitted, except *Port-Fornelli*. On the 17th of *Auguſt*, Sir *John Lake*, with the *Dutch* ſailing for *England*, *Whitaker*, Rear-Admiral of the Red, was left with his ſquadron before *Port-Mahon*, who, with a few men of war ſailing to *Port-Fornelli*, and meeting little reſiſtance, brought away the garriſon, conſiſting of about two hundred men, priſoners of war. Thus the conqueſt of the whole Iſland, with the loſs only of forty men killed or wounded, was finiſhed in leſs than three weeks, to the great admiration of all *Europe*. The Beſiegers found in the forts about a hundred pieces of cannon, three thouſand barrels of powder, and all things neceſſary for a good defence. The *Spaniards* were all carried to *Murcia*, except the inhabitants of the Suburbs, who had liberty to return to their houſes. As ſoon as they landed, the Governor threw himſelf out of a window and died. The *French* marines were ſent to *France*, except a Captain, who refuſed to ſign the capitulation, and two Lieutenants, who were left to take care of the priſoners, that were detained on account of the affair of *Denia*. When they arrived at *Toulon*, *Lajonquiere* was confined for life, and all the Captains received marks of their Maſter's diſpleaſure. But the Captain, who ſtood out againſt the capitulation, was promiſed a reward. General *Stanhope* appointed Brigadier *Petit*, Governor of fort *St. Philip*, and Deputy-Governor of the whole Iſland. By this conqueſt our fleet had got a ſafe Port to lie in and refit, and to retire to on all occaſions; for till then we had no place nearer than *Liſbon* (1). 1708.

Beſides the conqueſt of *Minorca* by the Allies, and the taking of *Tortoſa* by the Duke of *Orleans*, nothing conſiderable was undertaken during the campaign, though the armies were incamped ſome months within a few miles of one another. But the enemies would not venture to attack us, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority; and Marſhal *Staremberg*, who was reckoned the beſt General of the age for the defenſive, was contented to preſerve what we had left in *Catalonia*. Our army went into winter-quarters the laſt of *October*; and, about the middle of *November*, the Generals *Staremberg* and *Stanhope* formed the deſign of ſurpriſing *Tortoſa*, which was executed with the greateſt ſecrecy, but not with the expected ſucceſs. A detachment chiefly of grenadiers went, the 22d at night, to ſcalade the town, but, by the ignorance or treachery of the guides, the firſt ladders were ſet up over-againſt the main-guard, and cloſe to it: So that the whole garriſon was immediately alarmed, and marched to *Barcelona* gate, where the grenadiers were endeavouring to get the baſtion that covered it, who were ſo warmly attacked, that they were forced to retire, leaving many men killed, and moſt of the reſt wounded. This put an end to the deſign, and to all the operations of the campaign (2).

Beſides

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(1) The Earl of *Sunderland* wrote the following letter to General *Stanhope* upon the reduction of *Minorca*:

SIR, *Whitehall, October* 20, 1708.

I received on *Monday* the favour of yours of the 30th of *September*, *N. S.* by Captain *Moyſer*, with the welcome news of your having taken *Port-Mahon*; which, though it came at the ſame time as the news of taking of *Liſle*, yet was not at all leſſened by it; Every body looking upon our being in poſſeſſion of *Port-Mahon* as of the laſt conſequence to the carrying on the war in *Spain*; beſides the other advantages, which, if we are wiſe, we may reap from it, both in war and peace. I cannot expreſs to you the ſenſe the Queen, and every body here, has of your zeal and conduct in this affair, to which this very important ſucceſs is ſo much owing. I heartily condole with you for the loſs of your brother, which indeed is a public loſs to us all, he was ſo deſerving a young man. As ſoon as we heard of your being gone upon this expedition, orders were ſent to Sir *George Byng*, as ſoon as he ſhould come to *Lisbon*, to carry with him into the *Mediterranean* a ſufficient quantity of ſtores for a ſquadron to winter there; and, upon the good news Captain *Moyſer* has brought, thoſe orders are renewed; ſo that you may depend upon that being effectually provided for. I do not ſay any thing to you of what you mention in relation to the troops from *Naples*, becauſe you will receive by Mr. *Craggs* the Queen's approbation of what you have done in relation to it. I ſend you incloſed a letter of the Queen's to the Counteſs of *Oropeſa*, writ with her own hand. You will receive directions from my Lord Treaſurer, to give her, at the ſame time, from the Queen the thouſand pounds you have ſo often mentioned. I muſt not omit telling you, that the Queen does intirely approve of your leaving an *Engliſh* garriſon in *Port-Mahon*, for the reaſons you mention, though ſome of them muſt be kept very ſecret. Her Majeſty does approve alſo of the Governor you have named, and is very well ſatisfied with your having the Commiſſion you mention from the King of *Spain*, being ſatisfied you make no uſe of it but what is for the public ſervice. I have nothing more to trouble you with, but to aſſure you, that I am, with the greateſt truth and eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

P. S. Beſides the orders, that are gone to Sir *George Byng*, Captain *Moyſer* carries with him orders from the Prince to Sir *Edward Whitaker*, in relation to the ſquadron's wintering at *Port-Mahon*. You will receive with this packet a letter of the Queen's to the King of *Spain*, in favour of the *Conde de Salazar*, at the deſire and recommendation of ſeveral *Spaniſh* and *Canary* Merchants.

(2) In our return from the camp to *Barcelona* (ſays the Author of the Manuſcript account of the campaigns in *Spain*) I went with Major-General *Carpenter* to view the convent of *Mountſerrat*, ſixteen miles from it, which, for miracles and riches, is ſaid to be equal, and by the *Catalans*, far to out-do that of the Lady of *Loretto*. The treaſure of this Chapel is immenſe in jewels and plate, and the income of the Fryars, who are forty Benedictines, beſides Lay-Brothers, is very conſiderable; and all owing to the pretended miracles of the Bleſſed Virgin, whoſe ſtatue in wood, of a very curious workmanſhip, and believed to be ſent by St. *Peter* from *Rome* to *Barcelona*, and carved by St. *Luke*, is ſet up behind the great altar. The mountain, on which the convent ſtands at the half way, is exceeding high and beautiful; the very top nature has adorned with twelve high rocks at equal diſtances, in the ſhape of ſugar-loaves, which bear the names of the twelve Apoſtles; in each a hermitage is built, little frequented, becauſe inacceſſible, but all inhabited by hermits, men of good families, and all reputed of great ſanctity. A *German* Captain left his command and retired into one of them, having made great intereſt to obtain the firſt vacancy; there was a hermitage ſome hundreds of years, where this magnificent con-

1708. Beſides the having a ſafe Port to retire to, the conqueſt of *Minorca* brought a further advantage to the Allies, by defeating the *French* King's project of uniting the Princes and States of *Italy* in a league againſt the Emperor, in order to rekindle war in that country: And a Confederate fleet was ſeaſonably at hand to aſſiſt the Imperialiſts, who made a conſiderable progreſs in the Eccleſiaſtical State, and threatened to march to *Rome*, upon the following occaſion:

Differences between the Emperor and the Pope. The Emperor, and his Brother, King *Charles*, had, for ſeveral years, impatiently borne the Pope's partiality, which was of great prejudice to their affairs, and, in conſequence, to the common cauſe. But the Pope having openly owned his engagements with the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and his deſigns againſt that of *Auſtria*, and the whole Confederacy, by his proceeding in relation to the Pretender's expedition to *Scotland*, which, if attended with ſucceſs, would have ruined the grand Alliance, and given a fatal wound to the liberties of *Europe*; the ſame did not only moſt ſenſibly affect thoſe two Potentates and the Duke of *Savoy*, againſt whoſe juſt pretenſions in Eccleſiaſtical affairs the Pope had fulminated his cenſures, but was reſented, with due indignation, by her *Britannic* Majeſty. Hereupon, the Eccleſiaſtical revenues in the Kingdom of *Naples* and Duchy of *Milan*, belonging to perſons reſiding out of thoſe countries, who had neglected to take the oaths to King *Charles*, were put under ſequeſtration by the Imperial Officers. And, not many days after, while the Pope held a Congregation about that affair, Cardinal *Grimani* not only notified to him the diſappointment of the Pretender's expedition, but, as Vice-roy of *Naples*, and a Grandee of *Spain*, ſignified to him, That King *Charles* expected he ſhould ſend a Nuncio to *Barcelona*, to acknowledge him as King of *Spain*, deſiring his Holineſs to conſider the fatal conſequences of his delaying that recognition, and continuing to own his competitor. Beſides which, at the ſollicitation of the Court of *Great-Britain*, the Emperor was determined, in concert with the Duke of *Savoy*, to revive his old pretenſions to *Comachio*, and other places in the *Ferrareſe*, in order to check the Pope, and oblige him to enter into ſuch meaſures, with reſpect to the rights and late acquiſitions of King *Charles*, as equity, and the peace and welfare of *Naples* and the *Milaneſe*, with the firm eſtabliſhment of their preſent Sovereign, neceſſarily required. The Court of *Rome* ordered their Miniſter at *Vienna*, to communicate to the Emperor a letter from Signior *Piazza*, Secretary of the memorials to the Pope, wherein he endeavoured to extenuate what his Holineſs was charged with, on occaſion of the late *French* expedition againſt *Great-Britain*; though, whatever arts they uſed to cover their remittances of money into *France*, they could not palliate the Pope's appointing public prayers for the ſucceſs of the intended invaſion. On the other hand, the Pope's refuſal to ſend, according to King *Charles*'s demand, a Legate *a Latere*, to compliment his Royal Conſort in her paſſage through *Italy*, and to treat her as Queen of *Spain*, having given a freſh diſguſt to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, the Imperial troops, commanded by Monſieur *de Bonneval*, in conjunction with thoſe of the Duke of *Modena*, invaded the Duchy of *Ferrara*, and took poſſeſſion of *Comachio*, a ſea-port town on the *Adriatic* ſea, *Lugo*, *Argenta*, *Canale*, *Preſnero*, *Magnavacca*, *Codegoro*, *Pompoſa*, *Bagnecavallo*, and ſome other ſmall places, on pretence of their being allodial ſtates, belonging to the Duke of *Modena*, and fiefs of the Emperor, to which the Holy See had no lawful claim, and which were

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vent ſtands now. Great devotions were paid to a little ſtatue of the Virgin, that was worſhipped here, and abundance of miracles wrought, but none ſo wonderful as thoſe of the laſt found out ſtatue, which they tell you was diſcovered in this manner: Some centuries ago great numbers of people of the neighbouring towns, going in a great proceſſion to this hermitage on the feaſt of the Aſſumption, in the month of *Auguſt*, were very much frightened, as they came to the bottom of this mountain, by a bull's coming out of a thicket, jumping and leaping in ſuch a manner, as drove moſt of the Proceſſioners back, except the Prieſts and ſome of the boldeſt *Catalans*, who were big with expectation of ſome miracle, which was ſoon wrought in their ſight; for this bull ſtopped of himſelf, after they had uſed their beſt endeavours to drive him away, about an hundred yards from the place where he came out; here he began to tear up the ground with his feet and horns, which confirmed the people in the hopes of a miracle, and, ſpades and pick-axes being immediately ſent for, they began to dig up that ſpot where this famous ſtatue was found, and carried with extraordinary devotions and rejoicings into the chapel of the hermitage; here it was ſet up in the room of the little one, being well-cleaned and varniſhed, and provided with fine cloaths, and ſuch crowds came to this place from all the parts of the Kingdom, and from all the iſlands, as not only enriched the hermitage, but the whole neighbourhood: I aſked whether the bull was not canonized, the Fryar anſwered me, no; but however the bull was very well taken care of, and had in great veneration, and religiouſly viſited as long as he lived, which was to an uncommon old age. As to the miracles wrought by the Lady of *Mountſerrat*, they outdo many of thoſe that are recorded in their legend; but I ſhall relate only that, which was the occaſion of building this famous monaſtery: One *Garinus*, hermit in this place, debauched a beautiful young Lady, daughter of the Count of *Barcelona*, Sovereign of all *Catalonia*, who came to perform her devotions at the hermitage in her father's company, who uſed frequently to come to this mountain to hunt roebucks and wild-goats, with which it abounded. After this horrid fact, the young Lady was deſtroyed, and her body caſt into a very deep ditch behind this hermitage, which the hermit carefully covered up; and then begun his journey to *Rome*, in the night, to ſue for a pardon and abſolution from the Pope. When the Count ſent for his daughter, neither ſhe nor the hermit were to be found, which cauſed a great affliction in the Count's family, and many ſevere reflections againſt the young Lady and the Hermit, who were judged to have abſconded together. The penance, impoſed by the Pope on the hermit, was, that he ſhould return to the mountain in the night, ſtrip himſelf quite naked, walk upon all four, live upon graſs, and never ſtand upright before ſeven years were expired, and his lodging was to be in the hole of ſome rock; and that, during the time of his penance, he ſhould not ceaſe to put up his prayers to the Lady of the hermitage, that the Count's daughter might be reſtored to life. The penance was ſtrictly performed, and in the middle of the ſeventh year the Count went for the firſt time, ſince this misfortune, to hunt on the mountain, when the dogs made up to the habitation of *Garinus*, and would have torn him to pieces,

1708. were expreſsly excepted in the treaty between *Clement* the Eighth, and *Cæſar* of *Eſte*. At the ſame time, the Vice-roy of *Naples* forbid, on pain of death or baniſhment, the remitting any money to *Rome*, or any other part of the territories of the Church; and the Council of the Kingdom drew up a long memorial of the pretenſions of his Catholic Majeſty againſt the Court of *Rome*, which ſtruck at the very foundations of the temporal power of the Pope. Upon the firſt alarm of the Imperialiſts marching into the *Ferrareſe*, the Pope wrote a letter to the Emperor, wherein he remonſtrated, "That "theſe things were attempted by the abuſe of "his Imperial Majeſty's name, againſt all juſtice, "equity, and reverence due to the *Roman* Pon-"tiff, and the rights of the Church: That they "were contrary to the divine and human laws, "and repugnant to the title of the Defender of "the Church, which his famous Anceſtors had "taken as a great honour and glory." The Pope declared withal, "That he would aſſert "this cauſe, though he ſhould be ſure to loſe "his life upon that account." But, before his letter reached *Vienna*, General *Bonneval* had put his orders in execution; and, when received, it rather exaſperated than allayed the reſentment of the Emperor, who thereby plainly ſaw, that the Pope was ſo far from offering any ſatisfaction, that, on the contrary, he threatened him both with his ſpiritual and temporal arms. And, in- 1708.
deed, the Pope reſolved to repel force by force; *The Pope raiſes an army.*
and, for that purpoſe, began to raiſe an army, the command of which he gave to Count *Marſigli*, who was formerly diſmiſſed the Emperor's ſervice, for not performing his duty at the ſiege of *Briſac*. At the ſame time, the Pope's Miniſters revived the project, which they had ſet on foot three years before, of a league of the Princes and States of *Italy*, for their mutual ſecurity, which was defeated by the terror of the Confederate fleet. Nor had his Holineſs's earneſt application to the *French* King for ſuccours better ſucceſs, that Prince having, at this juncture, too much work upon his own hands, and his country lying, beſides, at too great a diſtance from the Eccleſiaſtical State. Notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, the Court of *Rome* went on with their new levies, which were increaſed by the troops ſent from *Avignon*. But though the Pope's ſubjects drew the firſt blood in the *Ferrareſe*, and forced the *Germans* to quit ſeveral poſts; yet the Emperor, chuſing rather the way of negotiation than of the ſword, ſent orders to the Marquiſs *de Prié*, a *Piedmonteſe* Lord, to purſue his journey to *Rome*, to know from the Pope himſelf, Whether he would have peace or war? In the mean time, his Imperial Majeſty, and the Duke of *Savoy*, by their interceſſion with the Queen of *Great-Britain*, ſuſpended

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pieces, if the huntſmen had not made haſte to his reſcue: They were ſurprized to find a kind of monſter, who would not ſpeak, nor lift himſelf up, though he had the ſhape and features of a man. The Count ordered him to be tied and led to *Barcelona*, where he continued chained in a corner of the ſtable, without eating any human food, but herbs; and many people had the ſight of this monſter. At laſt, on the very day, that the ſeven years expired, the Count made a very great feaſt for his family and others of his friends. Some of the company deſiring to ſee the monſter, he was brought to the door, when a child of five or ſix months old, ſon to one of the Count's daughters, fixing his eyes upon him, ſpoke theſe words with a loud voice, *Garinus* riſe up, thy ſins are forgiven thee; upon which he run back with his keeper to the ſtable, the company being all ſtruck with fear and amazement at this great miracle: He began to ſpeak to his keeper, and deſired a ſheet to cover himſelf with, and that he would go to the Count to obtain leave to come into his preſence, having a very great ſecret to reveal to him. He was immediately admitted, and upon his knees confeſſed his crime, but aſſured the Count withal, that by his continued prayers to the Lady of *Mountſerrat*, and her prevailing interceſſion, his daughter would be found living, and as well in all reſpects as ever ſhe was. The miracle of the child's ſpeaking made the Count believe without heſitation all that *Garinus* told him, ſo that he gave immediate directions for a very grand proceſſion of all the orders of Fryars and others to go to the holy mountain, for ſo it is called, to ſee the miracle that was wrought upon his daughter. When they came there, the young Lady was found, and preſented to her father, in the ſame clothes ſhe had on when ſhe went from him, and looking as freſh, as young, and as well, as if ſhe had never gone from her father's houſe. The Count was affected with ſo much gratitude for this ſurpriſing miracle in favour of his family, that he made a vow, before he left the place, to build and to endow that large Monaſtery, that is now there. This whole hiſtory is beautifully painted in the cloyſters of the convent, and for the ſatisfaction of all ſtrangers, who reſort thither in great numbers yearly, it is printed upon large paper, and upon very thin ſilk, to make it more portable, and ſold for half a crown. The Lay-brother, who ſhews the curioſities of this place, is a *Fleming*, and ſpeaks ſeveral languages: He was Lieutenant in Count *Noyelles*'s regiment, and preferred this idle life to the fatigues of an army. After we had viewed every thing, and eſpecially the treaſure, which, if all the jewels it contains be real, is beyond valuation, we were carried to the Abbot's apartment, where a nice collation was provided. After we had partaken of it, I walked with the interpreter into a balcony, into which the Abbot's dining-room opens; from hence he ſhewed me the hole in the rock, where the famous *Garinus* lived during his penance: I aſked him in *French* whether he did believe it; the Abbot, who was talking with General *Carpenter*, who ſpoke very good *Spaniſh*, overheard me, and in a kind of emotion told me, Yes, Sir, we believe it as much as we do the goſpel, which put a ſtop to all farther inquiries. Speaking of the richneſs and beauty of the crowns, that are put upon the ſtatue's head, eſpecially on great feſtivals, the Abbot told us, That a *Fleming* jeweller was many years in making that of diamonds, that it is reputed worth ſixteen millions of pieces of eight, and that of emeralds, by reaſon of the bigneſs of the ſtones, is reckoned worth little leſs. That of diamonds is certainly, for the largeneſs of the ſtones, and the beautiful order in which they are fixed, the moſt excellent and richeſt piece of work of that kind now extant; and, to ſet it off the more, the top of it is a compleat ſhip, with maſts, and ſails, and cordage, *&c.* all of diamonds, a preſent of *Iſabella*, Queen of *Arragon*. And it is no wonder if this place be ſo immenſely rich, conſidering the numberleſs vows, that are made by perſons in all ſickneſſes and diſtreſſes, eſpecially by women in labour, which are always very religiouſly performed. The two Kings *Charles* and *Philip* made here their vows for the ſucceſs of their arms, and did offer each his preſent in perſon at the altar of the ſhrine; the firſt of a rich ſword ſet with diamonds, and the other of a gold chalice enriched with many jewels. They have in the outſide of the convent a good large houſe for the entertainment of ſtrangers, and of all the people that come to pay their vows, with very good accommodations, which brings the convent a great yearly income.

1708. pended the execution of the orders ſent to Sir *John Lake* for bombarding and deſtroying *Civita Vecchia*.

The Pope's coffers being exhauſted, he held a conſiſtory on the 24th of *September*, *N. S.* at which aſſiſted forty-two Cardinals, whom he acquainted, "That he was obliged to have recourſe to extraordinary means, and therefore thought, that part of the three millions of golden crowns, depoſited by *Sixtus* the Fifth in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, ought to be employed in theſe preſſing neceſſities of the Church." His propoſal appeared extraordinary to ſome Cardinals, who repreſented, that this treaſure was ſacred, and never to be made uſe of, but when all other means failed: That the preſent caſe of the Church was indeed difficult enough, yet far from being deſperate, ſince they had to deal with the firſt Chriſtian Prince, who could not have in view the deſtruction of the Church: That this diſpute might be made up in a pacific way, inſtead of being decided by the ſword. And therefore they exhorted the Pope to conſider ſeriouſly the fatal conſequences of a raſh rupture with the Emperor, and to ſtand on his guard againſt the ſuggeſtions of ſome fiery perſons, who were altogether for war, in hopes to better their fortunes during the confuſions of it. But this repreſentation had little effect upon the Pope, who was too partial to hearken to any advice, that was not for the intereſt of *France*; and, moſt of the Cardinals there preſent being of the *French* and *Spaniſh* factions, they reſolved to take out of the Treaſury of the caſtle of *St. Angelo* five hundred thouſand golden Crowns, upon a ſolemn promiſe made by the Pope, that the like ſum ſhould be again depoſited in the ſame place as ſoon as the war was over. The Pope was ſo highly elated with his ſucceſs in this important debate, that he declared he would not hearken to any propoſals made on the part of the Emperor, nor receive any Envoy or Miniſter from him, till the Imperial forces were withdrawn from *Comachio*, and other parts of the Eccleſiaſtical State; which raſh reſolution was probably ſuggeſted to him by the Marſhal *de Teſſé*, who was lately come to *Rome* with the character of the *French* King's Ambaſſador Extraordinary, in order to inflame the rupture, and encourage the Pope with great aſſurances of ſupport. He was ordered likewiſe to try, whether the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the Republics of *Venice* and *Genoa*, could be engaged in an Alliance againſt the Imperialiſts. The Emperor bore all the Pope's threats with great patience, till the Duke of *Savoy* ended the campaign, when the Imperial troops, that had been commanded by that Duke, were ordered to march into the Pope's territories, and were joined by ſome more forces drawn out of the *Milaneſe* and the *Mantuan*. The Pope's troops began the war in a very barbarous manner; for, while they were in a ſort of a ceſſation, they ſurprized a body of the Imperialiſts, and without mercy put them to the ſword. But, as the Imperial army advanced, the *Papalins*, or, as the *Italians* in deriſion called them, the *Papagallians* fled every where before them, even when they were three to one. As they came on, the Pope's territories and places were all caſt open to them. *Bologna*, the moſt important and the richeſt of them all, capitulated, and received them without the leaſt

Sept 13. N. S.

reſiſtance. The people at *Rome* were uneaſy at the Pope's proceedings, and at the apprehenſions of a new ſack from a *German* army. They ſhewed this ſo openly, that tumults there were much dreaded, and many Cardinals declared openly againſt the war. Upon this the Pope declared, that he was ready to receive the Marquiſs *de Prié*, who arrived at *Rome* on the 24th of *October*, *N. S.* however many days paſſed before the Pope would admit him to his audience, upon a punctilio about the ceremonial, becauſe he had no other character than of Plenipotentiary of the Emperor, which, it was pretended, was not admitted at the Papal Court. This difficulty being at laſt removed by the Pope's ſignifying to the Marquiſs, that he would receive him with the ſame ceremonies, as were obſerved at the audience of Count *Martinitz*, when he went through *Rome* for *Naples*, to take poſſeſſion of the dignity of Viceroy of that Kingdom, that Miniſter went to his audience, on the 10th of *November*, *N. S.* and, in a few days after, delivered his propoſals for an accommodation, importing in ſubſtance, "1. That the Pope ſhould diſband his new levies. 2. Give winter-quarters to the Imperial troops in his territories: 3. And the inveſtiture of *Naples* to *Charles* III, and acknowledge him as King of *Spain*: And, 4. That he ſhould allow the Imperialiſts paſſage through his dominions, as often as there ſhould be occaſion." The Pope was amazed at theſe high terms, but there was no remedy left. The ill ſtate of affairs in *France* was now ſo viſible, that no regard was had to the great promiſes, which *Teſſé* was making, nor was there any hopes of drawing the Princes and States of *Italy* into an Alliance for his defence. In concluſion the Pope, after he had delayed yielding to the Emperor's demands long enough to give the Imperialiſts time to eat up his country, at laſt ſubmitted to every thing; yet he delayed acknowledging King *Charles* for ſome months, though he then promiſed to do it; upon which the Emperor drew his troops out of his territories. The Pope turned over the manner of acknowledging King *Charles* to a congregation of Cardinals; but they had no mind to take the load of this upon themſelves, which would draw an excluſion upon them from *France* in every conclave, and therefore left it to the Pope, who affected delays; ſo it was not done till the 15th of *January*, 1709, *N. S.*

The Pope ſubmits.

With regard to the campaign in *Germany*, the Elector of *Bavaria* had been ſent to command on the *Upper Rhine*. The true reaſon was believed, that he might not pretend to continue in the chief command in *Flanders*. He was put in hopes of being furniſhed with an army ſo ſtrong, as to be able to break through into *Bavaria*. The Elector of *Hanover* again undertook the command of the army of the Empire. Both armies were weak, but they were ſo equally weak, that they were not able to undertake any thing on either ſide; and therefore, after ſome months, in which there was no conſiderable action, the forces on both ſides went into winter-quarters.

Campaign in Germany. Burnet.

The affairs in *Hungary* continued in the ſame ill ſtate, in which they had been for ſome years. The Emperor did not grant the demands of the Diet, that he had called; nor did he redreſs their grievances; and he had not a force ſtrong enough to reduce the malecontents; ſo

Affairs in Hungary.

1708. that his Council could not fall on methods, either to ſatisfy or ſubdue them.

and in Poland. *Poland* continued ſtill to be a ſcene of war and miſery. To other calamities they had the addition of a plague, which laid ſome of their great towns waſte. The party formed againſt *Staniſlaus* continued ſtill to oppoſe him, though they had no King to head them. The King of *Sweden*'s warlike humour poſſeſſed him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to march into *Muſcovy*. The Czar tried, how far ſubmiſſions and interceſſions could ſoften him; but he was inflexible. He marched through the *Ukrain*, but made no great progreſs. The whole *Muſcovite* force fell on one of his Generals, who had about him only a part of the army, and gave him a total defeat, moſt of his horſe being cut off.

The Elector *Palatine* was this year reſtored to the poſſeſſion of the *Upper Palatinate*, with the title and rank, which had been veſted in the Houſe of *Bavaria* by the treaty of *Munſter*. And the Elector of *Brunſwick Lunenburg* was at laſt acknowledged as ſuch by the Electoral College. The Duke of *Savoy* received the inveſtiture of the *Mantuan*, *Montferrat*, and other adjacent countries; and the ban of the Empire was, on the 30th of *June*, *N. S.* publiſhed againſt the Duke of *Mantua*, which probably haſtened his death, which happened five days after. The mediation of *Great-Britain* did not a little contribute towards the pacifying of the inteſtine diviſions of the city of *Hamburgh*. But though, at the deſire of the King of *Sweden*, the Queen had readily accepted the guaranty of the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*, yet the Reformed in *Sileſia* received no benefit from her Majeſty's earneſt interpoſition in their favour; the Court of *Vienna*, now freed from the dread of the King of *Sweden*'s reſentment, pretending, that the *Lutherans* only, and not the *Calviniſts*, were included, both in that treaty, and in that of *Weſtphalia*.

Affairs at ſea. Our affairs at ſea were leſs unfortunate this year, than they had been formerly. The Merchants were better ſerved with convoys, and no conſiderable loſſes were ſuſtained. Commodore *Wager* gained a ſignal advantage againſt the *Spaniſh* Galleons in the *Weſt-Indies*. He had, on the 22d of *December*, 1707, returned to *Jamaica*, from the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, upon ſome advices of the arrival of Monſieur *Du Caſſe*, with a *French* ſquadron of great force, in order, as it was ſuppoſed, to make ſome attempt upon *Jamaica*. The next day the Commodore, being then with his ſquadron in *Port-Royal* harbour, held a Council of war, to conſider of the ſeveral advices he had received. During the month of *January*, he ſent out ſeveral ſhips to cruize, and to get intelligence of the enemy; and, on the 5th of *February*, it was reſolved, in a Council of war, to go over to the *Spaniſh* coaſt. Accordingly, the Commodore ſailed in a few days after to the Keys, where he was joined by ſeveral other ſhips and ſloops. Upon advice, that the *Spaniſh* Galleons were gone from *Carthagena* for *Porto Bello*, the Commodore ſailed with ſuch ſhips as were ready, leaving directions, how and where the reſt ſhould join him. On the 25th, they came to an anchor off the Iſle of *Pines*. In *March*, the Commodore received advice at two ſeveral times from Captain *Pudner*, who was ſtationed near *Porto-Bello*, that the Galleons, with the King's money, could not ſail before the firſt of *May*; upon which it was reſolved to return to *Jamaica*, but it was given out, that they were only gone to cruize. On the 6th of *April*, the Commodore anchored at *Port-Royal* Keys, and having taken in proviſions, he ſailed again on the 14th, and, about eight or ten days after, gave chace to ſeveral ſhips off *Bocca Chica*, ſome of which eſcaped into *Carthagena*, and others he loſt ſight of in hazy weather. On the 23d of *May*, the *Anne* ſloop joined the Commodore from the *Baſtimentes*, and brought a letter from Captain *Pudner*, with advice, that the Galleons, being thirteen ſail, were at ſea, coming from *Carthagena*. The Commodore had then with him the *Expedition*, *Kingſton*, *Portland*, and *Vulture* fire-ſhip, and cruized till the 27th, in expectation of the Galleons; but, not meeting with them, he began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coaſt, and were gone for the *Havanna*. On the 28th of *May*, about noon, the Galleons, in all ſeventeen ſail, were diſcovered from his top-maſt-head; and, at the ſame time, they diſcovered him, but, deſpiſing ſo ſmall a force, reſolved to proceed. He chaced them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the *Baru*, a ſmall Iſland, which lay in their paſſage to *Carthagena*, reſolved to diſpute the matter there, and, ſtretching therefore to the Northward with an eaſy ſail, they drew as well as they could into a line of battle. The Admiral, who wore a white pennant at the main-top-maſt-head, in the center, the Vice-Admiral, with the ſame pennant at the fore-top-maſt-head, in the rear, and the Rear-Admiral, who bore the pennant on the mizzen-top-maſt-head, in the van, about half a mile from each other, there being other ſhips between them. Of the ſeventeen two were ſloops, and one a brigantine, which ſtood in for the land; two others of them were *French* ſhips, which, running away, had no ſhare in the action; the reſt were *Spaniards*. The Commodore inſtantly made his diſpoſition; he reſolved to attack the Admiral himſelf; gave orders to Captain *Simon Bridges*, who commanded the *Kingſton*, to engage the Vice-Admiral, and ſent his boat to the *Portland*, commanded by Captain *Edward Windſor*, with orders to attack the Rear-Admiral; and, as there was no immediate occaſion for the fire-ſhip, ſhe plied to the windward. 1708.

Commodore Wager deſtroys the Galleons. The ſun was juſt ſetting, when Commodore *Wager* came up with the Admiral, and then beginning to engage, in about an hour and half's time (it being dark) ſhe blew up, not without great danger to the *Expedition*, from the ſplinters and planks, which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blaſt. Hereupon the Commodore put abroad his ſignal lights for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue ſight of ſome of the enemy's ſhips; but finding, after this accident, they began to ſeparate, and diſcovering but one, which was the Rear-Admiral, he made ſail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened to fire his broad-ſide into her ſtern, which did ſo much damage, that it ſeemed to diſable her from making ſail; and being then to leeward, he, tacking on the *Spaniard*, got to windward of him, and the *Kingſton* and *Portland* (which had, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the night, or the blowing up of the Admiral,

1708. loſt ſight of the other ſhips) following his lights ſoon after, came up with him, and aſſiſted in taking the Rear-Admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ſhip he ſent his boats to bring to him the chief Officers; and, before the riſing of the ſun, he ſaw one large ſhip on his weather-bow, and three ſail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off, lying then with their heads to the North, the wind being at North-eaſt, an eaſy gale. Then he put out the ſignal for the *Kingſton* and *Portland* to chace to windward, not being able himſelf to make ſail, being much diſabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, ſo were there no leſs than three hundred priſoners on board his own ſhip.

On *Sunday* the 30th, the wind being from the North-eaſt, to the North North-weſt, and but little of it, the *Kingſton* and *Portland* had left off chace; but the Commodore made the ſignal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of ſight, the fire-ſhip ſtill continuing with him; and he having lain by ſome time, not only to put the prize in a condition of ſailing, but to refit his own rigging, made ſail eaſtward on the 31ſt, when the *Kingſton* and *Portland* joined him, and gave him an account, that the ſhip they chaced was the Vice-Admiral, to which, as they ſaid, they came ſo near, as to fire their broadſides into her, but were ſo far advanced towards the *Salmadinas*, a ſhoal off *Carthagena*, that they were forced to tack, and leave her. This gave the Commodore great uneaſineſs, and determined him to call the Captains of theſe ſhips to account; but, in the mean time, he ſent them orders to take or deſtroy a Galleon of forty guns, which he underſtood by a *Swediſh* ſhip, that had been trading at *Baru*, had taken ſhelter in that Iſland. She was juſt coming out of Port, as the *Kingſton* and *Portland* appeared; upon which her crew ran her a-ſhore, ſet her on fire, and blew her up, ſo that nothing could be got out of her, as the Captains affirmed, and, as it appeared to the Commodore afterwards, was true. On the 2d of *June*, the Commodore finding his proviſions and water ſhort, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in thoſe parts, reſolved to ſet the *Spaniſh* priſoners a-ſhore, according to their requeſt, on the Iſland of *Baru*, and then proceed for *Jamaica*; which he performed accordingly; and the *Spaniſh* Rear-Admiral retained, as long as he lived, a grateful ſenſe of the Commodore's civility. 1708.

On the 8th of *July*, the *Expedition*, *Kingſton*, and *Vulture* fire-ſhip, brought the prize ſafe into *Port-Royal* harbour (1): Here the Commodore found the new act of Parliament for the diſtribution of prizes; and though he had before permitted the ſailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the prize was taken, yet now he appointed agents, in obedience to that act of Parliament, and ordered Captain *Long* to deliver up near thirty thouſand pounds worth of ſilver and effects, that he had taken between decks, in order to ſatisfy the ſailors of the uprightneſs of his intentions. He likewiſe took care to diſpatch intelligence to *England*, that ſhips might be fitted out to cruize for the galleons, that had eſcaped; and, on the 23d of *July*, he held a Court-martial on the two Captains *Bridges* and *Windſor*, who were both diſmiſſed for not having done their duty in the late engagement (2).

Another ſquadron of the *Britiſh* fleet, under the command of Sir *George Byng*, carried over the Arch-ducheſs *Mary Anne*, married to the King of *Portugal*, which was performed with great magnificence: She had a quick and eaſy paſſage, arriving at *Liſbon* on the 27th of *October*. This did in ſome meaſure make amends to that Crown for our failing them in not ſending over the ſupplies, that had been ſtipulated. And it was a particular happineſs, that the *Spaniards* were ſo weak, as not to be able to take advantage of the naked and unguarded ſtate, in which the *Portugueſe* were at that time.

After this large account of foreign affairs, it is time to return to the tranſactions at home.

The Morocco Ambaſſador confined.

In the month of *July*, an Ambaſſador from the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco* arrived in *Great-Britain* with a preſent of ſix lions for the Queen; but, upon his coming to *Hammerſmith* near *London*, he was put under an eaſy confinement by way of reprizal for the reſtraint put upon Captain *Delaval*, the Queen's Envoy in that country, before he reached that Court; which happened upon a falſe report, that ſome ill uſage had been offered to *Hamet Ben Hamet Cardenas*,

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(1) The priſoners gave an account, that the Admiral was a ſhip of ſixty-four braſs guns, with ſix hundred men, called the *St. Joſeph*, and had on board, as ſome ſaid, five millions of pieces of eight; but, according to others, ſeven millions in gold and ſilver: That the Vice-Admiral mounted ſixty-four braſs guns, and had between four and five hundred men, with four, or, as ſome ſaid, ſix millions of pieces of eight: And that the Rear-Admiral was mounted with four and twenty guns, having eleven more in the hold, and between three and four hundred men: But that, upon ſome difference between the Admiral and him at *Porto Bello*, orders were given, that no money ſhould be ſhipped on board her; ſo that thirteen cheſts of pieces of eight, and fourteen pigs or ſows of ſilver, which were privately brought on board in the night, and belonged to ſome of the paſſengers, was all the treaſure, which was on board, except what others might have about them, or were in trunks, of which they could give no account. This is the account, which the priſoners gave. Several relations publiſhed ſoon after that time make the riches of the Admiral and Vice-Admiral to have been far greater, the former at leaſt thirty, and the latter twenty millions of pieces of eight. They all however agree, that the Rear-Admiral had no regiſtered money on board. The other *Spaniſh* ſhips had little or no money on board, but were chiefly laden with cocao, as the Rear-Admiral was. And but one of them was of any conſiderable force, being of ſeven hundred tuns burden, and having forty braſs guns, and an hundred and forty men. But the two *French* ſhips had about an hundred thouſand pieces of eight on board.

(2) Captain *Bridges* of the *Kingſton* was diſmiſſed, becauſe he left off chace when within ſhot of the *Spaniſh* Vice-Admiral, doubting the pilot's knowledge, and being near the ſhoal of *Salmadinas*, though the pilot offered to carry the ſhip within the ſhoal. Captain *Windſor* of the *Portland* was alſo diſmiſſed, for not bearing ſo near the enemy, as to keep ſight of ſome of them, when they were engaged on the 28th in the night; for leaving off chace the next day, and for ſhortening ſail on the 30th, before he came up ſo far with the *Spaniſh* Vice-Admiral near *Salmadinas*, as he might have done.

(1) Mr.

1708. *Cardenas*, the late *Morocco* Ambaſſador here. But, upon better information, the Captain was releaſed, as was alſo the *Morocco* Ambaſſador. However the *Britiſh* Envoy did not think fit to go in perſon to the Court of *Morocco*, and only ſent thither, with her Majeſty's letter and preſent, Mr. *Corbiere*, his Secretary, who was received with great demonſtrations of reſpect.

The Muſcovite Ambaſſador arreſted.

About this time an indignity offered in *London* to Count *de Matueof*, the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador, was highly reſented, not only by himſelf, but likewiſe by all concerned in the preſervation of the rights and privileges of public Miniſters. *Thomas Morton*, a laceman in *King-ſtreet*, *Covent-Garden*, and ſome other tradeſmen, to whom the Ambaſſador owed ſeveral ſums of money, amounting in the whole to about three hundred pounds, finding he had taken his audience of leave, and being apprehenſive, that he would leave the Kingdom without paying his debts, though a Merchant in the City, trading to *Muſcovy*, had ſet a day for ſatisfying moſt of them, held ſeveral conſultations together, and at laſt reſolved to arreſt him; which was done accordingly, on the 21ſt of *July*, in the open ſtreet, with ſeveral aggravating circumſtances. For the Ambaſſador, not knowing at firſt the reaſon of his being ſeized, and imagining he was ſet upon by villains, ſtruggled in his own defence, and was ill-uſed and overpowered by the bailiffs, who carried him to a ſpunging-houſe at the ſign of the *Black Raven*, where he was detained till the Earl of *Feverſham* and a Merchant of the City had bailed him. The Ambaſſador, incenſed at this inſult, in violation of the law of Nations, applied himſelf for redreſs to the Government; and the next day wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary *Boyle*, wherein he urged, "That the Queen, who was ſo jealous of "the reſpect due to the Ambaſſadors of "crowned heads, and had ſo glorioufly vin"dicated the honour of the Earl of *Mancheſ*"*ter*, her Ambaſſador at *Venice*, and cauſed a "rigorous puniſhment to be inflicted on the "Officers of the Cuſtom-Houſe, ſome of whom "were ſet in the pillory, and others condemned "to the gallies, only for inſulting the Gentle"men of his retinue, could not but moſt juſt"ly revenge the affront lately put upon him "by a corporal puniſhment. That Count *Zo*"*bor*, who was delivered up to the diſcretion of "the King of *Sweden* for picking a quarrel "with his Envoy, likewiſe afforded an inſtance "of the ſatisfaction he required, as being deſi"rous of nothing with greater earneſtneſs, than "to avoid all the ill conſequences of this affair. "For, in caſe the criminals were connived at, "under any colour whatſoever, he ſhould be "obliged to take other meaſures, and retire "without recredentials, leaving the whole mat"ter to the management of his *Czariſh* Majeſ"ty, his Maſter, as the Protector of his injured "honour, and of his abuſed Miniſter."

At the ſame time Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Envoy, the Baron *Spanheim*, Ambaſſador from the King of *Pruſſia*, and ſeveral other foreign Miniſters, thinking themſelves concerned in the affront put upon their character, demanded a due reparation for the ſame: All which having been laid before the Queen, who ſtill continued at *Windſor*, ſhe expreſſed a very great reſentment for the indignity offered to the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador, and commanded an extraordinary Council to be ſummoned on the 25th of *July* on that occaſion. Mr. *Morton*, and ſome other creditors, with the Attorney, Bailiffs, and other perſons concerned in the arreſt of the Ambaſſador, having been examined, were committed to the cuſtody of ſeveral Meſſengers, and ordered to be proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity, according to law. The next day, before Mr. *Boyle* was returned from *Windſor*, the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador wrote to him another letter, importing, "That, as he had not received "any teſtimony of concern or regret, either "from the Queen, or any of her Miniſters, "ſince he had ſent him his complaints in writ"ing, he found himſelf obliged to preſs for his "departure; and therefore intreated Mr. Se"cretary to get a paſſport for him as ſoon as "poſſible." Mr. *Boyle* acquainted the Ambaſſador, "That ſeven of the principal accom"plices, in the deſperate attempt upon his per"ſon, were committed to priſon, and under "proſecution, by order of the Privy-Council, "who were to meet again about that affair as "ſoon as poſſible." But the Ambaſſador, being impatient to leave the Kingdom, wrote a third letter on the 27th of *July* to Mr. Secretary, for a paſſport for himſelf and family. Mr. *Boyle* wrote, two days after, a letter to the Ambaſſador, acquainting him, "That he had that morn"ing ſent him the paſſport he deſired: That "orders had been iſſued out to the Officers of "the Cuſtom-Houſe to wait on him, to cauſe "his equipages to be tranſported without any "moleſtation; and he hoped, they had already "done that to his ſatisfaction: That an extra"ordinary meeting of the Queen's Privy-Coun"cil was to be held that day, to inquire further "into the circumſtances of that diſmal affair: "That they had made a ſtrict ſearch after "thoſe, who were any ways concerned therein; "and had cauſed ten others to be apprehended: "That expreſs orders had been given again to "the Attorney-General, to proſecute the ſeven"teen perſons now confined, with the utmoſt "rigour; and to omit nothing, that might "contribute towards the making him the moſt "ſignal reparation, that could be, according to "our law." Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, the Ambaſſador refuſed the ordinary preſents made to Miniſters of his character, which were offered him by the Queen, and retired in diſguſt into *Holland*, from whence he tranſmitted a memorial, with a letter from the Czar of *Muſcovy* to the Queen, dated the 17th of *September*, wherein that Prince demanded no leſs, than "that a capital puniſhment, according to the "rigour of the law, be inflicted on all the ac"complices of the indignity put upon the "perſon of his Ambaſſador; or, at leaſt, ſuch "a one, as was adequate to the nature of the "affront, which every particular perſon put up"on the Ambaſſador." Such a puniſhment being altogether inconſiſtent with the laws of *England*, this unlucky affair gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the Queen and Miniſters (1).

On

(1) Mr. *Addiſon* gave the following account of this affair, in a letter to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, dated at the *Cock-pit*, *July* 23, 1708, *O. S.* and publiſhed in *Cole's Memoirs of affairs of State*, p. 546. 'We had an

1708. *The death of Prince George of Denmark.* Burnet.

On the 28th of *October*, about ten in the forenoon, died Prince *George* of *Denmark*, in the 56th year of his age, after he had been twenty-five years and ſome months married to the Queen. He had, for many years, been troubled with an aſthma, and ſometimes ſpitting of blood, which often indangered his life; and, about three months before, a dropſical humour, with which he had been formerly afflicted, ſeized his legs and moſt parts of his body. This was attended with a ſleepineſs, cough, and an increaſe of the aſthma; and, on *Saturday* the 23d of *October*, the violence of the cough produced a ſpitting of blood, and an increaſe of the ſleepineſs, with an addition of convulſive motions of the tendons; which ſymptoms not yielding to the remedies adminiſtered by his own and ſeveral other phyſicians, he fell into a ſuffocation, from which neither bleeding, nor a vomit, could relieve him, ſo that he ſoon after expired. The Queen, who, during the whole courſe of her marriage, had been a moſt tender and affectionate wife to him, in his laſt illneſs, which laſted ſome years, would never leave his bed, but ſate up, ſometimes half the night in the bed by him, with ſuch care and concern, that ſhe was looked on very deſervedly as a pattern in this reſpect. The Prince was Duke of *Cumberland*, Lord High-Admiral of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, Generaliſſimo of all her Majeſty's forces both by ſea and land, and Warden of the *Cinque-ports*. He had ſhewed himſelf brave in the wars both in *Denmark* and in *Ireland*. His temper was mild and gentle. He had made a good progreſs in mathematics. He had travelled through *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, and knew much more than he could well expreſs; for he ſpoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully. He was free from all vice. He meddled little in buſineſs, even after the Queen's acceſſion to the Crown. He was ſo gained by the Tories, by the act, which they carried in his favour, that he was much in their intereſt. He was unhappily prevailed with to take on him the poſt of Lord High-Admiral, of which he underſtood little, but was fatally led by thoſe, that had credit with him, who had not all of them his good qualities, but had both an ill temper and bad principles. His being bred to the ſea gained him ſome credit in thoſe matters. In the conduct of our affairs, as great errors were committed, ſo great misfortunes had followed on them. As ſoon as the Prince had reſigned his laſt breath, the Queen came from *Kenſington* to her palace at *St. James's*, where ſhe reſided the whole winter. On the 11th of *November*, the body of his Royal Highneſs was carried from *Kenſington*, to the *Painted Chamber*, within the palace of *Weſtminſter*, where having lain in ſtate till the 13th, it was that night interred in the Abbey-Church, with all the pomp conſiſtent with a private funeral. 1708.

Promotions. Burnet. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

The death of Prince *George* occaſioned ſome alterations at Court; for the Earl of *Pembroke* was, on the 25th of *November*, advanced to the poſt of Lord High-Admiral, which he entered on with great uneaſineſs, and a juſt apprehenſion of the difficulty of maintaining it well in a time of war. He was at that time both Lord-Preſident of the Council, and Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Earl of *Wharton* had the Government of *Ireland* (who made Mr. *Addiſon* his Secretary) and the Lord *Sommers* was made Lord-Preſident of the Council. The great capacity and inflexible integrity of the Lord *Sommers* would have made his promotion to this poſt very acceptable to the Whigs at any juncture, but it was moſt particularly ſo at this time; for it was expected, that propoſitions for a general peace would be quickly made; and ſo they reckoned, that the management of that, upon which not only the ſafety of the Nation, but of all *Europe* depended, was in ſure hands, when he was ſet at the head of the counſels, upon whom neither ill practices nor falſe colours were like to make any impreſſion. Thus the minds of all thoſe, who were truly zealous for the preſent Conſtitution, were much quieted by this promotion, though their jealouſies had a deep root, and were not eaſily removed.

The Duke of Marlborough's intereſt with the Queen began to decline.

It may here be obſerved, that, notwithſtanding the Duke of *Marlborough*'s ſucceſſes this year, and the Queen's kind letter to him on occaſion of his victory at *Oudenard* (1), his intereſt with

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an unlucky buſineſs about two days ago, that befell the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador, who was arreſted going out of his houſe, and rudely treated by the bailiffs. He was then upon his departure for his own country, and the ſum under an hundred pounds that ſtopped him; and, what makes the buſineſs worſe, he has been punctual in his payments, and given order, that this very ſum ſhould be paid the day after. However, as he is very well convinced, that the Government intirely diſapproves ſuch a proceeding, there are no ill conſequences apprehended from it. Your Lordſhip knows, that the privileges of Ambaſſadors are under very little regulations in *England*; and I believe, that a bill will be promoted in the next Parliament for ſetting them upon a certain foot; at leaſt it is what we talk of in both offices on this occaſion.'

(1) This letter is printed in the *Account of the Ducheſs of* Marlborough's *conduct*, and was as follows:

Windſor, *July* 6, 1708.

I want words to expreſs the joy I have, that you are well, after your glorious ſucceſs; for which, next to God Almighty, my thanks are due to you. And indeed I can never ſay enough for all the great and faithful ſervices you have ever done me. But be ſo juſt as to believe, I am as truly ſenſible of them as a grateful heart can be, and ſhall be ready to ſhew it upon all occaſions. I hope you cannot doubt of my eſteem and friendſhip for you, nor think, that, becauſe I differ with you in ſome things, it is for want of either. No, I do aſſure you, If you were here, I am ſure you would not think me ſo much in the wrong in ſome things, as I fear you do now. I am afraid my letter ſhould come too late to *London*, and therefore dare ſay no more, but that I pray God Almighty to continue his protection over you, and ſend you ſafe home again. And be aſſured I ſhall ever be ſincerely

Your Humble Servant.

To this the Duke anſwered:

MADAM, *July* 23, 1708.

I have the honour of your Majeſty's letter of the 6th, and am very thankful for all your goodneſs to me. And I am ſure, it will always be my intention, as well as my duty, to be ready to venture my life for your ſervice.

As I have formerly told your Majeſty, that I am deſirous to ſerve you in the army, but not as a Miniſter,

I am

1708. with her began greatly to decline, through the intrigues of Mrs. *Maſham* and Mr. *Harley*, all the ſummer (1).

At the ſame time the Lord *Sommers* was made Preſident of the Council, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Dukes of *Mountague* and *Montroſe*, the Earls of *Louden*, *Rivers*, and *Eſſex*, the Lord *Ferrers*, and Mr. *Peregrine Bertie* were ſworn of the Privy-Council; as, a little before, were Chief-Juſtice *Holt*, the Duke of *Queenſberry*, the Earls of *Scafield*, *Scarborough*, and *Ranelagh*, and Lord *Comingſby*. The Earl of *Cholmondeley* was made Treaſurer of the Houſehold in the room of the Earl of *Bradford* deceaſed, Sir *Thomas Felton* Comptroller, and Mr. *Edmund Dunch* Maſter of the Houſhold. Sir *James Mountague* Attorney-General, and Mr. *Robert Eyre* Sollicitor-General. The Duke of *Dorſet* was appointed, the 3d of *December*, Conſtable of *Dover*, and Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*.

The ſecond Parliament of Great-Britain meets. Nov. 16. Pr. H. C. IV 98.

The new Parliament of *Great-Britain* met, the 16th of *November*, with great advantage; for the preſent Miniſtry was now wholly ſuch, as gave an intire content to all, who wiſhed well to the public affairs; and the great ſucceſſes abroad ſilenced thoſe, who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to find fault and complain. The Queen did not think it decent to come to Parliament during this whole Seſſion; and therefore, having granted a Commiſſion under the Great-Seal, appointing the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord-Steward, and the Maſter of the Horſe, to repreſent her Royal perſon, the Commons were deſired to come up to the Houſe of Peers, and hear the Commiſſion read. Which done, the Lord-Chancellor ſignified to the Commons, that they ſhould immediately proceed to the choice of a Speaker, and preſent him the *Thurſday* following. The Commons being returned to their Houſe, the Lord *William Powlet* moved to chuſe for their Speaker Sir *Richard Onſlow*, a worthy man, intirely zealous for the Government, and very acceptable to the Whigs. He was ſeconded by Sir *William Strickland*. But Major-General *Mordaunt*, by way of irony, propoſed, "That they ſhould chuſe Mr. *Joddrel*, "the Clerk of the Houſe, who, having been "aſſiſtant to good Speakers, to indifferent ones, "and to the worſt, ſeemed to be as well qua-"lified for that ſtation as any body." But, at laſt, General *Mordaunt* ſupported the Lord *Powlet*'s motion, commended Sir *Richard Onſlow*'s experience and integrity; and added, "That, "being poſſeſſed of a good eſtate, he did not "lie open to the temptations, that might biaſs "perſons, who had their fortunes to make, a-"gainſt the intereſt of their Country." Upon this he was led to the Chair by the Lord *Powlet* and Sir *William Strickland*, after he made a ſhort ſpeech, in which he modeſtly endeavoured to decline that important truſt in ſo critical a juncture of affairs, "wherein the good or bad ſuc-"ceſs of this neceſſary war did in a great mea-"ſure depend on the reſolutions of that great "Aſſembly." The Tories, upon a ſurmiſe, that the Court or Whig-party would have been divided between Sir *Richard Onſlow* and Sir *Peter King*, Recorder of *London*, had deſigned to have put up Sir *Thomas Hanmer*; but, being diſappointed in that expectation, they thought it prudent, not being able to make a majority, unanimouſly to concur with the reſt. Indeed, the Tories perceived, they had ſo little ſtrength in this Parliament, that they reſolved to lie ſilent, and to wait for ſuch advantages, as the circumſtances of the affairs might afford them. The ſame day, the Duke of *Queenſberry* was introduced into the Houſe of Peers by the Dukes of *Somerſet* 1708.

I am every day more and more confirmed in that opinion. And I think myſelf obliged upon all accounts on this occaſion to ſpeak my mind freely to you. The circumſtances in this laſt battle, I think, ſhew the hand of God; for we were obliged, not only to march five leagues that morning, but to paſs a river before the enemy, and to engage them before the whole army was paſſed, which was a viſible mark of the favour of Heaven to you and your arms.

Your Majeſty ſhall be convinced from this time, that I have no ambition, or any thing to aſk for myſelf or family. But I will end the few years, which I have to live, in endeavouring to ſerve you, and to give God Almighty thanks for his infinite goodneſs to me. But, as I have taken this reſolution to myſelf, give me leave to ſay, that I think you are obliged in conſcience, and as a good Chriſtian, to forgive, and to have no more reſentments to any particular perſon or party, but to make uſe of ſuch, as will carry on this juſt war with vigour; which is the only way to preſerve our Religion and Liberties, and the Crown on your head. Which that you may long enjoy, and be a bleſſing to your people, ſhall be the conſtant wiſh and prayer of him, that is with the greateſt truth and duty,

Madam, &c.

(1) The Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, in the *Account of her conduct*, p. 260, obſerves, that the Duke was perfectly ſenſible of the change in her Majeſty towards him; and, having complained of it in a letter to the Ducheſs, ſhe ſent that letter to the Queen, incloſed in the following one from herſelf:

'I cannot help ſending your Majeſty this letter, to ſhew how exactly Lord *Marlborough* agrees with me in my opinion, that he has now no intereſt with you: Though when I ſaid ſo in the Church on *Thurſday* [*Auguſt* 19, 1708,] you were pleaſed to ſay it was untrue. And yet I think he will be ſurprized to hear, that when I had taken ſo much pains to put your jewels in a way, that I thought you would like, Mrs. *Maſham* could make you refuſe to wear them in ſo unkind a manner; becauſe that was a power ſhe had not thought fit to exerciſe before. I will make no reflections upon it; only that I muſt needs obſerve, that your Majeſty choſe a very wrong day to mortify me, when you were juſt going to return thanks for a victory obtained by Lord *Marlborough*.'

In anſwer to this the Queen wrote the Ducheſs theſe few words:

Sunday.

'After the *commands* you gave me on the Thankſgiving-day of not anſwering you, I ſhould not have troubled you with theſe lines, but to return the Duke of *Marlborough*'s letter ſafe into your hands, and for the ſame reaſon do not ſay any thing to that, nor to yours, which incloſed it.'

Upon receiving this letter, the Ducheſs wrote again as follows:

'I ſhould not trouble your Majeſty with any anſwer to your laſt ſhort letter, but to explain what you ſeem to miſtake in what I ſaid at Church. I deſired you not

1708. *Somerſet* and *Ormond*, as a Peer of *Great-Britain*, and Duke of *Dover*. After this, both Houſes adjourned to the 18th, when, the Commons being come to the Houſe of Peers to preſent their Speaker, the Lord-Chancellor, in the name of the Commiſſioners, ſignified to them the Queen's intire ſatisfaction in their choice of a perſon ſo well-qualified for that office, both by his great abilities, and his zeal and affection for the Government, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion: And then he delivered to both Houſes the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Chancellor's ſpeech to both Houſes.

" IN purſuance of the authority given us by " her Majeſty's Commiſſion under the Great-" Seal, among other things, to declare the " cauſes of her Majeſty's calling this Parlia-" ment;

" We are, by her Majeſty's command, in the " firſt place, to obſerve to you, that the extraor-" dinary length of this year's campaign hath " obliged her Majeſty to defer your meeting " longer than otherwiſe ſhe would have done, " that you might be informed with the greater " certainty of the ſtate and poſture of the war, " in order to your reſolutions for the enſuing " year.

" This neceſſary delay hath now ſo far ſhewn " us the ſucceſs of affairs abroad, as that, whe-" ther you conſider the places acquired by the " Allies, or the farther and continued proofs " given this laſt year of their ſuperior courage " and conduct (which, as to the future part of " the war is equal to all other advantages) we " may, with thanks to God, and juſtice to thoſe " he hath been pleaſed to uſe as inſtruments in " this great work, conclude, that, upon the " whole, we are brought much nearer than we " were laſt Seſſion, to the end of our under- 1708. " taking this war, the reducing the dangerous " power of *France*, and ſettling ſuch a peace, " as may ſecure itſelf from being violated.

" Her Majeſty therefore commands us to aſ-" ſure you, ſhe hath not the leaſt doubt, but " that this Parliament will be of the ſame opi-" nion with her laſt, as to the vigorous proſe-" cution of this war, and the ends of it; be-" lieving it impoſſible, the Repreſentatives of " the *Britiſh* Nation can endure to think of " loſing the fruits of all our paſt endeavours, and " the great advantages we have gained (parti-" cularly this preſent year) by ſubmitting at laſt " to an inſecure peace.

" And therefore, ſince probably nothing can " hinder our ſucceſs abroad for the time to " come, but miſunderſtandings among ourſelves " at home; we have it in command, to conjure " you, by your duty to God, and to her Ma-" jeſty, your zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, " your love for your Country, and the regard " you cannot but have for the liberty of *Europe* " in general, to avoid all occaſion of diviſions, " which are ever hurtful to the public, but will " more eſpecially be ſo at this juncture, when " the eyes of all our neighbours are upon you " with a very particular concern; and your una-" nimity and good agreement will be the great-" eſt ſatisfaction and encouragement to all our " Allies.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" You cannot but be convinced, that the ſe-" veral parts of the war, which were provided " for by the laſt Parliament, will require your " ſupport, at leaſt in the ſame degree. But, in " *Flanders*, the nature of the war is much al-" tered, by the great advances made there to-" wards

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not to anſwer me there, for fear of being overheard. And this you interpret, as if I had deſired you not to anſwer me at all, which was far from my intention. For the whole end of my writing to you ſo often, was to get your anſwer to ſeveral things, in which we differed, that, if I was in the wrong, you might convince me of it, and I ſhould very readily have owned my miſtakes. But, ſince you have not been pleaſed to ſhew them to me, I flatter myſelf, that I have ſaid ſeveral things to you, that are unanſwerable. And, I hope, ſome time or other you will find leiſure to reflect upon them, and will convince Lord *Marlborough*, that he is miſtaken in thinking, that he has no credit with you, by hearkening ſometimes to his advice; and then, I hope, you will never more be troubled with diſagreeable letters from me; for I ſhould be much better pleaſed to ſay and do every thing you like. But I ſhould think myſelf wanting in my duty to you, if I ſaw you ſo much in the wrong, as without prejudice or paſſion I really think you are in ſeveral particulars I have mentioned, and did not tell you of it; and the rather, becauſe no body elſe cares to ſpeak out upon ſo ungrateful a ſubject. The word *command*, which you uſe at the beginning of your letter, is very unfitly ſuppoſed to come from me. For though I have always writ to you as a friend, and lived with you as ſuch for ſo many years with all the truth and honeſty and zeal for your ſervice, that was poſſible; yet I ſhall never forget, that I am your ſubject, nor ceaſe to be a faithful one.'

Through the whole ſummer after Mr. *Harley*'s diſmiſſion, the Queen continued to have ſecret correſpondence with him. And, that this might be the better managed, ſhe ſtaid all the ſultry ſeaſon, even when the Prince was panting for breath in that ſmall houſe ſhe had formerly purchaſed at *Windſor*, which, though as hot as an oven, was then ſaid to be cool, becauſe from the park ſuch perſons, as Mrs. *Maſham* had a mind to bring to her Majeſty, could be let in privately by the garden. 'And when (*continues the Ducheſs of* Marlborough) upon the death of the Prince, one would have thought, that her Majeſty's real grief would have made her avoid every place and every object, that might ſenſibly revive the remembrance of her loſs, ſhe choſe for her place of retirement his cloſet, and for ſome weeks ſpent many hours in it every day. I was amazed at this; and, when I ſpoke to her of it, ſhe ſeemed ſurprized, juſt like a perſon, who on a ſudden becomes ſenſible of her having done ſomething ſhe would not have done, had ſhe duly conſidered. But the true reaſon of her Majeſty's chuſing this cloſet to ſit in, was, that the back-ſtairs belonging to it came from Mrs. *Maſham*'s lodgings, who by that means could ſecretly bring to her whom ſhe pleaſed. And that a correſpondence was thus carried on with Mr. *Harley*, became every day more and more manifeſt by the difficulties and objections, which her Majeſty had learnt to raiſe againſt almoſt every thing propoſed by her Miniſters. Nay, it is well known, that Mr. *Harley* and his Aſſociates, when at length they had compaſſed their deſigns, and got into the management of affairs, did often (both in their cups and out of them) boaſt, that they, while the Queen's Miniſters were aſleep, were frequently at Court, giving advice in ſecret, how to perplex them in all their meaſures.

But they were much miſtaken, if they imagined, that

1708. " wards entering into *France*, which hath ſo far " alarmed our enemies, that they are drawing " more troops daily to that ſide, for the defence " of their own country. And therefore her " Majeſty hopes you will have ſo right a ſenſe " of our preſent advantages, as to inable her " Majeſty to make a conſiderable augmentation " for preſerving and improving them, which, by " the continuance of God's bleſſing on our " arms, muſt ſoon put a glorious period to this " long and expenſive war.

" As to the condition of the fleet, we have " it in command from her Majeſty to acquaint " you, that the conſtant and remote ſervices, " in which the ſhips have been employed, have " made a greater ſum than uſual requiſite, as " well for the extraordinary repairs, as the build- " ing of new ſhips. And the taking of *Port-* " *Mahon*, as it hath afforded the means of hav- " ing a part of the fleet operate with more " readineſs and effect on the enemy, or where- " ever it may be uſeful to the common cauſe in " thoſe parts, ſo the making ſuch proviſions, at " ſo great a diſtance, as will be proper for that " ſervice, muſt of neceſſity cauſe ſome extraor- " dinary expences. All which her Majeſty re- " commends to your ſerious conſideration, de- " ſiring you to provide timely and effectual " Supplies for thoſe ends; and likewiſe, for the " carrying on ſuch fortifications for the ſecurity " of our Ports, and extinguiſhing the enemy's " hopes of profiting by diſturbances in *Scotland*, " as you ſhall think fit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The *Union* is eſteemed by her Majeſty to " be ſo happy and great a part of the ſucceſſes " of her Reign; and her Majeſty hath ſo much " at heart the confirming and improving it, " that ſhe is pleaſed to command us, to remind " you of preparing ſuch bills, as ſhall be " thought conducing to that end; and particu- " larly to make the laws of both parts of " *Great-Britain* agree, as near as may be, for " the common intereſt of both people, eſpeci- " ally as to thoſe laws, which relate to criminal " caſes and proceedings, and ſettling the *Militia* " on the ſame foot throughout the United " Kingdom. 1708.

" Her Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed we ſhould " alſo aſſure you, that if you can propoſe any " means for the improvement of our trade or " manufactures, or better employment of the " poor, her Majeſty will take the greateſt ſatiſ- " faction in enacting ſuch proviſions; there be- " ing nothing ſhe ſo earneſtly deſires, as that " God would bleſs her with more and more op- " portunities of doing all poſſible good to ſo " well deſerving a people, ſo firm and affec- " tionate to her intereſts.

" And as her Majeſty doth not doubt, by " God's bleſſing and your good affections, to " continue to defeat the deſigns of the *Preten-* " *der*, and his open or ſecret Abettors; ſo her " Majeſty will always endeavour, on her part, " to make her people happy to ſuch a degree, " as that none (except of deſperate fortunes) " ſhall enter into meaſures for the diſturbance " of her Government, the *Union*, or the Pro- " teſtant Succeſſion, as by law eſtabliſhed, with- " out acting at the ſame time manifeſtly againſt " their own true and laſting intereſt, as well as " their duty."

Both Houſes immediately reſolved upon addreſſes

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that their proceedings at the time I am ſpeaking of were ſo intirely covered. The Miniſters were fully convinced of the truth, and frequently repreſented to her Majeſty, what a diſcouragement it was to them in their endeavours for her ſervice, to find, that ſhe had no confidence in them, but was influenced by the counſel of others, who counter-worked them in every inſtance. Upon this ſubject I myſelf wrote and ſpoke a great deal to her with my uſual plainneſs and zeal. But finding, not only that I could make no impreſſion on her in this reſpect, but that her change towards me in particular was every day more and more apparent, I at length went to her, and begged to know what my crime was, that had wrought in her ſo great an alteration. This drew from the Queen a letter, dated *October* 26, 1709, wherein ſhe charges me *with inveteracy* (as her word is) *againſt poor* Maſham; *and with having nothing ſo much at heart as the ruin of my couſin.* In ſpeaking of the miſunderſtanding betwixt her Majeſty and me, ſhe ſays, they are *for nothing, that ſhe knows of, but becauſe ſhe cannot ſee with my eyes, and hear with my ears.* And adds, *That it is impoſſible for me to recover her former kindneſs, but that ſhe ſhall behave herſelf to me, as the Duke of* Marlborough's *wife, and her Groom of the Stole.* This declaration ſo plain and expreſs of her Majeſty's thorough change towards me was the more extraordinary, as in this ſame letter are theſe words: *You have asked me once or twice, if you had committed any fault, that I was ſo changed; and I told you, no, becauſe I do not think it a crime in any one not to be of my mind.* Upon the receipt of this letter, I immediately ſet myſelf to draw up a long narrative of a ſeries of faithful ſervices for about twenty-ſix years paſt; of the great ſenſe the Queen formerly had of my ſervices; of the great favour I had been honoured with on account of them; of the uſe I had made of that favour; and of my loſing it now by the artifice of my enemies, and particularly of one, whom I had raiſed out of the duſt. And, knowing how great a reſpect her Majeſty had for the writings of certain eminent divines, I added to my narrative the directions given by the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man* with relation to friendſhip; the directions in the *Common-Prayer-Book* before the Communion with regard to reconciliation, together with the rules laid down by Biſhop *Taylor* upon the ſame head: And I concluded with giving my word to her Majeſty, that if, after reading theſe, ſhe would pleaſe only to anſwer in two words, that ſhe was ſtill of the ſame opinion, as when ſhe wrote that harſh letter, which occaſioned her this trouble, I would never more give her the leaſt trouble upon any ſubject, but the buſineſs of my office, as long as I ſhould have the honour to continue her ſervant; aſſuring her, that, however ſhe might be changed towards me, and how much ſoever we might ſtill differ in opinion, I ſhould ever remember, that ſhe was my Miſtreſs and my Queen, and ſhould always pay her the reſpect due from a faithful ſervant and dutiful ſubject. I ſent from *St. Albans* this narrative, which ſhe promiſed to read and anſwer. And, ten days after, writing to me upon another occaſion, ſhe ſaid ſhe had not leiſure yet to read all my papers, but, when ſhe had, ſhe would ſend me ſome anſwer. But none ever came, nor had my papers any apparent effect on her Majeſty, except that, after my coming to town, as ſhe was paſſing by me, in order to receive the Communion, ſhe looked with much good nature, and very graciouſly ſmiled upon me. But the ſmile and pleaſant look, I had reaſon afterwards to think, were given to Biſhop *Taylor* and the *Common-Prayer-Book*, and not to me.

1708. dreſſes of condolence upon the death of Prince *George*, and of congratulation for the glorious ſucceſſes of the laſt campaign. Which addreſſes were preſented in a private way to the Queen, that of the Lords by the Marquiſs of *Dorcheſter*, and that of the Commons by ſuch Members as were of the Privy-Council.

Partiality in judging elections. Burnet.

The Proceedings in both Houſes this Seſſion were agreeable to the directions given at Court; for, the Court being now joined with the Whigs, they had a clear majority in every thing: All elections were judged in favour of Whigs and Courtiers, but with ſo much partiality, that thoſe, who had formerly made loud complaints of the injuſtice of the Tories, in determining elections, when they were a majority, were not ſo much as out of countenance, when they were reproached for the ſame thing: They pretended they were in a ſtate of war with the Tories, ſo that it was reaſonable to retaliate this to them, on the account of their former proceedings: But this did not ſatisfy juſt and upright men, who would not do to others, that which they had complained of, when it was done to them, or to their friends (1).

The chief buſineſs of this Seſſion was concerning the ſupply, the *Scotch* elections and invaſion, the naturalization of foreign Proteſtants, and the trials of treaſons in *Scotland*.

The Supplies granted for the year 1709

The ſupplies, that were demanded, were granted very unanimouſly in the Houſe of Commons, not only for maintaining the force then on foot, but for an augmentation of ten thouſand men more. This was thought neceſſary to preſs the war with more ſtrength, as the ſureſt way to bring on a ſpeedy peace. The *States* agreed to the like augmentation on their ſide. The *French*, according to their uſual vanity, gave out, that they had great deſigns in view the next campaign: And it was confidently reported by the Jacobites, that a new invaſion was deſigned both on *Scotland* and on *Ireland*. The whole ſupply, voted by the Commons for the ſervice of the year 1709, amounted to above ſeven millions. The land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, and the duty on malt, were readily agreed to; but it took ſome time to find funds for the reſt, and it would have proved a very difficult matter, if the Bank of *England* had not offered to circulate two millions five hundred thouſand pounds in *Exchequer* bills for the Government, on condition the time for their continuance was enlarged twenty-one years from *Auguſt* 1, 1711, and their ſtock of two millions, two hundred and one thouſand, one hundred and ſeventy-one pounds was doubled by a new ſubſcription. The Commons,

An enlargement of the Bank. Pr. H. C.

agreeing to the propoſal, addreſſed the Queen to iſſue out a Commiſſion under the Great Seal for taking the ſubſcriptions; which being done, the books were opened at *Mercers-Hall*, on the 22d of *February*, about nine in the morning, and by one o'clock in the afternoon the whole ſum of two millions, two hundred and one thouſand, one hundred and ſeventy-one pounds (at the rate of an hundred and fifteen pounds for every hundred pound) was ſubſcribed. Such was the crowd of people, that brought their money to this new fund, that it was believed a million more would have been ſubſcribed before night, if there had been room. This ſhewed both the wealth of the Nation and their entire confidence in the Government. It was obſervable, at this very juncture, the *French* Court had a project for erecting a *Royal-Bank* for circulating their *Mint-bills*, but the deſign was ſoon found to be impracticable, becauſe of the great ſcarcity of money in that Kingdom, and the almoſt entire ruin of their public credit. By this ſubſcription, and by a further prolongation of the general mortgage of the revenue, the Commons created good funds for anſwering all the money they had voted in the beginning of the Seſſion. The *two third ſubſidy* was appropriated for the intereſt of the money raiſed by the Bank-ſcheme. 1708.

The Peers of Scotland's eldeſt ſons incapacitated to ſit in Parliament. Pr. H. C.

The *Scotch* Elections occaſioned great debates in both Houſes. The Commons, on the 3d of *December*, took into conſideration that part of the act of *Union*, which relates to the election of Members to ſerve in that Houſe for *Scotland*. The petitions and repreſentations, concerning the incapacity of the eldeſt ſons of *Scots* Peers to ſit in the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, were read, and Council heard upon it. The ſubſtance both of theſe repreſentations and the Council's arguments, was, 'That by an act of the *Scots* Parliament, intitled, *An act for ſettling the manner of electing ſixteen Peers and forty-five Commoners, to repreſent* Scotland *in the Parliament of* Great-Britain, which act was ratified by the *act for uniting the two Kingdoms*, it is declared, *That none ſhall be capable to elect, or be elected, to repreſent a Shire or Burgh in the Parliament of* Great-Britain *for this part of the united Kingdom, except ſuch as are now capable to elect, or be elected, as Commiſſioners for Shires or Burghs to the Parliament of* Scotland: That from hence it evidently followed, that the *Scots* Peers eldeſt ſons could not ſit in the Houſe of Commons of *Great-Britain*, unleſs it did appear, that they were capable to be elected, and ſit as Members of the Parliament of *Scotland*. But, as a proof of the contrary, ſeveral inſtances were alledged of their being

(1) It was propoſed, that all queſtions at the trial of elections ſhould (if any Member inſiſted on it) be determined by ballot, but it was carried in the negative. The Houſe, having heard the merits of the conteſted election for the City of *Weſtminſter*, ſent *Huggins*, then High-Bailiff, to *Newgate*, for refuſing to tender the oaths of *Abjuration*; and voted *Thomas Medlicot*, Eſq; who was ſet up by the Tories, in oppoſition to Sir *Henry Dutton Colt*, to be duly elected for that City, Yeas 154, Noes 142. Several accidents happened to Sir *Henry*'s diſadvantage in that conteſt, in which the Whigs, for the moſt part, favoured him, though they did not much eſteem or love him, otherwiſe than as he was a man of Revolution-principles. *Huggins* is the ſame perſon, that lay lately ſo long in *Newgate* for a criminal caſe, in the exerciſe of the Office of Warden of the *Fleet*. On the other hand, Sir *Simon Harcourt* having been returned for *Abington*, and Mr. *John Hucks* having lodged a petition againſt him, the cauſe was argued, and the debates continued till two in the morning, on the 28th of *January*, when Mr. *Hucks* carried it by a great majority. Sir *Simon* took his leave of the Houſe with a ſpeech, which he began with aſſerting: 'Whatever the determination of this Houſe may be, this I am ſure of, and it muſt be admitted, that I am as duly elected for the borough of *Abington* as ever any man was.'

1708. being always rejected by the Parliament of *Scotland*, and, in particular, the Viſcount *Turbat*'s eldeſt ſon, in the year 1685, and the Lord *Levingſton*, in the year 1689. That the *fundamental law* of the *Union* had moſt expreſsly reſerved to the Commons of *Scotland* that valuable privilege of electing their Repreſentatives in Parliament, from among the beſt qualified Gentlemen of their own number and ſtate, in the ſame manner as they had formerly uſed to do. That, in electing Members of Parliament, the choice of the electors ought to be made as free as is poſſible, from the influence either of bribes or threats, and, in juſtice, ſhould only be determined by the honeſty and candour of the perſon to be choſen; that his character be ſuch, as promiſes a faithful diſcharge of ſo great a truſt; and that his inclination be accompanied with a ſufficient capacity to maintain this character; the Commons there being ſurrounded with a numerous and powerful Peerage, who, like ſo many Sovereigns, judge and determine within their reſpective bounds, in criminal as well as civil matters, being veſted with vaſt ſuperiorities and hereditary juriſdictions, ſo that no Commoner, holding any part of his lands of a Peer, or indeed being in his neighbourhood, could be reckoned at liberty to make a free election of his Repreſentative: And therefore the Commons of *Scotland*, whereof the majority of their Parliament conſiſted, had invincible arguments for preſerving intire to themſelves that neceſſary privilege of excluding their Peers eldeſt ſons from being Members of that Houſe. That if the Parliament of *Scotland*, which conſiſted of Peers and Commoners, ſitting together in the ſame Houſe, enjoying the ſame liberty of ſpeech, and the ſame common privileges and judicative capacity, being alſo reſtricted to the ſame rules and forms, had ſo many weighty reaſons for excluding their Peers eldeſt ſons; how many more arguments of greater moment might be urged in the Houſe of Commons of *Great-Britain*, who were a ſeparate and diſtinct Houſe of Peers, enjoying by themſelves ſo many valuable privileges and immunities, which could not be incroached upon, or ſubjected to a Houſe of Peers, without endangering the whole Conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons? And in the laſt place, That, *England* and *Scotland* being now united, and their intereſts inſeparably joined, it ought to be a maxim with all true *Britons*, that the liberty of the Commons of *Scotland* will always be an advantage to thoſe of *England*; and that the ſlavery of the firſt cannot fail ending in the deſtruction of the latter.

Little being offered on the other ſide againſt theſe arguments, the eldeſt ſons of the Peers of *Scotland* were declared incapable to ſit in Parliament, and, three days after, the Commons ordered their Speaker to iſſue out his warrants to the Clerk of the Crown, to make out new writs for the electing Commiſſioners for the ſhire of *Aberdeen*, in the room of *William* Lord *Haddo*; and for the ſhire of *Linlithgow*, in the room of *James* Lord *Johnſtown*, who, being eldeſt ſons of Peers of *Scotland*, were declared to be incapable to ſit in that Houſe.

Debates about the election of the Peers of Scotland. Burnet.

A petition of a new nature was likewiſe brought before the Lords, with relation to the election of the Peers from *Scotland*. There was a return made in due form; but a petition was laid before the Houſe in the name of four Lords, who pretended, that they ought to have been returned. The Duke of *Queenſberry* had been created a Duke of *Great-Britain* by the title of Duke of *Dover*; yet he thought he had ſtill a right to vote as a Peer of *Scotland*. He had likewiſe a proxy; ſo that two votes depended on this point, whether the *Scots* Peerage did ſink into the Peerage of *Great-Britain*. Some Lords, who were priſoners in the caſtle of *Edinburgh* on ſuſpicion, as favouring the Pretender, had ſent for the Sheriff of *Lothian* to the caſtle, and had taken the oaths before him; and upon that were reckoned to be qualified to vote or make a proxy. Now it was pretended, that the caſtle of *Edinburgh* was a Conſtabulatory, and was out of the Sheriff's juriſdiction; and that therefore he could not legally tender them the oaths. Some proxies were ſigned without ſubſcribing witneſſes, a form neceſſary by their law. Other exceptions were alſo taken from ſome rules of the law of *Scotland*, which had not been obſerved. The Clerks being alſo complained of, they were ſent for, and were ordered to bring up with them all inſtruments or documents relating to the election. When they came up, and every thing was laid before the Houſe of Lords, the whole matter was long and well debated. 1708.

A Scotiſh Peer, made a Peer of Great-Britain, *was to have no vote in* Scotland.

As to the Duke of *Queenſberry*'s voting among the *Scots* Lords, it was ſaid, that if a Peer of *Scotland*, being made a Peer of *Great-Britain*, did ſtill retain the intereſt in electing the ſixteen from *Scotland*, this would create a great inequality among Peers, ſome having a vote by repreſentation, as well as in perſon: The precedent was miſchievous, ſince, by creating ſome of the chief families in *Scotland* Peers of *Great-Britain*, they would be able to carry the whole election of the ſixteen as they pleaſed. It was objected, that, by a clauſe in the act paſſed ſince the Union, the Peers of *England*, who were likewiſe Peers of *Scotland*, had a right to vote in the election of *Scotland* ſtill reſerved to them; ſo there ſeemed to be a parity in this caſe with that. But it was anſwered, That a Peer of *England*, and a Peer of *Scotland*, held their dignity under two different Crowns, and by two different Great-Seals: But, *Great-Britain* including *Scotland* as well as *England*, the *Scots* Peerage muſt now ſink into that of *Great-Britain*. Beſides, that there were but five, who were Peers of both Kingdoms before the Union; and therefore, as it might be reaſonable to make proviſion for them, ſo it was of no great conſequence; but, if this precedent were allowed, it might go much farther, and have very ill conſequences. Upon a diviſion of the Houſe, the matter was determined againſt the Duke of *Queenſberry*.

Other exceptions were determined.

A great deal was ſaid both at the bar by the Lawyers, and in the debate in the Houſe, upon the point of juriſdiction, and of the exemption of a Conſtabulatory. It was ſaid, that the Sheriffs Court ought to be, as all Courts were, open and free, and ſo could not be held within a caſtle or priſon. But no expreſs deciſion had ever been made in this matter. The priſoners had taken the oaths, which was the chief intent of the law, in the beſt manner they could; ſo that it ſeemed not reaſonable to cut them off from the main privilege of Peerage, which was reſerved to them, becauſe they could not go abroad to the Sheriffs Court. After a long de-

1708. bate it was carried, that the oaths were duly tendered to them. Some other exceptions were proved and admitted; the returns of ſome, certifying that they had taken the oaths, were not ſealed; and ſome had ſigned theſe without ſubſcribing witneſſes. Other exceptions were offered from proviſions, which the law of *Scotland* had made, with relation to bonds and other deeds, which had not been obſerved in making of proxies. But the Houſe of Lords did not think theſe were of that importance, as to vacate the proxies on that account. After a full hearing, and a debate, which laſted many days, there was but one of the Peers, who were returned, that was found not duly elected, and only one of the petitioning Lords was brought into the Houſe; the Marquiſs of *Annandale* was received, and the Marquiſs of *Lothian* was ſet aſide.

A faction among the Scots in Parliament. Burnet.

The *Scots* Members in both Houſes were divided into factions. The Duke of *Queensberry* had his party ſtill depending upon him. He was in ſuch credit with the Lord-Treaſurer and the Queen, that all the poſts in *Scotland* were given to perſons recommended by him. The chief Miniſters at Court ſeemed to have laid it down for a maxim not to be departed from, to look carefully to elections in *Scotland*; that the Members returned from thence might be in an intire dependence on them, and be either Whigs or Tories, as they ſhould ſhift ſides. The Duke of *Queenſberry* was made third Secretary of State: He had no foreign Province aſſigned him, but *Scotland* was left to his management. The Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Montroſs*, and *Roxburgh* had ſet themſelves in an oppoſition to his power, and had carried many elections againſt him. The Lord *Sommers* and the Earl of *Sunderland* ſupported them, but could not prevail with the Lord-Treaſurer to bring them into an equal ſhare of the Adminiſtration. This had almoſt occaſioned a breach; for the Whigs, though they went on in a conjunction with the Lord-Treaſurer, yet continued ſtill to be jealous of him.

A bill for a general naturalization of all Proteſtants.

The bill for naturalizing all Proteſtant Foreigners was alſo the ſubject of great debates this Seſſion. Since the revocation of the edict of *Nantz*, ſo fatal to *France* by the decreaſe of her trade, and the loſs of numberleſs ſubjects, *England* abounded with *French* Proteſtants. They had indeed been well received, but with much more reſerve than in the *United Provinces*, *Brandenburg*, and *Pruſſia*. They had however done all the ſervice they could, and the *Engliſh* themſelves had not behaved with more bravery and reſentment againſt *France* than theſe Refugees. For ever excluded from their native country, 1708. they had long been ſeeking to be incorporated by an act of naturalization with a people, to whom they had fled for refuge. But their endeavours had hitherto proved ineffectual. The preſent Parliament, wherein the Whigs had the majority, whoſe maxim it was to countenance foreign Proteſtants, at length granted their deſire. For, on the 5th of *February*, Mr. *Wortley Montagu* made a motion for a bill for naturalizing foreign Proteſtants, and, in a ſet ſpeech, ſhewed the advantages, that would accrue to the Nation by ſuch an act; alledging, amongſt other particulars, "the example of the King of "*Pruſſia*, who had not only invited, but furniſhed abundance of *French* Refugees with "means to ſettle in his Dominions; whereby "he had fertilized an almoſt barren country, "improved trade, and vaſtly increaſed his revenue." Adding, "That if Foreigners were "induced to ſettle under a *deſpotic Government*, "where they found protection and encouragement, they would undoubtedly be the more "inclined to bring their effects, and at leaſt "their induſtry, into *Great-Britain*, where they "would ſhare the privileges of a *Free Nation*." Mr. *Compton*, and ſeveral other Members, ſupporting this motion, the Houſe ordered the bill to be prepared and brought in.

Reaſons againſt it. Pr. H. C.

Whilſt this bill was depending, a paper was printed, and induſtriouſly diſperſed, importing, 1ſt, That the *conflux of Aliens*, as would probably be the effect of ſuch a law, might prove dangerous to our Conſtitution; for theſe would owe allegiance to their reſpective Princes, and retain a fondneſs for their native countries; and therefore, whenſoever a war ſhould break out, might prove ſo many ſpies and enemies. And, beſides this pretence, the profeſſed enemies of our eſtabliſhed Church and Religion might flock over, with deſign to effect its overthrow. 2dly, That a general naturalization might undoubtedly ſpread an univerſal diſguſt and jealouſy throughout the Nation; there having been many complaints and commotions in *London*, and elſewhere, on occaſion of Foreigners. 3dly, That the deſign of inviting multitudes of Aliens to ſettle here, might prove in time a further miſchief; for they would not only be capable of voting at elections, but alſo of being choſen Members of Parliament; have admiſſion into places of truſt and authority, which, in proceſs of time, might indanger our antient Polity and Government, and, by frequent intermarriages, go a great way to blot out and extinguiſh the *Engliſh* race (1).

The

(1) Several other reaſons were urged, as 4. That antiently naturalizations by act of Parliament were ſeldom or never made, but upon ſpecial reaſons, and for particular occaſions. And though ſome acts have given encouragement to foreign Merchants and Weavers to ſettle here; it was when our weaving-trade, and other manufactures, were inconſiderable, to the advancement they have ſince attained: And that from the ſettlement of the great cuſtoms in *Edward* I's time, in all acts of Parliament for ſubſidies ſince paſſed, *Aliens* had always been charged with an increaſe of cuſtoms above natives, and a diſcrimination kept up between them; as was particularly remarked by the learned Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Hale*, in a Tract *againſt a general Naturalization*. 5. That it was more than probable, that the greateſt number, that would come over, would be of poor people, which would be of fatal conſequence with reſpect to the many poor induſtrious families, who would thereby be reduced to the uttermoſt ſtraits; it being evident, that no hands were wanted to carry on our manufactures, from the great quantities, that lay on hand, their cheapneſs, and the lowneſs of wages now given. What then would be the effect of ſuch an addition? For theſe *Aliens* would altogether ſettle in places of manufacture; there being no inſtances of any of the late *Refugees* betaking themſelves to the *ſpade*, *plough*, or *flail*. And it would be a very great charge to thoſe pariſhes, wherein they ſhould ſettle; there being now great numbers of *French*, who for want of work were relieved, and, in a great meaſure,

1708. *Reaſons for it.* The Majority of the Houſe eaſily diſcerned the fallacy of theſe popular arguments, being thoroughly convinced, both by their own obſervation, and the reaſons alledged both within and without the walls, that (as the preamble of the bill ſet forth) *the increaſe of people is a means of advancing the wealth and ſtrength of a Nation:* This maxim was abundantly verified, not only in *Pruſſia*, *Holland*, and other Proteſtant Countries, which had greatly increaſed in riches by the *French* Refugees ſettling there, but principally in *Great-Britain*, where, by the induſtry of the Refugees, ſeveral new manufactures had been ſet up, and others improved, to the great advancement of trade, and the total turning the balance thereof, to the prejudice of *France*, and the benefit of this Nation. That, beſides the improvement of commerce, the *French* Refugees had greatly contributed towards the ſupport of the *Revolution* Settlement, by putting the beſt part of their own ſubſtance, and of their friends and relations abroad, into the public funds; of which they had a freſh inſtance, in ſubſcribing near five hundred thouſand pounds into the Bank of *England*; ſo that, by a modeſt computation, the Refugees were reckoned to have above two millions ſterling in the Government. That, as they could not be ſuppoſed to have brought one half of that money into *England*, ſo it was prudence to divert the thoughts they might have, upon the concluſion of the war, of carrying their vaſt gains abroad (which would very much leſſen the current caſh and credit of *Great-Britain*) by granting them the advantages and privileges enjoyed by her Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects; which would not only engage them to ſettle here, but likewiſe bring over ſuch of their friends and relations, as might hope to inherit their eſtates. That the *French* Refugees had at all times, in their ſeveral ſtations and capacities, given ſignal proofs of their love for our happy Conſtitution, and of their zeal and affection for the Government: And, in particular, ſuch of them, as had military employments, which they had diſcharged, both in the late and preſent war, with diſtinguiſhing bravery and conduct. That this war had already conſumed ſuch vaſt number of men, that it was highly neceſſary to ſupply that loſs, by inviting Foreigners to come over, whether the war continued, which would ſtill increaſe the ſcarcity of men; or whether it was drawing to a period; in which caſe a great number of hands would be requiſite to carry on the manufactures. In ſhort, that all the objections againſt a naturalization were grounded upon this falſe ſuppoſition, that *Foreigners would ever continue, and be looked upon as ſuch*; which was ſufficiently confuted by paſt and daily experience. 1708.

The bill paſſed both Houſes, and received the Royal aſſent. Burnet.

When thoſe who were againſt the bill perceived they ſhould have no ſtrength, if they ſet themſelves directly to oppoſe it, they ſtudied to limit ſtrangers, in the receiving the Sacrament, to the way of the Church of *England*. This probably would not have hindered many, who were otherwiſe diſpoſed to come among us: For the much greater part of the *French* came into the way of our Church. But it was thought beſt to caſt the door as wide open as poſſible, for encouraging of Strangers: And therefore ſince, upon their firſt coming over, ſome might chuſe the way, to which they had been accuſtomed beyond ſea, it ſeemed the more inviting method to admit of all who were in any Proteſtant Communion. Accordingly, the bill was carried

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meaſure, maintained by the Queen's bounty, and charity of their Churches, and other well-diſpoſed perſons, who, when naturalized, would have recourſe to their own reſpective pariſhes for an allowance. 6. That a general naturalization would, in effect, defeat the patent of the act of navigation, which had always been eſteemed to conduce to the intereſt of the Nation, by the encouragement and increaſe of *Engliſh* Mariners, and advance of trade. 7. That hereby, in proceſs of time, Aliens would be advanced in riches, and her Majeſty's ſubjects impoveriſhed; for thoſe beneficial trades, buying and ſelling by commiſſions, remittances, and exchanges of money, would, in a great meaſure, be ingroſſed by Foreigners, by reaſon of their many friends and relations abroad. Beſides, ſuch Aliens generally living in lodgings, and at little charge, frequently eſcaping public taxes and Pariſh-duties, would be able to underſell and undermine the native Merchants. 8. That hereby the treaſure of the Nation would be exhauſted and remitted into foreign parts; for it might well be ſuppoſed, that thoſe Aliens, that have valuable eſtates, could not or would not tranſport the greateſt part thereof hither; and leaving children, and their neareſt relations behind them, they would come hither only upon a deſign of getting riches, and to return home again therewith, particularly upon a proſpect of war; an inſtance of which we had in the practice of our Merchants, who, when they have got eſtates abroad, conſtantly return home to enjoy the ſame. 9. That the Queen's cuſtoms would hereby be conſiderably diminiſhed; for many ſtatutes, which lay a greater duty on Aliens than on natives, would, as to this, be repealed. 10. That opportunity would hereby be given to Merchants, to colour the goods and merchandizes of other ſtrangers beyond ſea, their correſpondents, friends, or relations, to the great detriment of her Majeſty's cuſtoms, and trade of the native ſubjects; a practice which was offered to be proved before their late Majeſties and the Lords of the Treaſury: Which reaſons did influence the judgments of our Anceſtors, as appears by the ſtatutes of 1 *Hen.* VII. *c.* 11. 11 *Hen.* VII. *c.* 14. 22 *Hen.* VIII. *c.* 8. 11. That the duties of package and ſcavage of the goods of all Merchants, as well Denizens as Aliens, were the indiſpenſable right and inheritance of the Commonalty and Citizens of *London*, let to farm by leaſe (wherein were about eighteen years to come) for a fine of one thouſand pounds, and the yearly rent of nine hundred and fifty pounds; and, among other things, were, by act of Parliament, charged towards the raiſing of eight thouſand pounds *per annum* for ever to the *Orphans*, and other Creditors of the ſaid City; which duties would be wholly loſt, to the great prejudice of the ſaid City, and would render them incapable to ſupport the government of the ſame. 12. And in the laſt place, That, the Nation being now engaged in an expenſive, though neceſſary war, taxes high, trade obſtructed, great quantities of woollen, and other manufactures lay unſold; and, as an effect hereof, the ſeveral prices of making them very ſmall, many families deſtitute of work throughout the Kingdom: What then, at ſuch a time as this, muſt be the conſequence of inviting hither, by a general naturalization, multitudes of poor Foreigners, who would only employ themſelves in trade and manufactures?

About the ſame time the City of *London* having, on the 18th of *February*, petitioned the Commons, that they might be heard by their Council againſt the bill, and their requeſt being granted, their Lawyers chiefly inſiſted on the 11th of the above-mentioned reaſons; but upon examination it was found, that the duties of *package* and *ſcavage* did not, of late, yield above twenty pounds *per annum*, moſt of the Foreign Merchants having been already naturalized.

(1) *Buckingham*,

1708. carried in the Houſe of Commons by a great majority, for naturalizing all foreign Proteſtants, upon their taking the oaths to the Government, and receiving the Sacrament in any Proteſtant Church. All thoſe, that appeared for this comprehenſive way, were reproached for their coldneſs and indifference in the concerns of the Church. Of this the Biſhop of *Sarum* had a large ſhare; for, when the bill was brought up to the Lords, he ſpoke copiouſly for it; whilſt the Biſhop of *Cheſter* ſpoke as zealouſly againſt it, who ſeemed reſolved to diſtinguiſh himſelf as a zealot for that which was called *High-Church*. The bill paſſed with very little oppoſition, though it was proteſted againſt by ſeveral Lords, as prejudicial to trade and manufactures, and of ill conſequence to our Liberties and Religion (1).

The other ſubjects of debate in this Seſſion were, the inquiry into the *Scotch* invaſion, and the trials of treaſons in *Scotland*. What gave riſe to the great and long debates on theſe affairs was this: Upon the attempt made by the Pretender, many of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, who had all along adhered to that intereſt, were ſecured; and after the fleet was got back to *Dunkirk*, and the danger was over, they were ordered to be brought up priſoners to *London*; when they came, there was no evidence at all againſt them, ſo they were diſmiſſed, and ſent back to *Scotland*. No exceptions could be taken to the ſecuring them, while there was danger: But, ſince nothing beſides preſumptions lay againſt them, the bringing them up to *London*, at ſuch a charge, and under ſuch a diſgrace, was much cenſured, as an unreaſonable and an unjuſt ſeverity; and was made uſe of, to give that Nation a further averſion to the Union. That whole matter was managed by the *Scotch* Lords then in the Miniſtry, by which, they both revenged themſelves on ſome of their enemies, and made a ſhew of zeal for the Government; though ſuch, as did not believe them ſincere in theſe profeſſions, thought it was done on deſign to exaſperate the *Scots* the more, and ſo to diſpoſe them to wiſh for another invaſion. The Whig Miniſtry in *England* diſowned all theſe proceedings, and uſed the *Scots* priſoners ſo well, that they went down much inclined to concur with them: But the Lord *Godolphin* fatally adhered to the *Scotch* Miniſters, and ſupported them, by which, the advantage that might have been made from theſe ſevere proceedings was loſt. Hence it was, that, the Lords having ordered their Members to attend on the 10th of *January*, they took into conſideration the ſtate of the Nation, with reſpect to the late invaſion of *Scotland*. The Lord *Haverſham* opened the debate with a long ſpeech, wherein he ſet forth, that the Nation expected an enquiry into this matter, in which not only their welfare, but their very being itſelf, the ſecurity of the Nation, and the ſafety of the Queen, were highly concerned. For the ſucceſſes of their arms had not diſabled the *French* King from making farther attempts. Beſides, it was plain, his chief dependance in the late invaſion was from the encouragement he had from hence; and yet, notwithſtanding all enquiries, it was ſtill a great myſtery, who the perſons were, that were concerned in that unnatural treaſon. It is true ſeveral perſons of great quality had been taken up on ſuſpicion, but had any thing been proved againſt them? The *French* King had more encouragement than before to renew his attempt upon us, ſince the methods hitherto taken to diſcover the many friends he has among us had ſignified ſo little. Another encouragement was the defenceleſs condition of *Scotland*, the deficiency of forces, and ill ſtate of the garriſons at the time of the invaſion, notwithſtanding the certain account we had of it. He concluded with ſaying, 'My Lords, if your Lordſhips have any intention of looking into this matter, I ſhall make your Lordſhips a motion, which perhaps may give us ſome light. It is, That her Majeſty will pleaſe to order, that there may be laid before this Houſe, at what time her Majeſty received the firſt account of the intended invaſion? What orders were thereupon iſſued into *Scotland*, with relation either to forces or garriſons? What was the number of regular troops and forces there at the time of this intelligence? What was the ſtate of the garriſons there at that time? What augmentation was made, or forces ſent thither, from the time of the intelligence, to the time of the invaſion? What orders had been given with relation to the garriſons, and when, both before and ſince the invaſion, from the time of the firſt intelligence'?

1708.

Enquiry into the invaſion of Scotland. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

The Lord *Haverſham* having ended this ſpeech, ſeveral other Peers ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. Whereupon the Houſe appointed a Committee, to inquire into the ſtate of the Nation in relation to the intended invaſion, and ordered an addreſs to be preſented to the Queen, to deſire, that the papers concerning that affair might be laid before them; which was readily complied with.

Lord Haverſham opens the account of the Scotch *invaſion.* Pr. H. L.

Not long after this addreſs, the Lord *Haverſham* opened, in the Houſe of Lords, the account of the *Scotch* invaſion in a much longer ſpeech, wherein he obſerves, that the Lords, who ſeconded his motion for the papers to be laid before them, never ſo much as looked into them, or have mentioned the matter ſince; perhaps, they will ſay they never intended it, and that they called for the papers only to cover ſome deſign, or to try how an act of Grace will reliſh, to which, as he was innocent, he ſhould not give his conſent. As to the papers, he had looked into them, and, with their Lordſhips leave, would take notice of ſome particulars: Mr. *Boyle* received certain intelligence, the 23d of *February*, that the armament at *Dunkirk* was intended for *Scotland*; and the Queen, on the 25th, impowers her Privy-Council there to put her forces, forts and garriſons in the beſt order. There were not at that time above fifteen hundred men of regular forces in *Scotland*. Though this was an inſufficient ſtrength, and though the Parliament raiſed the eſtabliſhment, *December* 20, 1707, from two thouſand eight hundred and thirty-four, to five thouſand nine hundred and thirty-two, yet there was little or no augmentation made, nor had the Council one ſhilling for neceſſary expences the 11th of *March*, nor ſo much

(1) *Buckingham*, *Guernſey*, *Scarſdale*, *North* and *Grey*, *Angleſea*, *Guilford*, and *Nottingham*. Pr. H. L. Vol. II. 261.

1708. much as one penny ordered till the 13th, neither was the eſtabliſhment ſettled till after the invaſion. He then proceeds to ſhew, that when *Scotland* was in this defenceleſs condition, what aſſiſtance they had from *Oſtend*, *England*, and *Ireland*. The tranſports from *Oſtend* did not arrive at *Tinmouth-Bay*, till ten days after the enemy were ſeen on the *Scotch* coaſt, ſo that the diſpute, had there been any, would have been over before they could come up. As to the troops from *England*, they had not orders to march till the 14th of *March*, which, conſidering the length of the march from hence to *Edinburgh*, was certainly too long a delay. As for the troops from *Ireland*, the very orders to provide tranſports were not given by the Lord *Sunderland* till the 12th of *March* here, nor by the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, for the troops to be in a readineſs till the 13th. Now, conſidering what time would be taken up in providing neceſſaries for tranſporting the troops, it ſeems very evident, that the Queen was not truly acquainted with the danger ſhe was in, and that theſe forces muſt arrive in *Scotland* very late. He then took notice of the wretched ſtate of the garriſons, particularly of the caſtles of *Stirling*, *Blackneſs*, and *Dumbarton*, and concluded with ſaying, 'I will not trouble you farther: I think this matter is now very plain before your Lordſhips, I could wiſh I had not ſaid one word of truth, in what I have ſaid to you; but the vouchers ſhew it to be ſo; and, if all this be true, it is a very ſtrange, a very ſurprizing, and a very aſtoniſhing truth.

I ſhall not move any thing to your Lordſhips farther, in this matter: I believe there has been enough now ſaid, to juſtify thoſe Lords for moving this inquiry, and ſhall add but this word, That if there be no greater care taken for the future than there was at this time, of ſuch imminent danger, it will be the greateſt miracle in the world, if, without a miracle, the Pretender be not placed upon that Throne.'

This is the ſubſtance of what was obſerved by Lord *Haverſham*, though there happened ſome interlocutions between him and another Lord; and ſome obſervations were made upon the papers as they were read. The Duke of *Buckingham* and ſeveral Peers ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. Upon which it was ordered, that the affair ſhould be conſidered the *Tueſday* following in a full Houſe. But all ended in a joint addreſs, as will preſently be ſeen. 1708.

During theſe debates in the Houſe of Lords, the Commons had alſo taken the affair of the invaſion into conſideration. Purſuant to an addreſs they had preſented to the Queen, Mr. *Boyle* laid before the Houſe a ſtate of the whole matter of the deſigned invaſion of *North-Britain*; the proceedings againſt the late Lord *Griffin* and others taken in open rebellion, and alſo an account of the names of all thoſe, that were taken up, and the proceedings againſt them; and in what poſture of defence the caſtles and garriſons of *North-Britain* were at that time, and now are. Not long after the Commons reſolved to preſent another addreſs to the Queen, 'That there might be laid before them a liſt of the ſhips of war employed on account of the late invaſion under Vice-Admiral *Byng* and Rear-Admiral *Baker*, and of the names of the Captains, who were employed in that expedition, and what journals had been delivered in relating to the ſame.' But after all theſe addreſſes, when the papers, relating to this affair, came to be conſidered, the Houſe at length reſolved, 'Firſt, That orders were not iſſued for the marching of the troops in *England* until the fourteenth day of *March*, it being neceſſary for the ſecurity of her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, that the troops in this part of the Kingdom ſhould not march into *Scotland*, till there was certain intelligence, that the enemy intended to land in that part of the United Kingdom. Secondly, That timely and effectual care was taken by thoſe employed under her Majeſty, at the time of the intended invaſion of *Scotland*, to diſappoint the deſigns of her Majeſty's enemies both at home and abroad, by fitting out a ſufficient number of men of war, ordering a competent number of troops from *Flanders*, giving directions for the forces in *Ireland* to be ready for the aſſiſtance of the Nation, and by making the neceſſary and proper diſpoſitions of the forces in *England*.' Purſuant to theſe reſolutions an addreſs was drawn up, and preſented to the Queen with the concurrence of the Lords (1). *The Commons proceedings about the invaſion.* Pr. H. G.

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(1) However, the Author of a piece, ſuppoſed to be written by the Lord *Haverſham* himſelf, and publiſhed in 1709, in 4*to*, under the title of *An account of the late invaſion, as it was opened by Lord* Haverſham *in the Houſe of Lords, on* Friday *the 25th of* February, 1708-9: *With ſome obſervations, that were made in the Houſe of Commons, and true copies of authentic papers, in a letter from a Gentleman in* South-Britain, *to his friend in* North-Britain, obſerves, p. 20, *&c.* 'That the ſame papers being laid before the Houſe of Commons, purſuant to their addreſs, produced the like obſervations there, and that the *Scots* Gentlemen concurred with the *Engliſh*, in blaming the conduct of the Miniſtry; affirming it was ſuch, as gave great encouragement to the enemies of the Government; while its friends look on their country to be perfectly given up. This, they ſaid, was their general ſenſe. In the Houſe of Commons, ſome obſervations were alſo made upon the impriſoning many perſons in *Scotland* at that time; ſeveral Lords and Gentlemen of the beſt quality and eſtates were apprehended and ſeized, by virtue of warrants ſent from hence for ſuſpicion of treaſon and treaſonable practices; though it does not appear from the papers, that there was any cauſe to ſuſpect; nor that any of their countrymen (who were the propereſt perſons to be adviſed with on this occaſion) were conſulted in it. For the Earl of *Mar*, in his letter to the Earl of *Leven*, *March* 9, writes, That he, with the Dukes of *Queensberry* and *Montroſs*, the Earls of *Loudon* and *Seafield*, were ſummoned to the Cabinet, and were told there, that ſince both Houſes had, for ſecuring ſuſpected perſons, ſuſpended the *Habeas Corpus* act, it was fit, perſons in *Scotland* ſhould be apprehended; and a liſt was read to them, which they took down in writing, and warrants were ready drawn. This was certainly a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and the more extraordinary, becauſe the greateſt part of the Lords and Gentlemen, taken up by theſe warrants, had given undoubted teſtimonies ever ſince the Revolution (in which ſome of them had been very active and inſtrumental) of their fidelity and good affection to the Government; they had taken all oaths, that have been injoined for their ſecurity; they had ſate in Parliament; and ſome of them had been in offices and employments of great truſt in the Reign of King *William* and of her Majeſty. Others, under the like

1708. *Proceedings on the act concerning trials of treaſon in* Scotland. Pr. H. L. Burnet.

The conſideration of the ſtate of the Nation, with reſpect to the late invaſion, gave occaſion to a bill concerning trials of treaſons in *Scotland*, under the title of *an act for improving the Union of the two Kingdoms*. This bill cauſed very great and long debates, and ſprung from the proceedings againſt the ſuſpected perſons in *Scotland*, and particularly from a trial of ſome Gentlemen of that Kingdom, who had left their houſes, when the Pretender was on the ſea, and had gone about armed, and in ſo ſecret and ſuſpicious a manner, that it gave great cauſe of jealouſy. There was no clear evidence to convict them; but there were very ſtrong, if not violent preſumptions againſt them. Some forms in the trial had not been obſerved, which the criminal Court judged were neceſſary, and not to be diſpenſed with. But the Queen's Advocate, Sir *James Stuart*, was of another mind. The Court thought it was neceſſary by their laws, that the names of the witneſſes ſhould have been ſignified to the priſoners fifteen days before the trial. But the Queen's Advocate had not complied with this, as to the chief witneſſes, ſo that the Court could not hear their evidence. He did not, upon that, move for a delay; and therefore the trial went on, and the Gentlemen were acquitted. Severe expoſtulations paſſed between the Queen's Advocate and the Court. They complained of one another to the Queen, and both ſides juſtified their complaints in print. Upon this it appeared, that the laws in *Scotland* concerning trials in caſes of treaſon were not fixed nor certain. For which reaſon a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons to ſettle that matter; but it was ſo much oppoſed by the *Scots* Members, that it was dropped in the Committee. It was taken up and managed with more zeal by the Lords.

The heads of the act.

It conſiſted of three heads: All crimes, which were high-treaſon by the law of *England*, and theſe only, were to be high-treaſon in *Scotland*. The manner of proceeding ſettled in *England* was to be obſerved in *Scotland*; and the pains and forfeitures were to be the ſame in both Nations. The *Scots* Lords oppoſed every branch of this act. They moved, that all things, that were high-treaſon by the law of *England*, might be enumerated in the act, for the information of the *Scots* Nation; otherwiſe they muſt ſtudy the book of Statutes, to know when they were ſafe, and when they were guilty. To this it was anſwered, that direction would be given to the Judges, to publiſh an abſtract of the laws of high-treaſon, which would be a ſufficient information to the people of *Scotland* in this matter. That Nation would by this means be in a much ſafer condition than they were now; for the laws, they had, were conceived in ſuch general words, that the Judges might put ſuch conſtructions on them, as ſhould ſerve the ends of a bad Court; but they would by this act be reſtrained in this matter for the future. 1708-9.

The forms of proceeding in Scotland.

The ſecond head in this bill occaſioned a much longer debate: It changed the whole method of proceedings in *Scotland*. The former way there was, the Queen's Advocate ſigned a citation of the perſons, ſetting forth the ſpecial matter of high-treaſon, of which they were accuſed. This was to be delivered to them, together with the names of the witneſſes, fifteen days before the trial. When the Jury was impannelled, no peremptory charges were allowed: Reaſons were to be offered with every challenge; and, if the Court allowed them, they were to be proved immediately. Then the matter of the charge, which is there called the relevancy of the libel, was to be argued by lawyers, whether the matter, ſuppoſe it ſhould be proved, did amount to high-treaſon, or not. This was to be determined by a ſentence of the Court, called the *Interloquitur*; and the proof of the fact was not till then to be made. Of that the Jury had the cognizance. Antiently the verdict went with the majority, the number being fifteen; but by a late act the verdict was to be given upon the agreement of two third parts of the Jury. In the ſentence, the law did not limit the Judges to a certain form, but they could aggravate the puniſhment, or moderate it, according to the circumſtances of the caſe. All this method was to be ſet aſide; a Grand Jury was to find the bill; the Judges were only to regulate proceedings, and to declare what the law was; and the whole matter of the indictment was to be left intire to the Jury, who were to be twelve, and all to agree in their verdict.

In one particular, the forms of *Scotland* were much preferable to thoſe in *England*; the depoſitions of the witneſſes were taken indeed by word of mouth, but were writ out, and after that were ſigned by the witneſſes; they were ſent into the Jury; and theſe were made a part of the record. This was very ſlow and tedious; but

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like circumſtances were taken up by warrants, bearing date the 29th of *March*, when the danger was over; which made the *Scots* Gentlemen very free in declaring, that the taking them up could be for no other reaſon, than to influence the approaching elections to Parliament; and for their diſaffection to the intereſts ſome Courtiers then promoted, rather than for their diſaffection to her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, in which they were the more confirmed, becauſe they ſaw there was no evidence in the papers againſt any of them. There was indeed ſome evidence of high-treaſon pretended againſt five Gentlemen, taken up by warrants from the Privy Council of *Scotland*; but that was ſuch, as the Lord Advocate writes, neither he nor the other Advocates employed for her Majeſty, did think would convict them; and therefore humbly offered it as their opinion, that it would be more for the honour and ſervice of her Majeſty, and of her Government, that they ſhould not be proſecuted. The Earl of *Sunderland*, in his anſwer, acquainted him, he had laid his memorial before her Majeſty, who was well ſatisfied with what he had done, in procuring evidence againſt the priſoners; and though poſſibly, upon their trial, the evidence might not be ſufficient to convict them by the law of *Scotland*, yet conſidering all the circumſtances of that affair, and the noiſe it has made in the world, her Majeſty thought it abſolutely neceſſary for her ſervice, that it be carried as far as it will bear. Accordingly, they were brought upon their trials, and acquitted. After all the obſervations made upon the papers, the conſideration of them ended in the Houſe of Commons, in the reſolution abovementioned. The Gentlemen, that were againſt this reſolution, deſired, that all the papers laid before the Houſe, relating to the intended invaſion of *Scotland*, might be printed, that the world might ſee and judge, how well-grounded it was. But thoſe, who had juſtified the Miniſtry in their debates, and voted for the reſolution, would not ſuffer the papers to be printed, ſo that the queſtion was carried in the negative.'

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(1) This

1708-9. but the Jury, by this means, was more certainly poſſeſſed of the evidence, and the matter was more clearly delivered down to poſterity; whereas the records in *England* are very defective, and give no light to an Hiſtorian, who peruſes them.

The *Scots* oppoſed this alteration of their way of proceeding: They ſaid, that neither the Judges, the Advocates, nor the Clerks would know how to manage a trial of treaſon. They inſiſted moſt on the having the names of the witneſſes to be given to the perſons ſome days before their trial. It ſeemed reaſonable, that a man ſhould know who was to be brought to witneſs againſt him, that ſo he might examine his life, and ſee what credit ought to be given to him. On the other hand it was ſaid, this would open a door to practice, either upon the witneſſes to corrupt them, or in ſuborning other witneſſes to defame them. To this it was anſwered, that a guilty man knew what could be brought againſt him; and, without ſuch notice, would take all the methods poſſible to defend himſelf. But proviſion ought to be made for innocent men, whoſe chief guilt might be a good eſtate, upon which a favourite might have an eye: And therefore ſuch perſons ought to be taken care of. This was afterwards ſo much ſoftened, that it was only deſired, that the names of the witneſſes, who had given evidence to the Grand Jury, ſhould, upon their finding the bill, be ſignified to the priſoner five hours before his trial. Upon a diviſion of the Houſe on this queſtion, the votes were equal; and therefore by the rule of the Houſe, that in ſuch a caſe the negative prevails, it was loſt.

Of forfeitures in caſes of treaſon.

Upon the third head of the bill the debates grew ſtill warmer. In *Scotland* many families were ſettled by long intails and perpetuities; and therefore it was ſaid, that ſince, by one of the articles of the Union, all private rights were ſtill preſerved, no breach could be made on theſe ſettlements. Biſhop *Burnet* carried this further; he thought, that it was neither juſt nor reaſonable to ſet the children on begging for their fathers faults: That the *Romans*, during their liberty, never thought of carrying puniſhments ſo far: That it was an invention, under the tyranny of the Emperors, who had a particular revenue called the *Fife* (1); and all forfeitures were claimed by them, from whence they were called *Confiſcations:* That it was never the practice of Free Governments: That *Boulogne* 1708-9. flouriſhed beyond any town in the Pope's dominions, becauſe they made it an article of their capitulation with the Pope, that no confiſcation ſhould follow on any crime whatſoever: That in *Holland* the confiſcation was redeemable by ſo very ſmall a ſum, as an hundred guilders (2). That many inſtances might be brought of proſecutions, only to obtain the confiſcation. But in this none of the Lords ſeconded the Biſhop. It was acknowledged, that this was juſt and reaſonable, and fit to be paſſed in good times; but, ſince the Nation was then expoſed to ſo much danger from abroad, it did not ſeem adviſable to abate the ſeverity of the law. But clauſes were agreed to, by which, upon marriages, ſettlements might be made in *Scotland*, as was practiſed in *England*, for no eſtate is forfeited for the crime of him, who is only tenant for life. By this act alſo tortures were condemned, and the Queen was impowered to grant Commiſſions of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, as in *England*, for trying treaſons. The *Scots* inſiſted on this, that, the Juſticiary or the criminal Court being preſerved by an article of the Union, this broke in upon that. It was anſwered, that the criminal Court was ſtill to ſit in the time regulated; but theſe Commiſſions were granted upon ſpecial occaſions. In the intervals between the terms, it might be neceſſary, upon ſome emergency, not to delay trials too long. But, to give ſome content, it was provided by a clauſe, that a Judge of the criminal Court ſhould be always one of the *Quorum* in theſe Commiſſions. Thus the bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all the *Scots* Lords, with whom many of the Tories concurred, they being diſpoſed to oppoſe the Court in every thing, and to make treaſon as little to be dreaded as poſſible.

Proceedings on the bill in the Houſe of Commons.

The bill met with the ſame oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons; yet it paſſed with two amendments. By one, the names of the witneſſes, who had appeared before the Grand Jury, were ordered to be ſent to the priſoner ten days before his trial. The other was, that no eſtate in land was to be forfeited upon a judgment of high-treaſon; which came up fully to the motion, which Biſhop *Burnet* had made. Both theſe amendments were looked on as ſuch popular things, that it was not probable, that the Houſe of Commons would recede from them. Upon that the Whigs in the Houſe of Lords

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(1) This remark of Biſhop *Burnet* is clearly overthrown by the Author of an excellent piece, publiſhed this preſent year 1745, and intitled, *Some conſiderations on the law of forfeitures for high-treaſon, occaſioned by a clauſe in a late act, for making it treaſon to correſpond with the Pretender's ſons, or any of their Agents*, &c. in which the law of forfeitures is juſtified from the principles of Natural Juſtice, the practice and genius of the freeſt States, the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* Government, with a perſpicuity, force, and comprehenſion of reaſoning, not to be found in any other diſcourſe on that ſubject. This Writer oppoſes to the Biſhop's obſervation, concerning the *Roman* Fife, the words of *Cujacius ad L. Jul. Maj. Fiſcus erat Populi, nunc Imperatoris*; which intimates, "That forfeitures was a "known puniſhment during the Republic. It was "then called *Bonorum Publicatio.* But the Biſhop "ſeems to have been miſled by the late origin of the "word, to imagine the thing itſelf was introduced no "earlier."

(2) The Author of *ſome conſiderations on the law of forfeitures*, p. 39, takes notice of this aſſertion as a miſtake in Biſhop *Burnet*, and obſerves, 'That the contrary is well known; and that it would be to turn legal puniſhments of high crimes into a jeſt, were a redemption of that kind allowed. This is not only the caſe in the ſeparate adminiſtration of many of the Provinces, but we are told by one of the beſt Writers, on the Conſtitution of the *Low-Countries* [*Janiçon*, Vol. I. p. 183.] that the Council of State condemns any Officer, who abuſes a public truſt in the finances, the armies, the negotiations, or juſtice of the Republic, to the heavieſt penalties by fine, ſuited to the crime, the exigency, and example. And it is much the ſame thing to the children of a criminal, whether the fortune of the family be taken from them by judgment of intire forfeiture, or by a diſcretionary ſentence condemning to a ſevere fine, which may equal or exceed the value of it.'

1708-9. Lords did not think fit to oppoſe them, or to loſe the bill; and therefore it was moved to agree to theſe amendments, with this proviſo, moved by the Lord *Sommers*, that they ſhould not take place till after the death of the Pretender. It was ſaid, that, ſince he aſſumed the title of King of *Great-Britain*, and had ſo lately attempted to invade the Nation, it was not reaſonable to leſſen the puniſhment and the dread of treaſon, as long as he lived. Others objected to this, that there would be ſtill a Pretender after him, ſince ſo many perſons ſtood in the lineal deſcent before the Houſe of *Hanover*, ſo that this proviſo ſeemed to be, upon the matter, the rejecting the amendment. But it was obſerved, that to pretend to the right of ſucceeding was a different thing from aſſuming the title, and attempting an invaſion. The amendment was received with this proviſo; but thoſe, who were againſt the whole bill, did not agree to it. The Houſe of Commons conſented to the proviſo, which the Lords had added to their amendment, with a further addition, that it ſhould not take place till three years after the Houſe of *Hanover* ſhould ſucceed to the Crown.

The bill paſſed in both Houſes

This met with great oppoſition; it was conſidered as a diſtinguiſhing character of thoſe, who were for or againſt the preſent Conſtitution and the Succeſſion; the *Scots* ſtill oppoſing it on the account of their formal laws. Both parties collected their ſtrength, and many, who had gone into the country, were brought up on this occaſion; ſo that the bill, with all the amendments and proviſo's, was carried by a ſmall majority; the Lords agreeing to this new amendment. The *Scots* Members in both Houſes ſeemed to apprehend, that the bill would be very odious in their country; and therefore, to maintain their intereſt at home, they, who were divided in every thing elſe, did agree in oppoſing this bill.

An act of Grace.

The Court apprehended from the heat, with which the debates were managed, and the difficulty in carrying the bill through both Houſes, that ill-diſpoſed men would endeavour to poſſeſs people with apprehenſions of bad deſigns and ſeverities, that would be ſet on foot; and therefore reſolved to have an act of Grace immediately upon it. It was the firſt the Queen had ſent, though ſhe had now reigned above ſeven years. The Miniſters, for their own ſakes, took care, that it ſhould be very full. It was indeed fuller than any former act of Grace. All treaſons committed before the ſigning the act, which was the 19th of *April*, were pardoned, thoſe only excepted, that were done upon the ſea. By this they, who had imbarked with the Pretender, were ſtill at mercy. This act, according to form, was read once in both Houſes, and with the uſual compliments of thanks.

Beſides theſe, there were other things of leſs importance paſſed this Seſſion.

General Webb thanked by the Commons

The injury done to Major-General *Webb*, after the battle of *Wynendale*, having made a great noiſe, the Leaders of the Tory party readily ſeized this opportunity, both to do him juſtice, and, at the ſame time, to expoſe the partiality of thoſe in power. Sir *Thomas Hanmer* therefore made a motion, on the 13th of *December*, "That the thanks of the Houſe be given to "Major-General *Webb*, for the great and eminent ſervices performed by him at the battle "of *Wynendale*;" which was unanimouſly carried in the affirmative. The Major-General being then in the Houſe, the Speaker gave him, in his place, the thanks of the Houſe; which he acknowledged in a very handſome and modeſt ſpeech, ſaying, among other things, "That "he valued the honour done him by the Com- "mons above the greateſt rewards." This gave Mr. *Bromley* occaſion to ſay, "That he "did not diſapprove the cuſtom, which, of "late years, had been introduced, of returning "thanks to ſuch Generals, as had performed "eminent ſervices; eſpecially when they re- "ceived thoſe compliments as modeſtly, as the "worthy Member, to whom they were now "given, had done. But it was with grief, he "obſerved, that a certain Commander, on "whom, not only the thanks of the Houſe, "but alſo great rewards had been beſtowed, "appeared yet to be unſatisfied." This reflection was viſibly levelled at the Duke of *Marlborough*, who, about that very time, was attacked in two pieces, which were printed, and induſtriouſly ſpread about, the one intituled, *A ſpeech of* Caius Memmius, *Tribune to the people of* Rome, tranſlated from *Salluſt*; the other intituled, *An account of a dream at* Harwich. 1708-9.

The Duke of Marlborough thanked alſo by the Commons, Jan. 22. Pr. H. C.

On the other hand, the ſame day that an addreſs was voted by the Commons for ſuch treaties and agreements, as had been made for contributions, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That "the Commons of *Great-Britain* being truly "ſenſible, not only of the great and eminent "ſervices performed by his Grace the Duke of "*Marlborough* the laſt ſucceſsful campaign, ſo "much to the honour of *Great-Britain*, and "advantage of all *Europe*, but alſo of the inde- "fatigable zeal he perſevered in for the ſervice "of the common cauſe abroad, while he might, "with reaſon, expect to be received with all "the marks of honour and ſatisfaction at home, "did, with a juſt regard to his glorious actions, "return him the thanks of the Houſe, and or- "dered their Speaker to tranſmit the ſame to "his Grace." This being done, the Duke of *Marlborough* returned an anſwer, dated from *Bruſſels*, *February* the 13th 1709, importing, "That he was extremely ſenſible of the great "honour, which the Houſe of Commons had "done him, in the vote the Speaker had been "pleaſed to tranſmit to him by their order: "That nothing could give him more ſatisfac- "tion, than to find the ſervices, he endeavoured "to do the Queen and his Country, ſo accept- "able to the Houſe of Commons: And he "begged the favour of the Speaker to aſſure "them, he ſhould never think any pains or "perſeverance too great, if he might, by God's "bleſſing, be inſtrumental in procuring a ſafe "and honourable peace for her Majeſty and his "Fellow-ſubjects."

Moreover, when the news of the reduction of *Ghent* was brought over, both Houſes preſented an addreſs to the Queen, wherein the Duke of *Marlborough* was mentioned with honour. In this addreſs, "they congratulated her upon the "laſt great effort of this glorious year; a year, "that would be ever famous in hiſtory, as well "for the intire diſappointment of all the at- "tempts and hopes of her enemies, as for the "wonderful ſucceſſes, with which God had bleſ- "ſed the arms of her Majeſty and her Allies:" Adding, "That the unuſual length of the "campaign, the variety of events, and the dif-

1708-9. " ficulty and importance of the actions, had " given many opportunities to her Majeſty's " General, the Duke of *Marlborough*, to ſhew " his conſummate ability, and all the great qua- " lities neceſſary for ſo high a truſt; whereby, " in conjunction with the renowned Prince *Eu-* " *gene* of *Savoy*, ſuch conſiderable progreſs had " been made, and the conqueſts ſo far advanced, " that there is reaſon to hope, the enemy, in " ſpite of all their preſumption, would ſoon " find themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of " ſubmitting to a ſafe and honourable peace."

and alſo by the Lords. The Duke of *Marlborough* being arrived, after a dangerous paſſage from *Oſtend*, came to *London* the 1ſt of *March*, whilſt the Lords were ſitting; the Lord-Chancellor, by order of the Houſe, returned him thanks for the eminent ſervices performed by him the laſt campaign. As he was ſuppoſed to bring over propoſals of peace, the Lord *Sommers* moved for an addreſs to be preſented to the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to take care, at the concluſion of the war, that the *French* King might be obliged to own her Title and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and that the Pretender might be removed out of the *French* Dominions; which being unanimouſly approved, the addreſs was ſent down to the Commons, where Mr. *Boyle* repreſented, " That the *Britiſh* Nation having been " at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, for " the proſecution of this neceſſary war, it was " but juſt they ſhould reap ſome benefit by the " peace: And the town of *Dunkirk* being a neſt " of pirates, that infeſted the ocean, and did " infinite miſchief to trade, he therefore moved, " That the demoliſhing of its fortifications and " harbour be inſiſted upon in the addreſs:" Which, with that amendment, was unanimouſly approved, and carried back to their Lordſhips by Mr. Secretary *Boyle*. The Lord-Chancellor, on the part of the Peers, and the Speaker of the Commons, on the part of the Commons, having attended the Queen with the ſaid addreſs, her Majeſty told them, " That ſhe was of the " ſame opinion with her two Houſes of Parlia- " ment, in the ſeveral particulars of that ad- " dreſs; as ſhe had alſo been in all the other " which they had made on the ſame ſubject;" aſſuring them, " no care ſhould be wanting on " her part, to attain the ends they had deſired." This addreſs of both Houſes was highly acceptable to the whole Nation, and to all our Allies.

Addreſs for demoliſhing of Dunkirk. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

An order having been made, on the 13th of *January*, by the Privy-Council, in purſuance of her Majeſty's pleaſure to them, ſignified, " That " in the *Form of Prayer*, with *Thankſgiving* to " Almighty God, to be uſed in all Churches " and Chapels every year upon the eighth day of " *March* (being the day, on which her Majeſty " began her happy Reign) in the prayer at the " *Communion Service*, immediately before the " reading of the Epiſtle, for the Queen, as Su- " preme Governor of this Church, theſe words " following be left out: *And, that theſe bleſſings* " *may be continued to after-ages, make the Queen,* " *we pray thee, an happy mother of children;* " *who, being educated in thy true faith and fear,* " *may happily ſucceed in the Government of theſe* " *Kingdoms.*" This order ſeeming to intimate, that the Queen deſigned to paſs the remainder of her life in widowhood; Mr. *Watſon*, ſon to the Lord *Rockingham*, moved, on the 25th of *January*, in the Houſe of Commons, " That " an humble addreſs be preſented to her Majeſ- 1708-9. " ty, that ſhe would not ſuffer her juſt grief ſo " far to prevail; but would have ſuch indul- " gence to the hearty deſires of her ſubjects, as " to entertain thoughts of a ſecond marriage." This motion, being ſeconded and ſupported by ſeveral young Members, was unanimouſly carried, and a Committee was appointed to draw up the addreſs; which being agreed to, and the Lords having given their concurrence to the ſame, was the next day preſented to the Queen by the Speakers of the two Houſes. The Queen was not a little ſurprized at this unexpected addreſs; to which ſhe returned an anſwer, importing, " That the frequent marks of " duty and affection, ſhe had received from " both Houſes of Parliament, muſt needs be " very acceptable to her: That the proviſion " ſhe had made for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, " would always be a proof, how much ſhe had " at heart the future happineſs of the King- " dom: But that the ſubject of this addreſs " was of ſuch a nature, that ſhe was perſuaded " they did not expect a particular anſwer." However the Commons, on the 29th, voted their thanks for this anſwer.

A bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, *for the exportation of tobacco, and other commodities and manufactures of the growth and product of* Great-Britain; the deſign of which was, to exchange tobacco for *French* wines. But the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador having, by a memorial, repreſented to her Majeſty, and by word of mouth to ſeveral Members without doors, that ſuch a bill was contrary to the Alliance between her Majeſty and the King his Maſter; and it being conſidered, beſides, that ſuch an exchange would redound to the advantage of *France*, and to the benefit of five or ſix perſons in *Great-Britain* only, the bill was diſmiſſed, by putting off the conſideration of it for a month. And, on the other hand, a bill was ordered to be brought in, *for the more effectual prohibiting the importation of* French *wines, and all other commodities of the growth and product of* France.

It may here be obſerved, that our trade was now very high, and was carried on every where with advantage, but no where more than at *Liſbon:* For the *Portugueſe* were ſo happy, in their Dominions in *America*, that they diſcovered vaſt quantities of gold in their mines, and we were aſſured that they had brought home to *Portugal*, the former year, about four millions ſterling, of which they, at that time, ſtood in great need, for they had a very bad harveſt: But gold anſwers all things: They were ſupplied from *England* with corn, and we had in return a large ſhare of their gold.

Remarks of foreign Miniſters about the Ambaſſadors bill. P. H. C.

The deficiency of the laws to puniſh inſults, in caſe of foreign Miniſters, being apparent in the caſe of the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, *for preſerving the privileges of Ambaſſadors and other foreign Miniſters.* Count *Gallas*, the Imperial and *Spaniſh* Envoy, having got a copy of it, communicated it to Baron *Spanheim*, the *Pruſſian* Ambaſſador, at whoſe houſe there was a meeting of foreign Miniſters, who reſolved to lay before the Secretaries of State their obſervations on the bill, in a memorial, importing, ' That the preamble of the bill mentioned only the particular indignity offered to the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador, and *his being arreſted and taken out of his coach by violence,*

1708-9. *violence*, &c. *in contempt of the protection granted by her Majesty*, without taking notice of the *Law of Nations*, on which the privileges of Ambassadors are founded, and which is superior and antecedent to all *municipal laws:* And therefore they insisted, that in the preamble these words should be added, *Contrary to the law of Nations, and in prejudice of the rights and privileges, which Ambassadors, and other public Ministers, authorized and received as such, have at all times been thereby possessed of, and which ought to be kept sacred and inviolable.* II. That, in the clause for preventing for the future the seizing, arresting, or imprisoning of public Ministers, it should be made criminal to offer them any insult or ill treatment. III. That their equipages, goods, and other effects, of what nature soever, ought likewise to enjoy the same protection with their persons and servants, and not be seized or stopped on any pretence. IV. That their houses ought to be accounted and declared *Sanctuaries*, and no Bailiffs, or other Officers of Justice, allowed to enter the same. V. And that foreign Ambassadors, and other Ministers, ought to enjoy these privileges from their first coming into *Great-Britain*, till they are out of her Majesty's Dominions, even after they have had their audience of leave, as long as they retain their characters.' The substance of this *Memorial* being communicated to the Committee, to whom that bill was referred, they inserted the first amendment in the preamble, but did not think proper to mention the other particulars: And, Mr. *Compton* having reported the several amendments made to the bill, the House added a clause, "That no person should be "proceeded against for having arrested the ser- "vant of an Ambassador, or public Minister, "by virtue of this act, unless the name of "such servant be first registered in the office of "one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and "by such Secretary transmitted to the Sheriffs "of *London* and *Middlesex*, who shall hang up "the same in some public place in their offices, "*&c.*" and ordered the bill to be ingrossed. The foreign Ministers, having also procured a copy of this last clause, held another Assembly at Baron *Spanheim*'s house, at which the Earl of *Sunderland* assisting, they represented to him, "That the exacting lists of foreign Ministers "servants was a thing unpractised in other "Courts, and liable to several inconveniencies; "and desired besides, that the Lord Chamber- "lain of her Majesty's household might be ad- "ded to the number of the persons appointed "by this bill, to take cognizance of the of- "fences committed against the privileges of "foreign Ministers, and to inflict such punish- "ments, as they shall judge fit." But the Parliament did not think fit to make any more alterations in the bill.

On the 14th of *March*, the Commons, in a Grand Committee, came to several resolutions in favour of the inhabitants of *Nevis* and *St. Christophers*, who had suffered by the late invasion of the *French*; and voted the sum of one hundred and three thousand two hundred and three pounds for the use of such sufferers, as should re-settle in their plantations in those islands.

Bill to prevent wagers. Pr. H. C. The Commons being informed, that the humour of laying wagers about the events of war was grown to such an height, that many unwary persons were ruined by it, and that the most crafty in those bargains maintained clandestine correspondences abroad, which might be of dangerous consequence to the Government, a bill was brought in, which passed both Houses, and received the Royal assent, to prevent *the laying of wagers relating to the public.* 1708-9.

These were the transactions of this Session of Parliament, which was concluded the 21st of *April*, when the following speech of the Lord-Commissioners was delivered to both Houses by the Chancellor: 1709. *The Session ends.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Commissioners speech to both Houses. Apr. 1. Pr. H. C.

"BEING now, by the Queen's directions, to put an end to this Session, we have it in command from her Majesty to assure you, her Majesty is extremely sensible of the zeal and affection you have shewn for her service, and the good of her people, and of the prudence and dispatch, with which you have compleated the important business of this Session.

"The vigour and firmness of your proceedings have already had a very good effect on affairs abroad; and there is ground to hope, that, by God's blessing on her Majesty's endeavours, this will every day appear more and more evident.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"We are to return you in particular her Majesty's thanks, for your having provided so timely and effectually the supplies found necessary to the prosecution of this war, with an augmentation of those forces, which, in conjunction with our Allies, have, by God's assistance, procured us the present advantages over the common enemy.

"Your chearfulness in giving such large supplies at this juncture, and the ready advances, which have been made for their being effectual, with so little burden to the people, shew, you perfectly understand how to make a right use of our past successes, and that nothing is too difficult for so dutiful and affectionate subjects, acting in defence of so good a cause.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Her Majesty, through the whole course of her Reign, having been desirous to shew all possible instances of goodness and clemency to her subjects, hath now, for the strengthening the Union, and quieting the minds of all her subjects throughout the United Kingdom, thought fit to grant them an act of Grace and free pardon, in a more full and beneficial manner, than hath been formerly used; not doubting, but all her people will make a right use of, and suitable returns on their part, for so extraordinary an indulgence.

"Her Majesty, having also been graciously pleased to give the Royal assent to the several bills you have presented during this Session, commands us to observe to you on that occasion, that the life and benefit of all laws, how wisely soever they are framed, do chiefly consist in a due and regular execution of

"them,

1709. " them, and therefore to exhort you, that, " when you return to your countries, you would " think it indiſpenſably your duty, to ſet a good " example towards an impartial and ſteady ob- " ſervation of the many good laws, which have " been enacted (eſpecially ſince the late Revolu- " tion) and which fall within your province to " execute; it being but too evident, that the " defect at preſent attending us is not ſo much " the want of new laws, as the neglect and diſ- " regarding thoſe already made."

After this the Parliament was prorogued to the 19th of *May*.

Great froſt. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

The ſeverity of the winter-ſeaſon (as hath been ſaid) was very remarkable this year; for it began to freeze, the night before *Chriſtmas-day*, with great violence, and not long after fell great ſnows. Thoſe, who compared the great froſt in 1683-4 with this, obſerved, that the firſt was generally a bright one, and continued above two months without interruption; but the latter moſtly dark, and with ſome intervals laſted a month longer; during which, many cattle, eſpecially ſheep, and likewiſe birds, periſhed. The *Thames* was frozen over, and, on the 3d of *January*, people began to erect booths, and ſet up tents on the ice. It was alſo obſerved, that the ſummer, which ſucceeded the froſt in 1683-4, was exceſſively hot and dry, affording in general great plenty of things neceſſary for human life; but this proved very near as comfortleſs as the winter, by reaſon of the coldneſs and moiſture of the air, pouring almoſt continual rains on the earth, which, as it retarded the maturity of the fruits, ſo, in many places, occaſioned a thin harveſt, and this a ſcarcity of corn. This great froſt was general in *Europe*, but moſt ſeverely felt in *France*, where, in moſt places, the fruit-trees were killed, and the corn frozen in the ground, which occaſioned there a dreadful calamity and deſolation.

Two Muſcovite Princes entertained by the Queen.

Two young Princes, near relations to the Czar of *Muſcovy*, arriving in *London* in *January*, the Queen gave orders for their being entertained at her charge, and attended by her officers; the Princes, to ſhew their grateful ſenſe of theſe favours, deſired an audience, to which, being introduced by Mr. *Boyle*, they made their compliments to her Majeſty in *Latin*, acknowledging, with great reſpects, the ſingular marks of kindneſs, which ſhe was pleaſed to heap upon them; and, at the ſame time, congratulated her upon the ſignal ſucceſs of her victorious arms, and wiſhed her a long continuation of the ſame. To which the Queen anſwered, 'That ſhe had ſo much eſteem and friendſhip for his Czariſh Majeſty, that ſhe could not but be very well pleaſed to ſee any ſo nearly related to him in her Kingdoms, and have an opportunity of ſhewing her kindneſs and diſtinction to them. She likewiſe thanked them for their congratulations and good wiſhes, adding, That ſhe would endeavour to make their ſtay here as agreeable to them, as ſhe could.' Beſides this compliment paid to the Czar, in order to ſoften his reſentment of the late affront offered to his Ambaſſador, an information was tried at the Court of *Queen's-Bench*, before the Lord-Chief-Juſtice *Holt*, for the Queen, againſt *Thomas Morton* the Laceman, and thirteen others, for meeting, conſulting, and conſpiring to arreſt and impriſon the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador, of which they were found guilty, the ſpecial matter of the privilege of Ambaſſadors, to be argued before the Judges the next Term. There were preſent in Court the Earl of *Sunderland*, Mr. Secretary *Boyle*, the Lord *Hallifax*, and ſeveral other perſons of Quality (1).

Trial about the affair of the Ruſſian *Ambaſſador.*

The Duke of Queenſberry *made Secretary of State.*

On the 3d of *February*, the Queen, in Council, was pleaſed to declare, 'That, the public buſineſs increaſing, her Majeſty had thought fit to appoint a third Secretary of State of *Great-Britain*; but that ſhe intended, nevertheleſs, to continue the foreign affairs, for the preſent, in the courſe of diſpatch they were now in.' Upon this the Duke of *Queenſberry* was made third Secretary of State, and took for one of his under

(1) The *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador, ſeeing the ſlowneſs of the judicial proceedings in *England*, wrote expoſtulatory letters to Mr. *Boyle*, who at laſt aſſured him, That the laws of the Kingdom could not admit of a final deciſion till the next term: That nothing had been omitted to procure all reparation, which the utmoſt rigour of law could afford: That a bill had, by the Queen's order, been brought into the Parliament for ſecuring the privileges of Ambaſſadors and foreign Miniſters, to ſhew how far ſhe deteſted the violence offered to his Excellency's perſon and character: That the Queen had no ſooner notice, that the two young *Muſcovite* Princes, relations of the Czar, were arrived in her Kingdom, but ſhe gave orders for their reception. In anſwer to this letter, the Ambaſſador replied, That if it was in the Queen's power to conſult the Parliament about a law to ſecure the immunities of foreign Miniſters, could not due meaſures have been taken at the ſame time for reparation of the paſt affront? That it was a very eaſy matter to do it, and was what ſhe herſelf had cauſed to be done in the caſe of her Ambaſſador the Earl of *Mancheſter* at *Venice*. That as to the honours lately done to two young Noblemen, who were taken for *Muſcovite* Princes, the Czar reckoned none but the Imperial Hereditary Prince within the verge of his Auguſt Houſe: That theſe were two young Lords, who were a-kin to him, and were travelling *incognito*, but he did not deſire they ſhould be defrayed by any Power, having wherewithal to bear their own charges. Several other letters paſſed between Mr. Secretary *Boyle* and Mr. *D'Ayrolle*, the *Britiſh* Secretary at the *Hague*; but it having been found impracticable in *England* to inflict any legal puniſhment on thoſe, who had affronted the Ambaſſador, it was at laſt agreed between the two Courts, that the Queen, by way of ſatisfaction, ſhould make ſolemn excuſes for the inſufficiency of our former laws in that behalf. This was accordingly done by Mr. *Whitworth*, the Queen's Envoy Extraordinary to the Czar, in a ſpeech at his public audience, on the 8th of *February*, 1709-10. Upon which the Czar ordered his Miniſters to ſettle the affair with him in a Conference, and the following articles were agreed on: 1. That his Czariſh Majeſty accepted of the excuſes, and was willing to forget the criminal proceedings of the authors of the affront, and deſired they might be diſcharged. 2. That ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the Ambaſſador by a letter from the Queen to repair his honour; and by a reimburſement of all the coſts and damages he had been at on account of the affront. 3. That the Ambaſſador ſhould demand his letter of recredence, which he had refuſed to accept, as well as the uſual preſent and the yatch, which the Queen cauſed to be offered him. 4. That his Czariſh Majeſty would acquaint the Queen, that he was content with this ſatisfaction, by a letter, which ſhould be delivered to Mr. *Whitworth*.

1709. under Secretaries *Nicholas Rowe*, famous for his dramatic performances.

The Convocation put off by prorogation.

The Convocation was ſummoned, choſen and returned as the new Parliament was. It was too evident, that the ſame ill temper, that had appeared in former Convocations, did ſtill prevail, though not with ſuch a majority: When the day came, in which it was to be opened, a writ was ſent from the Queen to the Archbiſhop, ordering him to prorogue the Convocation for ſome months: And, at the end of theſe, there came another writ, ordering a further prorogation: So the Convocation was not opened during this Seſſion of Parliament; by this, a preſent ſtop was put to the factious temper of thoſe, who ſtudied to recommend themſelves by embroiling the Church. This did not cure them; for they continued ſtill by libels and falſe ſtories to animate their party. The moſt effectual encouragement to that end was, the ſecret inſinuation that the Queen's heart was with them: That though the war, and the other circumſtances of her affairs, obliged her at preſent to favour the moderate party, yet, as ſoon as a peace brought on a better Settlement, they promiſed themſelves all favour at her hands. It was not certain, that they had then any ground for this, or that ſhe herſelf, or any by her order, gave them theſe hopes; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguiſh thoſe hopes, which were not done: So that they ſeemed to be left to pleaſe themſelves with thoſe expectations, which kept ſtill life in their party; and indeed it was but too viſible, that the much greater part of the Clergy were in a very ill temper, and under very bad influences; enemies to the Toleration, and ſoured againſt the Diſſenters.

A letter againſt the Sacramental Teſt. Calamy.

About this time was publiſhed a letter from a Gentleman in *Scotland* to his friend in *England*, againſt the Sacramental Teſt; as inconſiſtent with the Union, dangerous to the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution of *North-Britain*, and to ſuch parts of their Civil Conſtitution as are reſerved to them: Inconſiſtent with the civil intereſt of *Great-Britain* in general; contrary to the deſign of our Saviour's Inſtitution of the Lord's-Supper, and to the doctrine of the Church of *England:* And an apology for this letter. 1709.

The Teſt-Act is here repreſented as contrary to the rules of Religion, becauſe it requires an end in receiving the Sacrament, that muſt profane it, and ſuch as bears no proportion to the original deſign of it; and uſurps an authority, which no power on earth can lay any juſt claim to, to apply divine Inſtitutions to ſuch ends, as only ſerve the intereſt of politic Societies; and obliges ſuch as have any civil poſt to take the Sacrament, without any regard to the fitneſs which the law of Chriſt requires, for that ſolemnity. It looks as if it was no matter, how ill a character a perſon bore, if it can be covered with the name of Churchman; which ſhews, that it is not the honour of Religion, but the ſecular intereſt of a Party that is principally regarded.

Condemned to be burnt by the Commons. Pr. H. C.

Whilſt the Houſe of Commons, in *January*, were conſidering a bill for the ſpeedy and effectual recruiting the land-forces and marines, by encouraging the pariſhes to provide them, this letter againſt the *Teſt* was diſperſed by perſons unknown, at the door of the Houſe. It was a ſnare laid for the Whig-Members. By approving the letter and aboliſhing the *Teſt*, which bore ſo hard upon the Diſſenters, and excluded the moſt rigid from places of truſt, they alarmed the Church, and furniſhed a ſpecious pretence of aſſerting, the Church was in danger. If the *Teſt* was preſerved, notwithſtanding the reaſons alledged againſt it in the letter, the diſputes about Occaſional Conformity, which had been ſo troubleſome in the former Parliaments, would have revived and produced the ſame animoſities in This. The Commons, being aware of theſe things, avoided the ſnare, by condemning the letter, upon a complaint made to them of it, to be burnt for a ſcandalous, ſeditious libel, and the Author and Printer to be enquired after.

Negotiations for a peace. Burnet. Lamberti. Conduct of the D. of Marlb.

By this time the negotiations for a peace were begun at the *Hague* (1). It has been already obſerved, that, ſoon after the battle of *Ramillies*, the

(1) Dr. *Hare* in his piece intituled, *The negotiations for a treaty of peace in* 1709 *conſidered: In a third letter to a Tory-Member*, having ſtated this whole affair in a clear and full light, it will be proper to tranſcribe his account of it. He begins his letter with ſome reflections on the general conduct of the *French* in all the treaties they had made for fifty years before, to ſhew the neceſſity there was for the Allies to refuſe entering into any Conferences for a general peace, till ſome preliminaries were firſt ſettled, as a foundation, on which it ſhould be built. But before we come, *ſays the Doctor*, p. 7. to conſider the preliminaries themſelves, that you may the better judge of the ſincerity of *France*, I muſt obſerve to you, that they had previouſly, by their emiſſaries, been feeling the pulſe of the *Dutch*; and, by the mighty profeſſions they made of the ſincere deſires of the King to put an end to the war, they obtained ſome private Conferences the beginning of the year 1709, in which the reſtitution of *Spain* and the *Indies* to King *Charles*, was always ſuppoſed as the firſt ſtep towards a treaty; and, for the reſt, they hoped the *Dutch*, for their part, would not be very difficult, ſince they were aſſured, that in other points they might have their own terms, and not only be ſecured by a good barrier, in which the *French* were pleaſed to be very liberal, but likewiſe be made very eaſy in relation to trade. The *Dutch*, who, on this occaſion, ſhewed they underſtood the *French*, as well as the *French* thought they did them, appeared to be very well pleaſed to hear of overtures of peace, and expreſſed great readineſs to enter on a treaty; but that they could do nothing without the concurrence of their Allies, to whom they communicated what had paſſed; and, in order to a treaty, gave leave to the Miniſters of *France* to come to *Holland*; firſt to Monſieur *Rouillé*, and afterwards to the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, who both timed their coming thither too remarkably, not to be taken notice of. The Duke of *Marlborough* made two voyages that ſpring to *England*; one in the beginning of *March*, *N. S.* which was the ſooneſt the affairs of the war would admit of his return after the campaign of *Liſle*; the other about the end of *April*, when he went to communicate to the Queen what had paſſed, and to receive her inſtructions. Now Monſieur *Rouillé* came to *Holland*, almoſt as ſoon as the Duke was gone from thence the firſt time; and the Marquiſs *de Torcy* followed ſoon after the Duke's leaving it the ſecond: By which it ſhould ſeem, they thought they might make ſome advantage of his abſence; and that it was for their Maſter's ſervice, to have the *Dutch* as much as they could to themſelves, as the likelieſt way to procure ſuch a peace as they had a mind to.

Monſieur *Rouillé* and the Marquiſs *de Torcy* came neither

1709. the Elector of *Bavaria* gave out hopes of a peace, and that the *French* King would come to a treaty of partition, by allowing *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to go to King *Charles*, provided the Dominions of *Italy* were given to King *Philip*. They hoped, that *England* and the *States-General* would agree to this, as leſs concerned in *Italy*; but they knew, that the Court of *Vienna* would never hearken to it; for they valued the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Iſlands near them, much more than all the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. But, at the ſame time that *Lewis* XIV was tempting us with the hopes of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, that King, by a letter to the Pope *, offered the Dominions in *Italy* to King *Charles*. But, as the Parliament had always declared the ground of the war to be the reſtoring the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria* (which indeed the *States-General* had never done) ſo the Duke of *Marlborough* could not hearken to this. He convinced the *States* of the treacherous deſigns of the Court of *France* in this offer, and it was not entertained. The Court of *Vienna* (as hath been ſaid) was ſo alarmed at the inclinations, which ſome had expreſſed towards the entertaining this project, that this was believed to be the ſecret motive of the treaty, for evacuating the *Milaneſe*, and of their perſiſting ſo obſtinately in their deſign upon *Naples*; for by this means they became maſters of both. The *French* being now reduced to great extremities, by their conſtant ill ſucceſs, and by the miſeries of their people, but more eſpecially by the general decline of the public credit, the eminent Bankers of *Paris* and *Lyons* having been obliged to ſtop payment, 1709.

* Vol. III. p. 766.

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neither of them into *Holland*, till the Duke of *Marlborough* had left it; which was a plain proof, that they had ſome deſigns, which they feared he would not come into; and, that in his and Prince *Eugene*'s abſence, they hoped the *States*, by the great inclination they expreſſed for peace, might be drawn in to conſent to ſome points, which might either produce a treaty to their minds, or divide the Allies among themſelves. This they hoped to do theſe two ways; firſt, by gaining their conſent to a partition, which they had never abſolutely declared againſt; and next by offering to them, in conſideration for that, a greater barrier than they thought conſiſtent with the intereſt and honour of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. The firſt of theſe they knew the Emperor would not agree to; and neither the Emperor nor *England* to the latter. And from this occaſion and ground for diviſion they promiſed themſelves great ſucceſs. But, to their ſurprize, the firmneſs of the *States* was ſo great, that, as they would abſolutely reject nothing, ſo neither would they agree to any thing ſeparately from the reſt of the Allies, nor enter into any treaty, but jointly with the Queen and the Emperor, who, to ſhew their readineſs to hearken to any reaſonable terms of peace, that would anſwer the end for which they went into the war, immediately upon notice of the propoſals the *French* had made, ſent to the *Hague* the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*; the firſt was attended by my Lord *Townſhend*, and the other was ſoon followed by Count *Zinzendorf*. And both theſe Miniſters diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe negotiations very much to the ſatisfaction of all the reſt. My Lord *Townſhend* particularly has, by his good ſenſe, integrity, openneſs, and affability, acquired the univerſal eſteem of the *States*, and all the reſt of the Allies, beyond what could be hoped from ſo young a Miniſter, and to ſuch a degree, as will always be remembered to his honour in that country, however it may be denied or forgot in this. If therefore you do not meet with his and Count *Zinzendorf*'s names in what follows, I muſt deſire you would ſuppoſe of them what I ſay of the two Generals, ſo far at leaſt, as to think they did not in any thing of moment ever differ from them.

But to proceed; Upon the arrival of theſe Miniſters at the *Hague*, Conferences were daily held with thoſe of *France*, to ſettle preliminary articles. In treating of which their inſincerity ſoon diſcovered itſelf, and great reaſon was given to ſuſpect their chief aim was to amuſe and divide thoſe they ſeemed ſo much in haſte to agree with; that, if they could not get ſuch a peace for themſelves as they deſired, the campaign at leaſt might be loſt to the Allies. For it was very obſervable, that they eaſily agreed, and, in a very little time after, theſe Conferences were begun, to all the demands of *England* and *Holland* for themſelves, though ſome articles were contained in both, which the *French* never dreamt of being aſked, when the firſt overtures of peace were made; ſuch as the demolihing of *Dunkirk*, and the giving up many towns, which were no part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* at the time of King *Charles*'s death, nor had in the courſe of the war been taken from them. When the firſt ſteps to a treaty were made, the *French* ſo little thought of theſe demands, that the quitting even *Liſle* and *Menin* was refuſed. But now theſe extraordinary points on the part of *England* and *Holland* were by the Miniſters of *France* readily agreed to; and yet, at the ſame time, great difficulty was made with reſpect to what was aſked for the Emperor and the Duke of *Savoy*, though there was nothing in thoſe articles, but what was extremely reaſonable and neceſſary to ſecure the Dominions of thoſe Princes from the invaſions they would otherwiſe be expoſed to. There was an interval of ſeveral days, before the *French* Miniſters would treat about theſe articles; nor did they at laſt conſent to them, but with a reſerve and a declaration, that this was beyond their inſtructions; and that therefore they muſt ſuſpend a full aſſent, till the further pleaſure of the King was known, Now what could be the meaning of this management, but to inſnare the maritime powers, if they could, and draw them into a baſe deſign of ſacrificing the intereſt of their Allies to their own? And what uſe can any body imagine they would have made of this, but to engage the Allies in a quarrel among themſelves, and to take advantage of their differences; to break the Confederacy, and to intice ſome of the Members of it by large offers to come into ſeparate meaſures with them? But, this ſcheme failing by the firm adherence of the maritime powers to the reſt of the Allies, there was one article ſtill remained to be adjuſted, which in effect included all the reſt, and which would afford the *French* a ſpecious pretence for breaking off the treaty, whenever they had a mind to it; and that was to ſettle terms, on which a perpetual ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be agreed. No body had ever doubted, but that there was ſuch an underſtanding between the *French* King and his Grandſon, that the former could oblige the latter to reſign the *Spaniſh* Monarchy whenever he pleaſed, ſince he not only gave it King *Philip* at firſt, but had hitherto ſupported him in it. Accordingly every thing about him was intirely *French*; and the reſtitution of *Spain* at leaſt, and the *Indies*, had, as I obſerved before, been always ſuppoſed. And as this was the point, that occaſioned the war, the firſt thing ſettled in the preliminaries was a perfect and intire ceſſion of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy to King *Charles* III, to be made within two months from the firſt of *June* following. And, in caſe the Duke of *Anjou* ſhould make any difficulty to comply with this, it is expreſsly covenanted in the fourth article, That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the Allies ſhall take in concert the proper meaſures to oblige him to it. What was to be underſtood by taking *proper meaſures*, both ſides were content ſhould not be then explained. Thus far looked well; and one would have thought the *French* meant in earneſt, that the Duke of *Anjou* ſhould immediately quit *Spain* to his Competitor. But all hither-

1709. payment, began to entertain ſerious thoughts of a peace, and reſolved to try the *States* again. When the Duke of *Marlborough* came over to *England*, Monſieur *Rouillé* was therefore ſent to *Holland* with general offers of peace, deſiring them to propoſe what they inſiſted on; and he offered them as good a barrier for themſelves, as they could aſk. The *States*, contrary to the expectation of *France*, reſolved to adhere firmly to their Confederates, and to enter into no ſeparate treaty but in conjunction with their Allies. However, upon the arrival of Monſieur *Rouillé* at *Antwerp*, they appointed Monſieur *Buys*, Penſionary of *Amſterdam*, and Monſieur *Vanderduſſen*, Penſionary of *Gouda*, to have a Conference with him at *Moerdyke*. Upon the report of what paſſed in this interview, the *States* permitted *Rouillé* to come to *Woerden*, a place between *Leyden* and *Utrecht*, that he might be nearer at hand for the intended negotiation; and then the Deputies of the *States* had another Conference with him, in which he made ſome looſe propoſals towards a general peace, which, however, he refuſed to give in writing. The *States-General*, being ſtill cautious of making any advances in ſo important an affair, without the participation of their Allies, gave immediate notice of what had paſſed, to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Great-Britain*. Prince *Eugene*, who, during this interval, was gone to *Vienna*, returned from thence to *Bruſſels*, on the 27th of *March*, *N. S.* with full powers from his Imperial Majeſty; and, on the 8th of *April*, came to the *Hague*, where the Duke of *Marlborough* likewiſe arrived the next day from *England*. Theſe two great men had a long Conference with the Grand Penſionary *Heinſius*, 1709.

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to was words only, and would ſignify nothing, unleſs the execution of this eſſential point was effectually provided for; and there was but one way of doing this, which was to make this Ceſſion one of the conditions of continuing the ſuſpenſion of arms, agreed to in the thirty-fourth article, to the concluſion of a general peace; which was accordingly done in the thirty-ſeventh article, which declares, That this ſuſpenſion ſhall continue till a general peace, provided the King of *France* executes all that is promiſed on his part in the foregoing articles, and the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy be reſtored, *rendue & cedée*, to King *Charles*, as is ſettled in theſe articles. This article touched home, and diſcovered plainly, that all the *French* pretended to conſent to in this fundamental point was mere grimace; and that they meant nothing elſe, but to draw the Allies into a ſeparate peace, and leave them to get *Spain* as they could. This was the moſt they meant; and I am apt to think, for reaſons I will give you by and by, they did not mean ſo much; but, whether they did or not, they did not want a ſpecious cover for their oppoſition to this article; they made greater profeſſions of the ſincerity of their King's intentions; that he would punctually execute all that depended upon him; and that he would endeavour to perſuade his Grandſon to a compliance; but that to force him to it, and that within ſo ſhort a term, was not in his power: That it would therefore be impoſſible for the King to conſent to this article; and to conſent to the reſt of the preliminaries, unleſs an abſolute ſuſpenſion of arms were agreed to, would be to leave himſelf at the mercy of the Allies, and put himſelf into a much worſe ſtate than before. And theſe pretences, you may be ſure, wanted no art to ſet them off. But to all this it was eaſy to anſwer, That they were fully perſuaded, that, if the King was really in earneſt in this matter, he might certainly recall his Grandſon without any difficulty; and provided he acted the fair part, and did all he could towards it, according to the fourth article, he might depend upon it, the Allies would take no advantage of any words in the thirty-ſeventh, to begin the war again upon him, when he had faithfully performed the other parts of it, and ſurrendered the places agreed to be delivered up to them in the thirty-fifth. That ſuppoſing what they objected to this article, were not a pretended but a real difficulty, which could hardly be believed, the conſequence then would be, that the Allies muſt either truſt to the ſincerity of *France*, or *France* to that of the Allies. As the King, ſuppoſing it not in his power to oblige the Duke of *Anjou* to reſign, would, by executing the reſt of the treaty, be at the mercy of the Allies; ſo, on the other hand, if the Allies made a peace with the King without this article, they would be at his mercy for the recovery of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; which was the great point, for which they entered into the war; but which they could never hope to gain, if he did not abſolutely abandon his Grandſon, which they could by no means depend on, while they had nothing but his bare word for it. Now in this caſe, Which is more reaſonable for *France* to truſt the Allies, or the Allies *France*? This cannot be a very hard queſtion, ſince *France* had been guilty of the breach of public faith on ſo many occaſions, that it is hard to find an inſtance to the contrary. This very war will make two notorious inſtances of this remembered to all ages; the ſcandalous violation of the partition treaty, almoſt as ſoon as made; and the uſurpation of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn and repeated renunciations, that had been made of it. It would be endleſs to enter into a detail of all the complaints of that kind againſt *France*, ſince the *Pyrenean* treaty. And therefore it cannot be reaſonable for the Allies to truſt to thoſe, by whom they have ſo often been deceived. But it is not ſo with them; they never have been guilty of the breach of public faith in any flagrant caſe; at leaſt, I know of none. But I will venture to add further, that they neither would, nor, if they would, can they act a falſe part in ſuch a caſe as this. They would not, they do not think it for their intereſt to continue or renew a war unneceſſarily; they are ſufficiently weary; the burthen of the war has laid ſo heavy upon them, that they would be glad to have a little reſpite, and to be at leiſure to cultivate the arts of peace, and enjoy, as faſt as they can, ſome fruits of it. Thus they have always done; they have hardly had patience to keep up their armies till a peace was ſigned. And it is this humour of the Allies has made the *French* have ſo little regard to execute their treaties with them. Beſides, it muſt be owned, there is a great probity, plainneſs, and honeſty, both in the *Dutch* and *Germans*, which appear in all the affairs of common life, and have been very obſervable in their dealings with the *French* all this war, in which the Allies, notwithſtanding the many provocations they have received, have, in no inſtance, retaliated, when they could not do it without breach of faith. The war in *Flanders* affords many inſtances of this, that they have always punctually performed whatever articles they have ſigned, and not made repriſals, where even honeſt men have thought they might have done it without any violation of juſtice. But the greateſt inſtance, and the only one I ſhall name, is their exact performance of the treaty of the evacuation of the *Milaneſe*, when the *French* had juſt reaſon to fear their troops would have been detained againſt the letter of the articles, in revenge of the injuſtice and inſolence, with which they had diſarmed and ſeized a conſiderable body of the Duke of *Savoy*'s troops, at the very time he was in Alliance with them. I need ſay nothing of our own country, that *France* could have no reaſon to fear any perfidiouſneſs from home. The character of her Majeſty is too well known to give the *French* grounds for any ſuch ſuſpicion; and, had we a Prince of leſs renown on the Throne, *France* would have little to fear from him, unleſs he were ſupported by his people; which no Sovereign of *England* has ever been, when they have thought the war he made

1709. *Heinſius*, Meſſieurs *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen*, and other Deputies of the *States*, where they debated the overtures made on the part of *France*; which being thought inſufficient to be the ground of a treaty of peace, orders were given for carrying on the warlike preparations with all poſſible application and diligence, in order to open the campaign, as ſoon as the backwardneſs of the ſeaſon would permit, and purſue the late advantages with the utmoſt vigour. The Deputies of the *States* having informed *Rouillé*, that his overtures were not ſatisfactory, that Miniſter ſent an expreſs to *Paris* for new inſtructions. This threw the *French* Court into great uneaſineſs; for as, on the one hand, they were reſolved not to comply with the demand of the Confederates, in giving up the whole Monarchy of *Spain*; ſo, on the other hand, the great difficulties they laboured under, which were much increaſed by the general ſcarcity of corn, and other proviſions, occaſioned by the great ſeverity of the preceding winter, laid them under a neceſſity of keeping up the ſinking ſpirits of the people with hopes, at leaſt, of putting a ſpeedy end to the war, by a peace. *Rouillé*'s expreſs was therefore immediatelſent back, with directions (as appeared in the ſequel) to that Miniſter, to amuſe the Allies with a ſeeming compliance with all their demands, but not to ſign any thing, that ſhould be drawn up in writing. 1709.

The Penſionary having, by order of the *States*, made a report to the Duke of *Marlborough*, of what paſſed at the Conference, which had been held by *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen*, with the *French* Miniſter, after the return of the Courier from *France*, the Duke reſolved to return to *Great-Britain*, to acquaint the Queen with the progreſs of this important negotiation.

The Duke therefore imbarked the 13th of *April*, *N. S.* and arrived three days after at *London*. During this ſecond abſence of the Duke, the *French* Court, to cover their artifices with an air of ſincerity, ſent the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, Secretary of State for foreign affairs, to *Holland*, thinking the preſence of ſo great a Miniſter might have ſome influence on the *States*. Upon his arrival at the *Hague*, the paſſport, by which he came, having been ſent blank by *Rouillé*, he was there two days before his quality

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unjuſt. But it is not enough to ſay the Allies would not be falſe, nor act againſt the intentions of a public treaty; I think I may affirm, they cannot be ſo. A ſingle Potentate is maſter of his own will, and can act without controul; but a Confederacy can do nothing without a concurrence of all parts; which, in ſo unjuſt a cauſe as this, there would be no reaſon to apprehend. When all the moſt juſt and neceſſary cauſes of a war concur, it is very hard to keep a Confederacy long together; much leſs can it be imagined it ſhould be kept up to oppreſs a Prince, who has done all he can to ſatisfy the demands of all parties. Either honeſty or intereſt will certainly diſarm ſome of them. No Ally, when he has gained all he can hope for by the war, will be willing to continue the expence of it in compliment to any of the reſt, eſpecially when the cauſe is manifeſtly unjuſt. No, were it ever ſo juſt, this is hardly to be hoped for. When a Confederacy is ſucceſsful, jealouſies naturally ariſe among themſelves; and they are more concerned, that one part ſhould not be too great gainers, and have too much to their ſhare, than that any other ſhould not have enough. Of which we ſee an inſtance, though a very fooliſh one, among ourſelves; our preſent Maſters of politics, to render the very ſucceſſes of the war odious, alarm us with new fears, which no body before ever thought of; and tell us, the *Dutch* will have by this treaty a better country than our own. And, if a certain correſpondence by way of *Calais* has been continued, *France* might be aſſured, that no advantage would be taken of the thirty-ſeventh article, though *Spain* was not relinquiſhed in the time ſtipulated; and that therefore they might ſafely ſign the preliminaries, for that the war could not be renewed, ſince they might depend on it, that *England* would never conſent to uſe in ſo barbarous a manner a Prince, whom ſo great a party among them have always had ſo much reſpect for: And, without *England*, they know the reſt of the Allies could do nothing.

But whether it was more reaſonable for the Allies to truſt *France*, or *France* the Allies, was not left at this time to general reflections. What was doing at this very juncture in *Spain*, gave the Allies abundant cauſe to ſuſpect the ſincerity of *France*, that they meant nothing leſs than the reſtitution of that Monarchy. No body, that looks into the accounts of that time, and ſees how thick expreſſes went one upon another between *France* and *Spain*, can doubt, whether the King and his Grandſon did not perfectly well agree: And not only the news of that time, but the facts themſelves ſhew, that the King gave him all poſſible aſſurances, that he would not abandon him, though it was neceſſary for his affairs to promiſe it. This, I ſay, is very plain, from what was at that time doing in *Spain*; for, though the Marquiſs *de Torcy* told the Allies, he did not know but King *Philip* might be at *Paris* before him, there was not the leaſt ſign of any intention to relinquiſh *Spain*; but, on the contrary, there were on the part of the Duke of *Anjou* all the appearances, that could be of a Prince, that thought of nothing leſs. For the war was preſſed with the utmoſt vigour in all parts; *Alicant* was beſieged at a vaſt expence, and other places in *Valencia* were reduced with all diligence; preparations were made for the ſiege of *Gironne*, and the army was put into the beſt condition it could be, to invade *Catalonia*; and, at the ſame time, the Marquiſs *de Bay* advanced cloſe to the *Portugueſe* in *Eſtremadura*, with a deſign to give them battle; in which, againſt the opinion of my Lord *Galway*, they unhappily prevented him. This did not look like a deſign to quit *Spain* to King *Charles*, but, on the contrary, ſhewed a reſolution to drive him out of it, if poſſible. But what gave the Allies a greater jealouſy than all this, was the cauſing the Prince of *Aſturias* to be acknowledged preſumptive heir of *Spain* by all the States of the Kingdom; which ceremony was performed with the greateſt magnificence the 7th of *April*, that is, about a month after M. *Rouillé* had been in *Holland*; which proceeding, you may remember, every body was then alarmed at; ſuch a ſtep being plainly taken for no other end, but to lay in matter for a new war, or rather it was a declaration, that an end could not be put to this, as long as the reſtitution of *Spain* was made one condition of a peace. The *French* Miniſters had but one reply to this, that their Maſter was not anſwerable for what the Duke of *Anjou* had done; but that, for his own part, he was ſincere, and would do whatever depended upon him, and that therefore, if a peace was not concluded, it could not lie at his door. The Allies, though they could not think what was urged had any truth in it, yet, to ſhew how far they were from deſigning to impoſe upon the King impoſſible conditions, thought of an expedient, which could not be refuſed, without diſcovering, that *France* meant nothing by this treaty, but to make peace for themſelves, and to leave the Allies involved in a war with *Spain*. If it was not in the King's power to oblige his Grandſon to retire out of *Spain*, they declared they would be content with his doing what evidently was in his power; which was to deliver up to them ſuch places in the *Spaniſh* Dominions, as were garriſoned by his own troops. But this

1709. quality was known. After this he paid a viſit to the Penſionary, and offered to communicate the propoſals, which he had to make; but that Miniſter told him, he could not confer with him, nor ſee his propoſals, without leave from the *States*. However, the *States* having conſented, that he, together with the Deputies, who had been appointed to receive the propoſals of *Rouillé*, ſhould meet the Marquiſs, and hear what he had to offer, they had an interview with him the next day. The reſult of this Conference being communicated to the *States-General*, the Penſionary had orders to inform the *French* Miniſter, that they could not give him any reſolution, till they were informed of the ſentiments of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, by the return of the Duke of *Marlborough*.

The Duke, who made but a ſhort ſtay in *England*, returned to the *Hague* the 18th of *May*, *N. S.* The firſt thing he did was to confer with Prince *Eugene*, who arrived there ſix days before from *Bruſſels*, and had the ſatisfaction, in his Conferences with the Penſionary, to receive freſh aſſurances, "That the *States* would "never ſeparate from the general intereſt and "ſcope of the Grand Alliance, upon any pri-"vate conſiderations whatſoever." With the Duke of *Marlborough* went over the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*, as Ambaſſador extraordinary, and joint Plenipotentiary with him, the Duke reckoning the load too great to bear it wholly himſelf. The choice was well made; for as Lord *Townſhend* had great parts, had improved theſe by travelling, and was by much the moſt ſhining perſon of all our young Nobility, and had, on many occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf very eminently; ſo he was a man of great integrity, and of good principles in all reſpects, free from all vice, and of an engaging converſation. Upon their arrival, the Preſident of the week and the Penſionary went together to the Duke, to compliment him on the part of the *States*, and at the ſame time to confer with him, which they did for about an hour and an half, and then they returned to the Aſſembly of the *States-General*. The ſame evening the Marquiſs *de Torcy* went alone to the Duke of *Marlborough*'s lodgings, and had a Conference of above 1709. two

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this expedient was rejected; and the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, thinking, I ſuppoſe, that the Allies inſiſting upon the Duke of *Anjou*'s being recalled, was a more ſpecious handle to break off the treaty upon, than the refuſal of the expedient they propoſed inſtead of it, he agreed at laſt to let the thirty-ſeventh article ſtand as it is now worded; which is perfectly agreeable to the main deſign of the treaty, and to the tenour of the other articles; but with a reſerve, as before, to know the King's pleaſure, without whoſe further inſtructions he could not ſign. And thus the Conferences held to ſettle theſe preliminaries ended the 28th of *May*, and were the ſame day ſigned by the Allies. The Marquiſs *de Torcy* immediately ſet out for *Verſailles*, leaving Monſieur *Rouillé* behind, to whom he promiſed to return the King's anſwer by the 4th of *June* at fartheſt; which, from the neceſſity of the King's affairs, the point the treaty was carried to, the Marquiſs's rank and character, and perſonal merit, and the great proteſtations he made of his Maſter's ſincerity, was hoped would be favourable; but moſt of all from his deſire to the Allies at parting, that they would haſten the ratifications of theſe articles with all the diſpatch they could.

Theſe hopes the Marquiſs left with the Allies; and the near proſpect of a good peace filled all people with a joy, that is not to be expreſſed. They waited with great impatience for the 4th of *June*: It was the next day before the anſwer came, upon the receipt of which Monſieur *Rouillé* acquainted the Allies, that the King could not agree to theſe preliminaries. The articles excepted againſt were the ſame, that the Marquiſs had before diſputed, thoſe relating to the Emperor and the Duke of *Savoy*, and the thirty-ſeventh. The Allies were not a little ſurprized at this anſwer, and more at the haughty air, with which Monſieur *Rouillé* in a long Conference on this ſubject preſſed his objections; a behaviour very different from what either he or the Marquiſs had ſhewn before; which there being no viſible cauſe for, they thought it was in great meaſure gaſconade; that it meant nothing elſe but to make what advantage he could of the inclinations the Allies had without diſguiſe ſhewn to peace; and that he would at laſt recede from his pretenſions, when he ſaw they would not; and that in all events they could not, on their part, give up articles ſo reaſonable in themſelves, and which they had ſo unanimouſly agreed to, as abſolutely neceſſary to make a good and laſting peace. And what they ſuſpected did in good meaſure prove to be the caſe, at leaſt it ſeemed ſo; for after having inſiſted with ſo much ſtiffneſs upon the objections he had in the King's name made, when he perceived it had no effect on the Allies, his departure being fixed for the ninth: The ſeventh in the evening, or early the next morning, he waited on the Penſioner; and, as an inſtance of his great ſincerity and concern, that the treaty might not be broke off, communicated to him his inſtructions, by which it appeared, that he was impowered to recede from all the other points he had before inſiſted on, excepting that of the thirty-ſeventh article, which ſeems to have been a maſter-piece of *French* artifice. For, if the treaty muſt be broke, it is as effectually done by inſiſting upon one article, as upon twenty; and, which ever part the Allies took, the *French* would find their account; for, if they could be perſuaded to give up that, which in appearance was but one article, but in effect was the ſubſtance of all, or at leaſt of the moſt important ones, then it was in the power of the *French* to make peace, without obliging the Duke of *Anjou* to quit *Spain*: And if the Allies could not be brought to this, the point they ſhould break upon was ſo ſpecious, that the *French* Miniſters hoped for a double good effect of it; that it would incenſe the populace in theſe provinces againſt their Miniſters, and ſet the King right in the affections of his people, which, through the continued misfortunes of the war, he began to loſe. And, in this laſt point they ſucceeded perfectly well: There were no efforts the *French* were not willing to make, to ſupport a Prince, who ſeemed to prefer their ſafety to his own glory, and to think no ſacrifice too great to procure his people a good peace: But their other point they were much miſtaken in; and the breaking of the treaty had no other effect upon the ſubjects of the *States*, though it be a popular Government, than to fill them with the utmoſt indignation againſt the *French*, and loud reſentments of their conſtant injuſtice and perfidiouſneſs.

But to return to Monſieur *Rouillé*, when he had ſhewn his inſtructions to the Penſioner, which diſcovered ſo much more than he would own before, he took his leave of him, without propoſing any accommodation or expedient in lieu of this important article; and whether the truth were all out, and there was not ſome ſecret inſtructions ſtill behind, was more than any body could tell. And, though this was his language the 8th in the morning, they did not know but he might alter it before night, when he found the Allies were not to be moved, or that he might make a longer ſtay; he and the Marquiſs *de Torcy* both having often fixed days for their departure; but, when the time came, thought fit to change their minds. And

1709. two hours with him and the Lord *Townſhend*. The 19th, in the morning, the Marquiſs paid another viſit to the Duke, and they both went together to Prince *Eugene*'s apartment, where they likewiſe conferred for ſome time. In the evening, thoſe two Princes went to the Penſionary, who acquainted them with the reſolution of the *States-General*, not to accept the offers made by the *French* Miniſters, nor to take one ſtep farther, but in concert with all the Allies. This determination was very ſatisfactory to the Duke and Prince *Eugene*, and begat ſuch an unanimity and good harmony among all the Confederate Miniſters, as intirely baffled all the ſecret deſigns of *France*, notwithſtanding the Marquiſs *de Torcy* managed his purpoſe very artfully, and did all he could to amuſe them with half promiſes and faint denials.

On the 20th, in the morning, the Duke and Prince *Eugene*, together with the Lord *Townſhend*, returned the viſit they had received from Monſieur *de Torcy*, where *Rouillé*, who, till then, had been with no other Miniſters but *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen*, was preſented to theſe great Generals and Miniſters. This ſame day, the *French* Miniſters carried the amuſement ſo far, as to declare, that their Maſter conſented to the demolition of *Dunkirk*; that he would abandon the Pretender, and ſend him out of his Dominions; that he would acknowledge the Queen's title, and the Succeſſion eſtabliſhed on the Houſe of *Hanover*; that he would renounce all pretenſions to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and yield up ſuch places as the *Dutch* demanded for their barrier. With reſpect to the Empire, the *French* offered to reſtore all things, as they were ſettled by 1709.

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what made this the more probable was, that Monſieur *Petkum*, who had all along, without authority or character, gone between the Miniſters of the Allies and *France*, did that morning propoſe to ſome of the Allies, that *France* ſhould give to them two or three towns as an equivalent for the thirty-ſeventh article, to be kept by them till *Spain* ſhould be quitted to King *Charles*. But ſince Monſieur *Petkum* made this motion, as of his own head, without any Commiſſion from Monſieur *Rouillé*, who lodged with him, and the propoſal was indeterminate, without either the names, or fixed numbers of the towns, that ſhould be given, the Allies could not take any notice of it. Beſides, had the offer been never ſo diſtinct, and made with full authority, to give two or three cautionary towns was to evade and not to ſatisfy the intention of the article, and was in effect nothing elſe, but to offer a little better barrier to the *Dutch*, in exchange for *Spain* and the *Indies*. In the mean time, Monſieur *Rouillé* ſpent the day in making viſits of leave, as deſigning to ſet out in earneſt for *Verſailles* next morning. When night was come, and there was no room to hope for any further ſtep being made on his part, here the man, who is accuſed of prolonging the war, interpoſed, and ſhewed how little he deſerves ſuch a cenſure. The Duke of *Marlborough* ſent to the Penſionary, and the other Miniſters, to deſire a meeting, to try once more, if any thing could be done to ſave the treaty. But, this meeting being diſappointed, there was an extraordinary Congreſs of all the Miniſters the next morning, in which the Deputies of the *States* having acquainted them of what had paſſed, and aſſured them of their reſolution to preſs the war with the utmoſt vigour, till *France* was forced to conſent to a good peace, Count *Zinzendorf* thanked the *States* in the name of the Emperor and King *Charles*, for the firmneſs they had ſhewn on this occaſion. The Duke of *Marlborough* did the ſame on the part of the Queen; which was followed with like expreſſions of ſatisfaction by all the other Miniſters, that were preſent, with very particular marks of eſteem to the Penſionary, whom I have often thought the *Godolphin* of the *States*, for his wiſe and prudent conduct through the whole negotiation. I need not ſay more, to let you know, that he is a plain, grave, wiſe man, of great judgment and abilities, quiet, unpopular, and uncorrupt.

All thoughts of peace being now in appearance over, and Monſieur *Rouillé* gone, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was extremely mortified at this change of things, reſolved to follow in the afternoon, and would not give over all hopes of having ſtill one interview more with him; to which end he got to *Bruſſels*, as ſoon almoſt as Monſieur *Rouillé*, and ſent word before to Prince *Eugene* (who had been there ſome days, to give the neceſſary orders for aſſembling the army) but Monſieur *Rouillé* was gone, before either the Duke or Prince could ſee him: And nothing was now left to the Generals, but to try to do by the ſword what they could not do by treaty, and to make their way to peace by a good campaign.

This, I can aſſure you, from what I have obſerved myſelf in the progreſs of this affair, and the moſt exact information I could get from others, is a plain and true account of theſe negotiations thus far; in which one ſees, on the part of *France*, violent ſuſpicions of inſincerity through the whole treaty, working its way by all the methods of addreſs and artifice, which they are ſo great maſters of: But in the Allies, plainneſs, unanimity, and an unſhaken confidence; every thing is open and above-board, without any diviſions in their Conferences with the *French*, or any violent heats among themſelves; even in the great point of the barrier, which the *French* had hopes might make a breach between the *Dutch* and Imperial Miniſters: But by the prudence of the contending parties themſelves, and the firmneſs and temper, with which the Duke of *Marlborough* calmly interpoſed, this difficult point was amicably adjuſted, and the diſputes upon it produced no effects, that the *French* could take any advantage of. I believe you have not forgot, I am ſure I have not, how people here in *England* reaſoned upon theſe Conferences. While theſe preliminaries were like to take effect, ſome men were by no means ſatisfied; they thought care enough was not taken of *England*; which ſhould make us hope, that they will ſome time or other obtain better terms for us; and that, in the next treaty, more regard will be had to the trading intereſt of *Great-Britain*, than the late Miniſters have ſhewn. And yet no ſooner were the preliminaries rejected, but the men, who thought but juſt before there was too little in them, would have perſuaded us, that there was a great deal too much; and that it was unreaſonable to inſiſt on ſuch demands, eſpecially to oblige a great King, whom they have always admired, to dethrone his Grandſon, though all ſuch invidious expreſſions were purpoſely avoided in the articles; and no body, as I have obſerved before, doubted, but the King, if he were in earneſt diſpoſed to ſatisfy the Allies, could do it without difficulty.

Dr. *Hare* then proceeds to ſhew, in oppoſition to the clamours, which had been raiſed againſt the Duke of *Marlborough* in particular, or the conduct of the Allies in general, with relation to the preliminary articles, firſt, That, if to inſiſt on the thirty-ſeventh article was a fault, the Duke of *Marlborough* was not to be blamed for it: And, ſecondly, That to inſiſt on that article was in itſelf right and neceſſary, in order to a good peace.

Firſt (ſays Dr. *Hare*, p. 30) I ſay, That, if to inſiſt on the thirty-ſeventh article was a fault, the Duke of *Marlborough* is not to be blamed for it. Secondly, Becauſe, if he did inſiſt, it was what he was obliged to: He had no authority to do otherwiſe. All the world knows, that both Houſes of Parliament did, the beginning of that year 1709, addreſs the Queen, that no peace ſhould be made with *France*, without an in-

1709. by the treaty of *Ryſwick*, and to demoliſh the fortifications of *Straſburgh*. But the Allies inſiſting on ſome other articles, namely, the reſtitution of *Upper* and *Lower Alſace* to the Empire, *Torcy* declared he had no power to make any further conceſſions, broke up the Conference, and ſent to the Penſionary to deſire paſſes to return home. However, upon ſecond thoughts, and as they pretended, at the deſire of Monſieur *Petkum*, Reſident of *Holſtein*, the *French* Miniſters conſented to ſuſpend their departure: And, on the 21ſt, *Torcy* went alone to the Penſionary, to agree about another Conference, which was held at ſix o'clock in the evening; and, notwithſtanding the *French* Miniſters had declared the day before, that they could not inlarge their offers, they now propoſed to ſurrender *Straſburgh* in its preſent condition. The Allies not being ſatisfied with the propoſals made in this Conference, another was appointed for the 22d, in the morning, which proved likewiſe unſucceſsful. Whereupon the *French* declared, that they were reſolved to go away; and, the better to demonſtrate their ſerioufneſs in this reſolution, they ſent again to the Penſionary for paſſes, and took their leave of Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Miniſters of the neutral Princes; but the *States* having, the ſame evening, ſent them paſſes, and the Penſionary intimated to them, that they were not hereafter to expect any paſſport for their return to the *Hague*; and conſidering, on the other hand, how unconcerned the Miniſters of the Allies were at the threats of their departure, they were eaſily perſuaded to ſtay, at the deſire (as they ſtill pretended) of ſome neutral Miniſters; 1709.

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tire reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy: And her Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs herſelf very well pleaſed with their addreſs, and that ſhe was perfectly of the ſame opinion. This addreſs being thus approved, no Miniſter had any power or authority to conclude a treaty upon other terms, without her Majeſty's command; nor could ſuch a command be expected from her, without advice of her Council: And I believe a Council will not eaſily be found, that will adviſe againſt the joint opinion of both Houſes of Parliament. If therefore the thirty-ſeventh article was inſiſted on, the Duke is not to be blamed; he did but his duty, and could not juſtify his doing otherwiſe; which, if he had, would as certainly have been made a high crime and miſdemeanor, as his not doing it is now made a matter of complaint againſt him. There is no room for any objection here, unleſs it could be pretended, that this addreſs was of his procuring; the contrary to which is as well known, as the addreſs itſelf. But though it is plain, that the Duke of *Marlborough* had no hand in making this addreſs, it is as plain, that, when it was made, he was bound by it; and, ſince that required the reſtitution of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy, he was obliged to inſiſt upon it. So the thirty-ſeventh article was unanimouſly adhered to as it is, by all the Miniſters; and their doing ſo, I ſhall now ſhew you, was *very right in itſelf*, and *neceſſary in order to a good peace*. Firſt, it is right in itſelf, that is, juſt and reaſonable, not hard, or inſolent, or inhuman, as theſe advocates of *France* would have it thought. For what is the point in diſpute, but to reſtore to an injured perſon what has been unjuſtly taken from him? Has not the injured party, by the fundamental laws of juſtice, a right to this? Or is not the party, that does the injury, obliged to reſtitution, where it is poſſible? And is not this the caſe of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy? I deſpair of ever proving any uſurpation unjuſt, if this is not. But if it be unjuſt, does it alter the caſe, becauſe the King of *France* has not uſurped it for himſelf, but for his Grandſon? Am I the leſs obliged to reſtore what I have unjuſtly ſeized, becauſe I have given it to a third perſon, provided it be in my power? Does not the Duke of *Anjou* know, as well as his Grandfather, that it is a violent uſurpation? Can he of right keep, what the other had no right to give? Is it not kept plainly for the uſe and benefit of the giver? Has not the giver power to take it from him? Is it not plain, that his Grandſon has not kept it thus long, but by the ſupport he receives from him? And if it be thus manifeſtly unjuſt, and the Uſurper has it in his power to make reſtitution, is it ill manners to demand it? Is the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſuch a trifle, as not to be worth inſiſting on? Shall we compliment the King of *France*, or his Grandſon, with giving up what ſo many Princes and States have ſpent ſo much blood and treaſure to regain? Can that now be thought conſiſtent with the ſafety and commerce of *Great-Britain*, with the intereſt and welfare of our Allies, or with the liberty of *Europe*, which we ventured to begin a war for, under the moſt unpromiſing appearances of ever ſeeing a good end of it? But it was nonſenſe not to riſk all, when all was at ſtake: There was no room left but to appeal to Heaven, and take arms; which gave us a chance for eſcaping the ruin, which was otherwiſe inevitable. This is the truth of the matter, this the point in diſpute. What then do people mean by all their ſenſeleſs clamour of the hardſhip and barbarity of the Allies, in obliging the King of *France* to recall his Grandſon? They, who think the cauſes of this war ſuch indifferent things, as not to be worth inſiſting on any longer, though we have ſo long ſtruggled for them, that we have at laſt got faſt hold; theſe men, I fear, will in a little time think the ſame of the cauſes of the Revolution too; nay, they already tell us ſo; they are grown ſo inſenſible to the fears they were once in, that they begin to think popery and arbitrary power innocent harmleſs things; they now plainly inſinuate, that there was no danger of the Government in Church and State being overturned, and that therefore the Revolution was not neceſſary; and, in virtue of theſe fooliſh ſentiments, when the Revolution is upon the point of being unalterably fixed, they truly are grown weary, and, after twenty years labour, do not think it worth a little more pains to finiſh the work, and put an effectual ſtop to the return of thoſe evils, which they were once, as well as their neighbours, ſo heartily frightened with. And it is no wonder if men, who have contracted ſuch a ſtupid indolence, and are ſo indifferent for the civil and religious rights of their own country, cannot ſee what ſenſe there is in inſiſting upon the reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and are ſupinely willing to think (if nonſenſe can be called thinking) that the demand of the Allies is either unjuſt, or at beſt very rude and unmannerly.

But further; this demand of theirs is not only right in itſelf, but neceſſary, in order to a good peace; and the beſt way to ſet this in a clear light, is to conſider what would have been the conſequence, ſuppoſing the Allies had not inſiſted on it. Now to ſhew what this would have been, I will ſuppoſe, for the preſent, that the *French* were in earneſt; and that, if this article had been receded from, they would have ſigned the reſt. Which way now, I would aſk, ſhould we have propoſed to get *Spain?* Can we do it, unleſs the King of *France* intirely abandons his Grandſon? No, certainly. But he has promiſed he will. But is his bare word a ſecurity, that may be depended upon? By no means. What then? Why, he gives you up ſo many great towns, which he would not do, if he did not intend to leave his Grandſon to himſelf. Why ſo? How can the giving up theſe towns to the Allies be thought any ſecurity? Is it any more than giving the Allies a barrier, which barrier they would have inſiſted upon, whatever became of *Spain?* How now comes that to be a ſecurity, that the King of *France* would abandon his Grandſon, which he muſt nevertheleſs have complied with, though he had abandoned him? Is it the

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1709. Miniſters; and, the better to colour the matter, they ſent, on the 23d of *May*, *N. S.* an expreſs to the Court of *France* for new inſtructions. The ſame day, in the morning, another Conference was held from nine o'clock, till about two in the afternoon; wherein they begun to ſet down ſome articles in writing, and agreed to meet again about ſix in the evening. That afternoon Count *Zinzendorf*, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary, arrived at the *Hague*, and went immediately with Monſieur *Heems*, the Imperial Miniſter, to pay a viſit to Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*; with whom, together with the Penſionary, Count *Gallas*, and the Lord *Townſhend*, the *French* Miniſters had another Conference in relation to the ſecurity of the execution, of the points agreed on. But, though this Conference laſted from ſix till eleven o'clock in the evening, yet nothing was concluded in it. The 24th, in the morning, the *French* Miniſters had another interview with the Deputies of the *States*, who gave an account of what had paſſed in it to the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*; and, the ſame evening, there was another meeting, wherein they reſumed the debate relating to the ſecurity of the performance of the articles agreed on, particularly the evacuation of the *Spaniſh* Dominions. For this the Allies demanded ſeveral cautionary towns; but the *French* refuſed to give any, inſiſting, 'That the engagement, which the moſt Chriſtian King offered to enter into, to recall his troops from *Spain*, 1709.

ſame thing to part with theſe towns, and keep *Spain*, as to part with them and *Spain* too? If not, then his agreeing to give up one is no proof he intends to part with the other. Ay, but when the Allies have theſe towns, they will force him to it. That I deny. Why ſo, ſay they? The towns are to be delivered in two months: That is, by the middle of *Auguſt*; and then the Allies will have time enough to enter *France*, if he ſends any ſuccour to his Grandſon. But, firſt, the ſurrender, that is to be made in two months, is only of thoſe towns, that are to make the barrier for the *Netherlands*: Thoſe, that are to be reſtored to the Emperor and Empire, are not to be evacuated till the exchange of their ratifications, which is a tedious work. Beſides, though it be ſtipulated, that the towns in the *Netherlands*, &c. ſhall be given up in two months, I believe no body wants to be told, that things are ſeldom ſo punctually executed, as to be performed nicely within the time agreed. But I will ſuppoſe for once, theſe articles had been effectually complied with within the time, and that the Allies conſequently would have been at liberty to invade *France*, if they had openly ſent any conſiderable ſuccours to *Spain*; but what then? Could not they have ſent money and jewels to the Duke of *Anjou*, without any danger of diſcovery? Or would they not have pretence enough for denying it? And would the Allies invade *France*, upon a bare ſuſpicion of ſending ſuch an aſſiſtance to *Spain*? And for men, though a body of troops could not have been ſent thither without being known, might not what number they pleaſed of the *French* troops, that were in *Spain*, have ſtaid there, under a notion of deſertion, or have been detained by the Duke of *Anjou*'s order, upon ſome blind pretence or other; a trick the Grandfather has practiſed often enough for the Grandſon to learn it from him? Well, but ſuppoſe *France* had neither openly, nor under-hand, given the Duke of *Anjou* any aſſiſtance for that ſummer (not that I can by any means grant it) how long would that have held? Or what uſe would the Allies have made of it? Could the troops we had then in *Spain* have over-run the Kingdom without further help, or have driven out the Duke of *Anjou* in one campaign? That, I preſume, will not by any body be pretended. Or could a ſufficient reinforcement have been ſent time enough to them, either from *Italy* or *England*, to do any great matters that year? That, I ſuppoſe, will be pretended as little by thoſe, that conſider, it was *June*, when theſe preliminaries were finiſhed. It is plain then, *Spain* could not have been gained that year, unleſs the Duke of *Anjou* had conſented to relinquiſh it. Let us then, in the next place, ſuppoſe the ſummer ſpent, and the armies gone out of the field, and ſee what we are to expect then. A peace is made with *France*; the Allies have got each of them their reſpective ſhares, and have nothing more to hope for. They renew, perhaps, the Grand Alliance, with great expreſſions of mutual zeal; the Emperor at leaſt, and the maritime powers; but ſome of the leſſer Princes might poſſibly ſhew themſelves diſguſted, and think they have been neglected: For, as the preliminaries are now ſettled, it is certain more than one of them are not ſatisfied. Suppoſe the King of *Pruſſia* or Duke of *Savoy*, for example, had thought due care had not been taken of them, it is plain, in that caſe, their Alliance is no longer to be depended on; and either of theſe, falling off, would very much weaken the Confederacy; eſpecially the laſt, whom the *French* would be very glad to draw into their intereſts. But ſuppoſe none of the Allies have any of theſe reſentments, or at leaſt ſtifle them, and all conſent to renew the Grand Alliance; what becomes of the armies upon leaving the field? Is it not certain, that they will on all ſides diſmiſs great part of their forces? Will not the maritime powers ſend home the foreign troops in their pay, except ſuch as *Holland* keeps for the defence of their new frontier? Shall we hear of any more armies upon the *Rhine*, or in *Savoy*, when they have made peace, when the articles of the treaty have been all executed, and there is no more any enemy to moleſt them, no cauſe of complaint, or pretence for a new campaign left? I think nothing can be ſurer, than that this would have been the caſe: The Allies would have thought no more of war in the places, that have been hitherto the ſeats of it, nor have made any preparations for taking the field another year. All ſides would have made what haſte they could to have leſſened the burthen, which, during the war, they had been oppreſſed with. *Holland* particularly would have had full work to take care of their new frontier, to provide ſo many towns with ſufficient garriſons and magazines, and ſettle what foot the ſeveral parts of their new acquiſitions ſhould be put upon, with reſpect to war, trade, and ſubſidies; and, beſides the great expence this would for the preſent put them to, they would be at a very great charge to pay the arrears due to the foreign troops, without which they could not be diſmiſſed. Add to this the extraordinary allowance, which, upon their diſmiſſing, is to be made to carry them home. This would put the *States* under a neceſſity of retrenching, as much as poſſible, the expences of the next year. And this laſt article *England* would be proportionably affected with. Now I would be glad to know, what ſhould hinder the King of *France*, from the minute the Allies diſmiſs their troops, to give what aſſiſtance he will to *Spain*, provided it be not done too groſsly, but gradually, by inſenſible ſteps; and by thoſe many ways of artifice, which the *French* are maſters of? If they make a peace, they may diſband ſixty or eighty thouſand men, or more. And what ſhould hinder theſe men from going into *Spain* to ſeek their bread? What ſhall hinder the King of *France* from giving ſecret orders for this? And, when it is complained of, from poſitively denying, and perhaps ſeemingly forbidding it? And may not the Duke of *Anjou*, by this means, againſt the next ſpring, have a greater army, than the Allies can bring againſt him? And how then are we to get *Spain*? Will the Allies raiſe new armies, and make a new war upon *France* in *Flanders*, upon the *Rhine*, and in *Savoy*, becauſe ſome men have inſenſibly ſtole out of *France* into

1709. *Spain*, and his promiſe to give no manner of aſſiſtance to King *Philip*, was a ſufficient ſecurity, ſince that Prince, being thus forſaken by his Grandfather, would be obliged to quit *Spain*; and the rather, becauſe the *Spaniards*, in ſuch a caſe, would certainly declare for King *Charles*.' This occaſioned warm debates; but at laſt it was agreed, that *France* ſhould deliver up ſome places in the *Netherlands*, that were to be part of the barrier, before they entered upon the general negotiations of peace. On the 25th and 26th, there was no interview with the *French* Miniſters; but the Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, the Lord *Townſhend*, and Count *Zinzendorf* had ſeveral Conferences with the Penſionary and the Deputies of the *States*, wherein they acquainted the new Imperial Plenipotentiary with what had been tranſacted ſince the beginning of this negotiation, and agreed on the further demands to be made to the *French* Miniſters. A Conference being held on the 27th, in the morning, at which Count *Zinzendorf* aſſiſted for the firſt time, thoſe demands were communicated to *Torcy* and *Rouillé*, who deſired ſome time to conſider of them. But the Duke of *Marlborough* having ſent them word, that he and Prince *Eugene* had determined to ſet out for *Flanders* within two days, they promiſed to return an anſwer at ſix in the evening in another Conference, which laſted till two o'clock in the morning. After many diſputes, the *French* ſeemed to comply with all the preliminary articles inſiſted on by the Confederates. 1709.

The foundation of the whole treaty was, the reſtoring of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy to King *Charles*, within two months: *Torcy* ſaid, the time was too ſhort, and that, perhaps, it was not in the King of *France*'s power to bring that about; for the *Spaniards* ſeemed reſolved to ſtick to King *Philip*. It was, upon this, inſiſted on, that the King of *France* ſhould be obliged to concur with the Allies, to force it by all proper methods: But this was not farther explained, for the Allies were well aſſured, that if it was ſincerely intended by *France*, there would be no great difficulty in bringing it about. This, therefore, being laid down as the baſis of the treaty, the other preliminaries related to the reſtoring all *The preliminaries agreed on.*

Spain, againſt the expreſs order of the King, which you are ſure will be pretended? You do not know the ſweets of peace, or how unwilling people are, who have once laid down their arms, to take them up again. If you think the Allies could be brought to this, or that any armies would take the field againſt *France*, after a peace was once made; what then is to be hoped for? Why, I think nothing more than this, that the *Dutch* and the Emperor would contribute for a little while, perhaps for one campaign, ſome money and troops, to act in conjunction with *England* againſt *Spain*; in which no great ſucceſs can be expected, conſidering the numerous army, I have ſhewn you, the Duke of *Anjou* might and would have. Now if this, upon the trial of one campaign, were found to be the caſe, I am afraid *Holland* would not be very willing to continue the proſecution of ſo expenſive a war; and the whole weight of it another year would lie upon *England*, except a very little, that might be expected from the Emperor. And what could this end in, but in the ruin of *England*, and the loſs of *Spain*? For the moſt, that could be expected from this war, would be, that the Duke of *Anjou* would offer a partition, ſuch as I have mentioned in my firſt letter, but with no option in the caſe. He would certainly keep *Spain* and the *Indies*, and give the other part to his Competitor. And if that be accepted, what becomes of *England*, which is ſo much intereſted in the recovery of *Spain*? And if it be not accepted, what ſhall hinder the *French* King from aſſiſting his Grandſon after one year, more openly, and taking upon him to mediate a peace; that is, to force ſuch a one as he pleaſes upon us? For how can we help ourſelves? Shall we be in a condition to quarrel with him, when we have been exhauſted two years more with ſuch an expenſive war, while he has been enjoying all the advantages of peace, to repair the breaches the war had made in his affairs; to reſtore commerce, retrieve the public credit, remedy the ill ſtate of his finances, look into the condition of his fleet, and put himſelf into the beſt poſture he can for a new war, if the ſupport of the Duke of *Anjou* makes it neceſſary? No, ſure; we ſhall never think ourſelves in a condition to break with him; nor ſhall we be able to perſuade our Allies to it. No part therefore will be left us, but to ſubmit to ſuch a peace with his Grandſon, as he ſhall in his pleaſure think fit to preſcribe. I need not inlarge upon the difficulties of making war with *Spain*, after what I have ſaid in my firſt letter. It is eaſy to ſee how the Duke of *Anjou* may find us work enough for two or three years, if he do but avoid coming to an action. Sieges will coſt time, as well as men and money; and many muſt be made before ſuch a Kingdom can be reduced; and that will give the King of *France* opportunity enough to do what he will, to ſupport his Grandſon ſecretly or openly, or to preſcribe a peace, or begin a new war, which it is always eaſy to find a pretence for; and we are ſure he cannot want inclination to do whatever is in his power, which ſuch a cauſe calls for. Nor is he ſo little known, as to leave us the leaſt room to think, that any treaties or engagements can bind him, when inclination and power tempt him to break through them. His whole Reign is one continued proof of this. I have ſaid ſomewhat of it already, and therefore ſhall add but one inſtance, which is a little parallel to the caſe before us; and that is, the manner, in which he kept the promiſe he made the *Spaniards* at the *Pyrenean* treaty, not to aſſiſt the *Portugueſe*, who were then at war with them. Never was treaty made with more ſolemnity; and yet what did thoſe engagements ſignify? All the time the treaty was making, *France* was concerting meaſures to ſupport the *Portugueſe*; and the King, the preſent King, who was then but young in perfidy, had ſo little regard to cover or palliate what he did, that he ſent, in the face of all the world, an army to the aſſiſtance of thoſe, whoſe defence he had renounced, commanded by a Marſhal of *France*. And can we, after ſuch an inſtance, depend upon his word? Has he not much greater temptation to aſſiſt *Spain* againſt us, than he had then to ſupport the *Portugueſe* againſt *Spain*? Is not the honour of his Grandſon, the intereſt of his family, and the acquiſition of ſo great a Monarchy of infinitely more concern to him, than the defence of *Portugal* could be? A man muſt be blind, not to ſee there is no compariſon between the two caſes; and it is inexcuſable, when we are ſenſible of this, to think, that a Prince, who has been ſo falſe in one inſtance, can be ever true in the other.

The ſum of this argument is, that if a ſeparate peace be made with *France* upon the foot of the preliminaries, without the 37th article, nothing can hinder *France* from aſſiſting the Duke of *Anjou*: And, if he be aſſiſted by *France*, we can never be able to drive him out of *Spain*: And conſequently, if *Spain* be ever had, it muſt be by treaty. If therefore no peace can be a good one without *Spain*, then the 37th article is neceſſary in order to a good peace: Which is the point I was to prove.

I know but one thing can be ſaid againſt what I have advanced upon this head; and that is, That the Allies, though they make peace with *France*, ſhould

1709. all the places in the *Netherlands*, except *Cambray* and *St. Omer*; the demoliſhing or reſtoring of *Dunkirk*; the reſtoring of *Straſburg*, *Briſack*, and *Hunningen* to the Empire; *Newfoundland* to *England*; and *Savoy* to that Duke, beſides his continuing poſſeſſed of all, he then had in his hands; the acknowledging the King of *Pruſſia*'s Royal dignity, and the Electorate in the Houſe of *Brunſwick*; the ſending the Pretender out of *France*, and the owning the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, as it was ſettled by law. As all the great intereſts were provided for, by theſe preliminaries; ſo all other matters were reſerved to be conſidered, when the treaty of peace ſhould be opened: A ceſſation of all hoſtilities was to begin, within two months, and to continue till all was concluded by a compleat treaty, and ratified: Provided the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was then intirely reſtored. The *French* Miniſters ſeemed to be confounded at theſe demands: But, in concluſion, pretended to ſubmit to them (1). *Torcy* told the Miniſters, he would ſet out for *Paris* immediately, to lay the whole before his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and at parting deſired the ratifications might be returned with all poſſible haſte. He promiſed Prince *Eugene*, that the King of *France*'s final anſwer ſhould be ſent, by the fourth of *June*; but ſpoke of their affairs as a man in deſpair: He ſaid, he did not know but he might find King *Philip* at *Paris*, before he got thither, and ſaid all that was poſſible, to aſſure them of the ſincerity of the King of *France*, and to divert them from the thoughts of opening the campaign; but at the ſame time King *Philip* was getting his ſon, the Prince of *Aſturias*, to be acknowledged, by all the towns and bodies of *Spain*, as the heir of that Monarchy. *Rouillé*, who had opened the firſt ſcene of this negotiation, was to continue at the *Hague* ſome time longer, in order to ſuſpend the unravelling of the plot as long as poſſible. The whole artifice of *France* was at length diſcovered, and it appeared very viſibly, that the *French* had no other deſign in all this negotiation, but to try if they could beget an ill underſtanding among the Allies, or, by their ſeeming great conceſſions for the ſecurity of the *States*, to provoke the people of *Holland* againſt their Magiſtrates, if they ſhould carry on the war, when they had ſuch ſafe and honourable offers made them; and they reckoned, that if a ſuſpenſion of arms could be once obtained upon any other terms than the reſtoring of *Spain*, they ſhould then get out of the war, and the Allies would be left to try, how they could conquer *Spain*. *Torcy* was, however, punctual to his promiſe given to Prince *Eugene*; for, on the 4th of *June*, the Prince, being at *Bruſſels*, received a letter from the Marquiſs, importing, "That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, having exa- "mined the project of peace concluded at the "*Hague*, found it impoſſible for him to accept it; "and therefore had ſent orders to the Preſident "*de Rouillé* to notify the ſame to the Poten- "tates 1709.

They are rejected by the French

ſtill keep up their armies, and then *France* will not dare to give the Duke of *Anjou* any great aſſiſtance. But, firſt, I have already ſhewn, that this is a very unreaſonable ſuppoſition; the Allies moſt certainly would not continue to keep up their armies, were a peace with *France* once made. But let us now ſuppoſe they would, how would this mend the matter? If we keep on foot as great armies, as we have now, we ſhould be no more at liberty to ſend men into *Spain*, than we are now. And, if we ſent any conſiderable number to *Spain*, they would be wanted elſewhere; and the King of *France* would have nothing to fear from us, for want of a ſufficient ſtrength to act offenſively, in caſe we ſhould think ourſelves ſufficiently provoked to it by any thing he does in violation of the treaty; nay, conſidering the number of towns given up to the Allies, which all muſt have garriſons in them, and thoſe not very ſmall ones, to keep their new ſubjects in awe, we ſhould want a greater army in *Flanders* than before, to be in a condition to act offenſively. And, if ſuch armies muſt be kept up, I cannot ſee why they ſhould not be employed; that is, why we may not as well continue the war, or to what purpoſe we ſhould make peace. To me continuing the war ſeems much more eligible than ſuch a peace, for this plain reaſon, that *France* would certainly make a great advantage of peace, while we muſt, under the name of peace, continue in a ſtate of war, without the fruits of it. For example, all we have done, this campaign, would upon that ſuppoſition have been undone; and we ſhould have been ſo much farther off than we are, from putting *France* under a neceſſity to give us *Spain*. For though the ſucceſſes of this year [1710] have been ſo ſlighted, as to be thought not worth mentioning, where one would have moſt expected it; I can tell you, *Doway* alone is in the opinion of *France* of that mighty conſequence, that in all the negotiations, that have been carried on, ſince the refuſal of the preliminaries, to find an expedient for the thirty-ſeventh article, *Doway* has been always excepted out of the number of the towns, that they have pretended to give as an equivalent. Now this and the other conqueſts of this campaign have brought us much nearer to our end, than if our armies had gone out of the field, as they came in, and had done nothing. I muſt therefore ſtill maintain, that upon all ſuppoſitions the thirty-ſeventh article is neceſſary to a good peace, unleſs ſome real expedient could be found out, which has hitherto been in vain looked for.

(1) The preliminary articles were as follows:

1. That a firm and laſting peace be forthwith treated of, *&c.*

2. That to that end preliminary articles be agreed on, *&c.*

3. That the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall acknowledge King *Charles* III. King of *Spain*, *&c.*

4. The treaty ſhall be finiſhed in two months, during which time *Sicily* ſhall be put into the hands of King *Charles*; and the Duke of *Anjou* ſhall evacuate *Spain*, which, if he refuſes to conſent to, the *French* King and the Allies ſhall enter into proper meaſures, that this article may have intire effect.

5. That the *French* King ſhall, within that time, withdraw his troops out of *Spain*, *&c.* and not aſſiſt the Duke of *Anjou* for the future with troops, artillery, ammunition, or money.

6. The Monarchy of *Spain* ſhall remain intire in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and no Prince of the Houſe of *France* ever become Sovereign of any part thereof.

7. *France* ſhall never poſſeſs the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, or trade thither.

8, 9. The *French* King ſhall deliver up *Strasburg*, *Fort Kehl*, and *Briſac* to the Emperor.

10. The *French* King ſhall poſſeſs *Alſace* in the literal ſenſe of the treaty of *Munſter*, except *Landau*, which ſhall belong to the Emperor.

11. He ſhall demoliſh *New Briſac*, *Fort Lewis*, and *Hunningen*.

12. *Rheinfels* ſhall be poſſeſſed by the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, till otherwiſe agreed.

13. The clauſe concerning Religion in the treaty of *Ryſwick* ſhall be referred to the negotiation.

14, 15. The *French* ſhall acknowledge the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

16. The *French* King ſhall reſtore to *Great-Britain* what

1709. " tates engaged in the war; and that it was to " be hoped, that more favourable terms would " preſent for the eſtabliſhing of a peace ſo ne- " ceſſary for all *Europe*, and conſequently ſo " much deſired by every body." The Meſſenger, who brought this letter to Prince *Eugene*, arrived the next morning at the *Hague*, where people were in the height of expectation of the *French* King's ratification of the preliminaries; but, to their great diſappointment, *Rouillé* having the ſame day had a Conference at the Penſionary's, with the Imperial and *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries, and the Deputies of the *States*, he acquainted them, That the moſt Chriſtian King could not ratify ſome articles agreed to in the Conference held with Monſieur *de Torcy*, and concluded the 28th paſt. He excepted to the articles relating to the Emperor and the Duke of *Savoy*; but chiefly on that of not beginning the ſuſpenſion of arms, till the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſhould be reſtored, which, he ſaid, was not in his power to execute (1).

Theſe difficulties ſtarted by the *French* King having been communicated by *Rouillé*, Count *Zinzendorf*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Lord *Townſhend*, and the Penſionary *Heinſius*, immediately held a Conference among themſelves, in which it was reſolved, " That no alteration " ought to be admitted in the preliminary ar- " ticles, eſpecially in thoſe excepted againſt by " *France*, which were the moſt eſſential." And it was agreed at the ſame time to ſignify to *Rouillé*, to depart in four and twenty hours.

The 6th of *June*, *N. S.* in the morning, 1709. *Rouillé* made a viſit to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and propoſed another Conference, which was held that night; but nothing material was tranſacted in it, except that the Allies declared to *Rouillé*, " That they would not recede from any " of the articles agreed to; and that, if his " Maſter did not think fit to comply there- " with, the Allies would not think themſelves " bound by the articles, or reſtrain their preten- " ſions to the contents thereof, after the 15th " of that month, the time allowed by the arti- " cles." The *French* Miniſter ſaid, He had no orders to make any further declaration; whereupon he received a ſecond intimation to depart the *Hague* immediately. The ſame evening, Mr. *Walpole*, Secretary to the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries, returned to the *Hague* with the Queen of *Great-Britain*'s ratification of the preliminaries. On the 8th, the Penſionary reported *Rouillé*'s declaration to the Aſſembly of the *States*; upon which they conſidered, " That the arti- " cles were concerted with the Marquiſs *de* " *Torcy* and Monſieur *de Rouillé*, put into " writing with their aſſent, and by the Marquiſs " *de Torcy* himſelf carried to the King of " *France*, in order to be ſigned and ratified; " that they were actually ſigned on the part of " the Emperor, *Great-Britain*, and *Holland*, " and had been ratified by her *Britannic* Ma- " jeſty; and that nothing ſhort of theſe preli- " minaries could obtain and ſecure the general " peace, and prevent a dangerous, expenſive, " and

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what he is poſſeſſed of in *Newfoundland*; and whatever either party has taken in the *Indies* ſhall be reſtored.

17. *Dunkirk* ſhall be demoliſhed.

18. The Pretender ſhall retire out of *France*.

19. A treaty of commerce ſhall be ſettled with *Great-Britain*.

20. The King of *Portugal* ſhall enjoy all that is ſtipulated for him by the Allies.

21. The *French* King ſhall acknowledge the King of *Pruſſia*, and not diſturb him in the enjoyment of *Neufchatel*.

22. The *French* King ſhall deliver up *Furnes*, *Menin*, *Ypres*, *Warneton*, *Commines*, *Werwick*, *Poperingen*, *Liſle*, *Condé*, and *Maubeuge*, for the barrier of the *States*.

23. He ſhall reſtore all the towns and forts he has taken in the *Netherlands*, with the artillery and ſtores, provided the Catholic Religion ſhall ſtill be profeſſed there.

24. None of the cannon or ſtores to be removed from this time.

25. The *States*, as to their commerce, ſhall have what was ſtipulated at the treaty of *Ryſwick*, and the tariff of 1664 only ſhall be in force.

26. The *French* King ſhall acknowledge the ninth Electorate.

27. The Duke of *Savoy* ſhall enjoy all that has been yielded to him by the Emperor, and whatever has been taken from him ſhall be reſtored.

28. The *French* King ſhall make over to that Duke *Exilles*, *Feneſtrilles*, and *Chemont*, with the valley of *Pragelas*, and all on this ſide the mountains, for a barrier.

29. The pretenſions of the Elector of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* ſhall be referred to the general negotiation; but the Elector *Palatine* to remain in poſſeſſion of the *Upper Palatinate*, *&c.* the garriſons of the *States* to remain in *Huy*, *Liege*, and *Bonne*, till otherwiſe agreed with the Emperor and Empire.

30, 31, 32. The farther demands on either ſide ſhall not interrupt the ceſſation of arms; the other Allies being allowed to make farther demands at the general congreſs.

33, 34. The negotiation ſhall be finiſhed in two months, and in the mean time a ceſſation of arms be made.

35. Upon the ratification of theſe articles the *French* King ſhall evacuate *Namur*, *Mons*, *Charleroy*, *Luxemburg*, *Condé*, *Tournay*, *Maubeuge*, *Newport*, *Tournes*, and *Ypres*, and raze the fortifications of *Dunkirk*.

36. The *French* to execute what has been ſtipulated, with reſpect to the other Allies, within two months after the concluſion of the treaty.

37. And if he executes all that is abovementioned, and the whole Monarchy of *Spain* ſhall be delivered up to *Charles* III. as is ſtipulated within the limited time, then the ceſſation of arms ſhall continue till the ratification of the peace.

38. All this ſhall ſerve as the foundation and baſis of the enſuing treaties of peace.

39. The ratification of the preliminary articles to be performed by the *French* King, the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and the *States*, before the 15th of *June*, and by the Emperor by the 1ſt of *July*, and what is ſtipulated in favour of each of the Allies reſpectively, to be ſet down as ſoon as they have ſettled the preliminaries.

40. The congreſs to begin the 20th of *June* at the *Hague*, and, to prevent diſputes about the ceremonial, no Ambaſſador ſhall take upon him his character till the day of the ſigning of the peace. *Lamberti*, Vol. V.

(1) *Rouillé* ſaid, That the *French* King in particular excepted againſt the tenth, eleventh, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-ſeventh. That as to the tenth his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty agreed to the ſame, as far as it concerned the poſſeſſion of *Alſatia*, according to the literal ſenſe of the treaty of *Munſter*; but inſiſted, that *Landau* ſhould be reſtored to him; and, as an equivalent, offered *Old Briſac*; both which places were yielded up to *France* by that treaty. That the moſt Chriſtian King could not conſent to the demoliſhing

709. " and lingering war in *Spain*:" Whereupon the neceſſary reſolutions for the continuance of the war were taken with equal firmneſs and wiſdom.

The ſame night, *Rouillé* being preſſed to declare if he had any ſecret orders tending to peace, made anſwer, " That if the Allies would " content themſelves with the fifth article of " the preliminaries in relation to *Spain*, with- " out inſiſting on the others relating to the de- " livering up of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, he " thought the King, his Maſter, would be in- " duced to depart from the other exceptions a- " bout *Alſatia*, the Duke of *Savoy*, &c." But, the recovery of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy from the Houſe of *Bourbon* being the chief end of the war, and the only means to reſtore and preſerve the balance of *Europe*, the Miniſters of the Allies did not think fit to depart from any one of the articles to ſecure the evacuation of *Spain*; and ſo, the ſame evening, a paſſport was ſent *Rouillé*, for his ſafe return home. On the 9th of *June*, he ſet out from the *Hague*, to imbark at *Rotterdam* for *Antwerp*, from whence he continued his journey to *Paris*. The ſame morning, all the Miniſters of the Allies being deſired to meet in a Congreſs, Monſieur *Van Eſſen*, Preſident of the ſecret affairs, and the Penſionary, communicated to them the reſolution of the *States-General*, gave them a full account of all the ſteps, that had been made in the negotiations, particularly ſince the *French* King had refuſed to agree to the preliminaries; and deſired them to acquaint their Principals with theſe unfair proceedings of *France*, and exhort them to join their beſt efforts againſt an enemy, who could never be brought to reaſon but by force. Count *Zinzendorf* took this opportunity to tell the Deputies of the *States*, " That the Empire, " the Emperor, and King *Charles* III. would " doubtleſs expreſs their ſatisfaction for the " great firmneſs and conſtancy, which their " High Mightineſſes had manifeſted in the " courſe of theſe negotiations." The Duke of *Marlborough* gave the ſame aſſurances on the part of the Queen of *Great-Britain*; as did alſo the reſt of the Miniſters, on the part of their reſpective Maſters; and all ſignified to the Penſionary, how much the Allies were obliged to him, and ſatisfied with the prudence and wiſdom he had expreſſed in the negotiations, which, contrary to the expectation of the enemy, would prove a new cement to the Grand Alliance, and an argument to convince the Allies, that the war was to be proſecuted till *France* was reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to any terms, that the Allies ſhould preſcribe. 1709.

Thus theſe negotiations came ſoon to an end, without producing any ill effect among the Allies; and it now plainly appeared, that the eaſineſs, with which the *French* Miniſters yielded to the preliminaries, was only an artifice to ſlacken the zeal of the Confederates in advancing the campaign, as the leaſt effect it would have: But in that their hopes failed them, for there was no time loſt in preparing to take the field (1). The *States* of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friſeland* having met on the 13th of *June*, *N. S.* ratified the preliminary articles, without regard to that King's refuſal to ſign them; after which, the Aſſembly unanimouſly reſolved to carry on the war with the utmoſt vigour. But, while the generality of people in *Great-Britain*, *Holland*, and *Germany*, expreſſed their reſentment againſt the inſincerity of *France*, that Court made a politic uſe of the very preliminary articles, which were made public in ſeveral languages by the Allies. For, in order to raiſe among his people an indignation againſt thoſe exorbitant demands, and encourage them to bear, with leſs impatience, the burden and calamities of war, the *French* King cauſed circular letters to be ſent to all the Governors of his provinces, the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, and other Prelates of *France*, wherein he inſiſted upon the unreaſonableneſs of the Allies, in requiring his aſſiſtance to dethrone his Grandſon (2).

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moliſhing *Hunningen*, *New Briſac*, and *Fort Lewis*, but agreed to all the other parts of the eleventh article. That the eight and twentieth relating to the places yielded to the Duke of *Savoy* was intirely excepted againſt, and referred to a farther diſcuſſion. That his Majeſty alſo diſliked the whole nine and twentieth article, whereby the Emperor's proceedings againſt the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* were approved, but would have the ſame referred to the negotiations of a general peace, with this proviſo, that the *Upper Palatinate*, and the dignity annexed thereto, ſhould not be confirmed to the Elector *Palatine*; and that the intereſts of the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* ſhould be ſettled in the preliminaries; and, in the laſt place, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty excepted alſo againſt the ſeven and thirtieth article, whereby two months only were allowed for the delivering up of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, which term he would have inlarged, but conſented to recall his own troops from *Spain* within that time.

(1) *Burnet* obſerves on this occaſion, *France* had ſo perfidiouſly broke all their treaties, during this King's Reign, that it was a piece of inexcuſable folly to expect any other from them. In the peace of the *Pyrenees*, where the intereſt of *France* was not ſo deeply engaged, to preſerve *Portugal* from falling under the yoke of *Caſtile*, as it was now to preſerve *Spain* in the hands of a grandſon; after the King had ſworn to give no aſſiſtance to *Portugal*, yet, under the pretence of breaking ſome bodies, he ſuffered them to be entertained by the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador, and ſent *Schomberg* to command that army; pretending he could not hinder one, that was a *German* by birth, to go and ſerve where he pleaſed: Under theſe pretences, he had broke his faith, where the conſideration was not ſo ſtrong, as in the preſent caſe. Thus it was viſible no faith, that King could give, was to be relied on, and that, unleſs *Spain* was reſtored, all would prove a fatal deluſion: Beſides, it came afterwards to be known, that the places in *Brabant* and *Hainault*, commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, would not have been evacuated by him, unleſs he had orders for it from the King of *Spain*, under whom he governed in them; and that was not to be expected. *Burnet*, Vol. II. 529.

(2) Theſe letters were as follows:

Couſin,

The hopes of an approaching peace were ſo generally ſpread in my Kingdom, that, out of regard to the loyalty my people have expreſſed during the whole courſe of my Reign, I think myſelf obliged to give them the comfort of acquainting them with the reaſons, which ſtill hinder their enjoying the repoſe I deſigned to procure them.

In order to reſtore the ſame, I would have accepted conditions very oppoſite to the ſecurity of my frontier provinces; but the more facility and deſire I have ſhewn to diſſipate the umbrages, which my enemies

affect

1709. The people in *France* were much wrought on, by this pretended indignity, offered to their Monarch, to oblige him to force his Grandſon to abandon *Spain*; and even, here in *England*, there wanted not many, who ſaid it was a cruel hardſhip put on the *French* King, to force him into ſuch an unnatural war: But if he was guilty of the injuſtice, of putting him in poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, it was but a reaſonable piece of juſtice, to undo what he himſelf had done: And it was ſo viſible, that King *Philip* was maintained on that Throne, by the Councils and Aſſiſtance of *France*, that no doubt was made, but that, if the King of *France* had really deſigned it, he could eaſily have obliged him to relinquiſh all pretenſions to that Crown. 1709.

Chamillard *in diſgrace.* The breaking off the negotiation of peace was ſoon attended with the diſgrace of Monſieur *de Chamillard*, the *French* King's prime Miniſter, and even with ſome coldneſs towards Madam *de Maintenon*, who were both ſaid to have given larger inſtructions to *Rouillé* and *Torcy*, than either the King intended, or were thought proper by the young Princes of the blood (1).

Endeavours of France *to draw off the Duke of* Savoy *inſufficient.* On the other hand, it is obſervable, that, while the terms of peace were debating, both the *French* Court and the Pope were uſing all imaginable endeavours to draw off the Duke of *Savoy* from the Grand Alliance; the diſcovery of which was owing to the Duke's Miniſter at the *Hague*, and came very opportunely to expoſe the double-dealing of the Court of *France*, who had the modeſty to reject the very article of the preliminaries, by which the Allies ſtipulated a barrier for the Duke of *Savoy*, and, at the ſame time, were offering him much greater advantages to induce him to leave the peace of *Europe* to their mercy. But theſe artifices were defeated by the penetration and firmneſs of Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, who treated the peace, as they managed the war, and, by their cool temper and open conduct, baffled the ſtratagems both of the *French* Miniſters and Generals. And it is certain, that the *French*, who propoſed to divide the Allies, by ſetting on foot a negotiation of peace, were themſelves caught in the preliminaries, which were ſo wiſely contrived for the particular ſatisfaction of each of the Confederates, for their common ſecurity, that they became the more firmly united by this very tranſaction; and, being juſtly incenſed at the unfair proceedings of *France*, reſolved to improve their late advantages, by a vigorous proſecution of the war.

The

affect to entertain of my power and deſigns, the more they have multiplied their pretenſions; inſomuch that by degrees, adding new demands to the firſt, and making uſe, either of the Duke of *Savoy*'s name, or of the intereſt of the Princes of the Empire, they have at once let me ſee, that they had no other intention, than to increaſe, at the expence of my Crown, the *States* bordering upon *France*, and to open to themſelves eaſy ways to penetrate into the heart of my Kingdom, as often as it would ſuit with their intereſt to begin a new war. Nor would the war I now maintain, and was willing to have ended, have ceaſed, had I conſented to the propoſals they have made to me. For they fixed within two months the term, wherein I was, on my part, to execute the treaty; and, during that interval, they pretended to oblige me to deliver up to them the places they demanded of me in the *Low-Countries* and *Alſace*, and to raze thoſe, on the demoliſhing whereof they inſiſted; refuſing, on their part, to enter into any other engagements, than the ſuſpenſion of all acts of hoſtility, till the firſt day of *Auguſt*, and reſerving to themſelves the liberty of acting then by force of arms, in caſe the King of *Spain*, my Grandſon, perſiſted in the reſolution of defending the Crown God has given him, and rather to periſh, than abandon faithful people, who, for nine years, have acknowledged him as their lawful King. Such a ſuſpenſion (more dangerous than war itſelf) would rather put off than forward peace. For it would not only have been neceſſary to continue the ſame expence for the maintaining of my armies, but, as ſoon as the term of the ſuſpenſion of arms would have expired, my enemies would have attacked me with the new advantages they would have taken from the towns, into which I ſhould have introduced them myſelf, at the ſame time, that I ſhould have demoliſhed thoſe, that are a bulwark to ſome of my frontier provinces. I paſs over in ſilence the propoſals they have inſinuated to me, of joining my forces with thoſe of the Confederates, and to compel my Grandſon to deſcend the Throne, if he did not voluntarily conſent to live, for the future, without Dominions, and to reduce himſelf to the condition of a private man. It is againſt humanity to believe, that they had even the thought of engaging me in ſuch an Alliance with them; but although the tenderneſs I have for my people be as hearty as for my own children; although I bear a part in all the ills, which the war makes ſuch faithful ſubjects undergo; and I have ſhewn to all *Europe*, that I ſincerely deſired to make them enjoy peace; I am perſuaded they would themſelves oppoſe the acceptance of it on conditions equally oppoſite to juſtice, and to the honour of the *French* name.

It is therefore my intention, that all thoſe, who, for ſo many years paſt, have given me demonſtrations of their zeal, by contributing with their labours, fortunes, and blood, towards the maintaining ſo heavy a war, may know, that the only value my enemies pretended to ſet on the offers, I was willing to make to them, was a ſuſpenſion of arms; which, being ſtinted to the ſpace of two months, would have procured to them more conſiderable advantages, than they may expect from the confidence they put in their troops. As I repoſe mine in the protection of God, hoping that the purity of my intentions will draw the divine bleſſing upon my arms, I write to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of my Kingdom, to excite more and more the fervency of prayer in their reſpective dioceſes: And at the ſame time I order you to acquaint my people, within the extent of your Government, that they ſhould enjoy peace, if it had been in my power, as it was in my will, to procure them a Good they wiſh for with reaſon, but which muſt be obtained by new efforts, ſince the immenſe conditions, I would have granted, are uſeleſs towards the reſtoring of the public tranquillity. I therefore leave it to your prudence to make my intentions known in ſuch a manner, as you ſhall judge convenient. And ſo I pray God to have you in his holy keeping. *Lamberti*, Vol. IV.

(1) It was reported, That the Duke of *Burgundy* preſſed the making a peace, as neceſſary to prevent the ruin of *France*, while the Dauphin preſſed more vehemently the continuance of the war, and the ſupporting of the King of *Spain:* It was ſaid, that Madam *Maintenon* appeared leſs at Court; *Chamillard*, who had moſt of her favour, was diſmiſſed: But it is not certain, what influence that had on the public Councils; and the conduct of this whole negotiation ſhewed plainly, that there was nothing deſigned in it, but to divide, or to deceive the Confederates; and, if poſſible, to gain a ſeparate peace for *France*, and then to let the Allies conquer *Spain* as they could. But the Allies kept firm to one another, and the treachery of the *French* appeared ſo viſible, even to the people in *Holland*, that all the hopes they had, of inflaming them againſt their Magiſtrates, likewiſe failed. *Burnet*, Vol. II. 530.

1709. *Campaign in Flanders.* Brodrick. Cond of the D. of *Marlborough.* Hiſt. of *Eur.* Burnet.

The Duke of *Marlborough* ſet out from the *Hague* ſoon after *Rouillé*, to put himſelf at the head of his army. Prince *Eugene* had abſolutely refuſed to go into *Spain*. There was nothing to fear in *Italy*. The army, on the *Rhine*, was formed with great difficulty, and very late. So the Prince choſe to remain in *Flanders*, and ſecond the Duke of *Marlborough*'s deſigns. On the other hand, *Villars* was ſent to command the *French* army in *Flanders*, of whom the King of *France* ſaid, He was never beaten; *Harcourt* commanded on the *Rhine*, and the Duke of *Berwick* in *Dauphiné*. As the Duke of *Marlborough* had truſted little to the ſhews of peace, he had taken care to have every thing in readineſs to open the campaign, as ſoon as he ſaw what might be expected from the Court of *France*. By the 21ſt of *June*, the Confederate troops formed an army of a hundred and ten thouſand men near *Menin*; and, two days after, the right wing under Prince *Eugene*, and the left under the Duke of *Marlborough*, marched and incamped in the plain of *Liſle*, on both ſides the *Upper-Deule*. About the ſame time, the enemy's forces were marching from all quarters to form their army, under Marſhal *Villars*, in the plain of *Lens*, where he began to caſt up intrenchments to cover his troops. Upon advice from *Arras* that *Villars* had poſitive orders to venture a battle, the Lieutenant-Generals *Dopf* and *Cadogan* were ſent out with detachments, to take a near view of the enemy; and, upon their report of the almoſt inſuperable difficulties that muſt attend the attacking the *French* troops in their advantageous and fortified camp, the Confederate Generals reſolved to lay ſiege to *Tournay* (1). The conqueſt of this place, notwithſtanding the ſtrong fortifications, appeared the more eaſy, becauſe *Villars*, at the approach of the Confederate army, had unadviſedly weakened the garriſon. It ſeems, the train of artillery was by a feint brought up the *Lys* to *Courtray*; and therefore it was believed, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s deſign was upon *Ypres*, and, there being no apprehenſion of any attempt upon *Tournay*, no particular care was taken of it; ſo that, on the 27th of *June*, it was ſuddenly inveſted, and the train was ſent back to *Ghent*, and brought up the *Scheld* to *Tournay*. This enterprize was managed with ſo much ſecrecy, that the enemy could not have notice of the deſigns of the Allies, nor time to reinforce the garriſon, which conſiſted only of twelve weak battalions, and four ſquadrons of dragoons, under the command of Lieutenant-General *de Surville*. Upon the Confederate army's coming up to the town, the Duke of *Marlborough* made a detachment, under the Prince of *Naſſau*, to ſurprize *St. Amand*, a poſt very neceſſary to cover the ſiege, and another to take poſſeſſion of *Mortagne*, a poſt, where the *Scarpe* falls into the *Scheld*; both which were ſoon effected, the *French* troops retiring upon the approach of our men. The Governor of *Tournay*, not a little ſurprized to ſee the town inveſted, which was unprovided with neceſſaries for a long ſiege, rifled great part of the corn of the inhabitants, and ſent out a party of *French* dragoons to bring in the cattle of the neighbourhood, who were moſt of them cut off, or taken priſoners, and the cattle, to the number of above ſeven hundred, were generouſly reſtored to the peaſants. At the ſame time, *Villars*, being ſenſible of his miſtake, in weakening the garriſon of *Tournay*, ordered ſeven or eight thouſand horſe from *Mons* and *Condé* to advance, and endeavour to throw themſelves into the town; but ſuch meaſures were taken to prevent them, that they were forced to retire, without attempting any thing. 1709.

Tournay inveſted.

On the 3d of *July*, all the troops appointed for the ſiege had taken their poſts round the town, from *Cerque* above the town, to the caſtle of *Conſtantine* below it; and, the next day, the line of circumvallation was begun on this ſide the *Scheld*. In the mean while, upon advice, that a detachment of ten thouſand men from the enemy's army was marched towards *Warneton*, Lieutenant-General *Wilks* was detached thither with two thouſand five hundred grenadiers, and thirty ſquadrons. But, before he could arrive, a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major, and about ſeven hundred men had yielded themſelves priſoners of war. All the neceſſary diſpoſitions being made for opening the trenches, and the bridges of communication being laid over the *Scheld*, the Generals made the following diſpoſitions for the attacks of the city and citadel: That there ſhould be three attacks; one againſt the citadel, and one on each ſide of the river againſt the town, of which the principal was to be commanded by General *Lottum*, againſt the citadel, on the ſide of the gate of *Valenciennes*: The ſecond by General *Fagel*, againſt the gate of *Marville*; and the third by General *Schuylemburgh*, againſt the horn-work of the gate of the ſeven fountains. Sixty battalions were appointed for the trenches; three *Imperialiſts*, ſeven *Engliſh*, three *Danes*, ſeven *Pruſſians*, three *Saxons*, twenty-three *Dutch*, five *Hanoverians*, three *Palatines*, four *Heſſians*, two *Wirtemburghers*; and ſix ſquadrons of the troops of the ſeveral nations were to attend the uſual ſervices of horſe in a ſiege.

On the 4th of *July*, the enemy endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of *Commines* and *Fort Rouge*, in the former of which places was a Major with a hundred and fifty men, and in the latter a Captain with fifty, who were twice attacked with great vigour; but they defended themſelves ſo bravely, that, the Confederate troops coming up in time to their relief, the enemy not only retired with precipitation, but abandoned the poſt of *Warneton*. On the 7th, at night, the trenches were opened before *Tournay* at the three attacks, with the loſs of about thirty

(1) *Tournay* is one of the moſt antient Cities of *Flanders*. It had belonged time out of mind to *France*, till in 1513 it was taken by King *Henry* VIII. of *England*. It was ſoon after reſtored by the intrigues of Cardinal *Wolſey*. The *Spaniards* took it in 1618, and kept it till 1667, when it was retaken by *Lewis* XIV. This Prince had ſpared no coſt to fortify it, and had made it one of the ſtrongeſt places in the *Netherlands*: It is very advantageouſly ſituated, of a great compaſs, and divided by the *Scheld*, as the army, that beſieges it, muſt alſo be, which is always very incommodious and dangerous: See the plan of the Town and Citadel, which, for the Reader's ſatisfaction, is here annexed. *Tournay* is a Biſhoprick under the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, about fifteen miles Eaſt of *Liſle*, twenty North-Eaſt of *Douay*, thirty-two almoſt Weſt of *Mons*, and thirty South of *Ghent*.

1709. thirty men killed, and as many wounded. The next day the trenches were relieved about four in the afternoon; but the violent rains, which fell in the night, very much incommoded the Beſiegers, and retarded their works. On the 9th the Beſiegers began to erect a battery. The ſame day two *French* Officers, who attempted to get into the town, were taken priſoners; and, in the night, the trenches were carried on (notwithſtanding the wet weather, and the continual fire of the Beſieged) with the loſs of thirty men killed or wounded. The 10th thirty veſſels, laden with artillery and ammunition, arrived near the bridges of communication. The ſame day the Beſieged made a ſally with five hundred men, but immediately retired at the approach of the Confederates. The 12th they made another ſally by the *Valenciennes* gate; but General *Lottum* had diſpoſed all things at his attack with ſuch regularity, that the enemy were immediately repulſed with the loſs of near twenty men. On the 13th the Beſiegers began at the attack of Count *Lottum*, and fired from two batteries of twelve pieces of cannon each with ſo much ſucceſs, that they ſoon diſmounted the guns of the enemy on that ſide, and beat down a wind-mill, from which they had very much diſturbed the Allies in their trenches. The 14th they began at the ſame attack to fire from another battery to break open ſluices, and the ſame day the batteries, at the attack of General *Fagel*, began to fire; as did, on the 15th, thoſe at the attack of General *Schuylemburgh*. The reſt of the cannon and mortars were mounting on ſeveral batteries, and were in a condition to fire the 16th. The ſame day the Beſiegers at Count *Lottum*'s attack began to batter the wall, which made the communication between the Town and Citadel. On the 19th they fired from a battery of eleven pieces of cannon at General *Fagel*'s attack, in order to inlarge the breach at the attack of Count *Lottum*, and into the covered way, on the ſame ſide from the *Scheld* to the Citadel, which would very much facilitate the ſucceſs of that attack: And, on the 21ſt, they made themſelves maſters of the whole counterſcarp, at General *Fagel*'s attack, and fired into the covered way on the other ſide of the *Scheld* before the attack of Count *Lottum*, with ſo much ſucceſs, that the Beſieged were forced to quit that poſt. The attack of General *Schuylemburgh* was likewiſe by this time very forward; for they made ſuch an inceſſant fire from their batteries, that, on the 22d, the breaches in the horn-work, the ravelin, and the wall of the town, were almoſt in a condition to be mounted, and, at the ſame time, the ſaps were carried to the wall of the ditch. However they continued to fire from all the batteries to inlarge the breaches, inſomuch that General *Schuylemburgh*, on the 27th, cauſed the ravelin and half-moon at his attack to be ſtormed; and, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the enemy, and their great fire, the Allies lodged themſelves thereon, and perfected their lodgment, by favour of the continual fire they made from the cannon and mortars. On the 28th, in the morning, the Beſieged made a vigorous ſally, in order to retake the works they had loſt the night before, but met with ſo warm a reception, that they were forced to retire with conſiderable loſs: And, in the evening, the Beſiegers having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general ſtorm; and, the enemy fearing to 1709. be taken ſword in hand, they beat a parley, and deſired to capitulate for the town. Where- *The town capitulates.* upon hoſtages were exchanged, and, after ſome debates, the capitulation was agreed to.

Thus, after twenty-one days of open trenches, the Allies reduced a place, which the *French* thought impregnable, and that in the ſight of a numerous army of the enemy, who made no attempt to relieve it. And the conqueſt was ſo much the more advantageous, that the loſs of the Allies was leſs than could have been expected, conſidering the ſtrength and importance of the place.

The *French*, according to the capitulation, *and ſurrenders.* ſurrendered one gate the 30th of *July*. The next day *Surville*, the *French* Governor, was entertained at dinner by Prince *Eugene*; and, in the afternoon, retired into the Citadel, which his garriſon of about four thouſand men had already entered, and the Earl of *Albemarle*, who was appointed Governor of *Tournay*, took poſſeſſion of the town. The time agreed on for evacuating the place expiring that night, the Allies began to work on the approaches to the Citadel. On the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, in the evening, the *French* began the firſt act of hoſtility, and fired from the Citadel with cannon and ſmall ſhot upon Count *Lottum*'s trenches and batteries; from whence they were immediately anſwered, and the fire continued very hot on both ſides the whole night. The ſame day the diſpoſitions were made for an attack, the new lines of circumvallation about the Citadel almoſt finiſhed, and orders given for levelling thoſe about the town.

In the mean time, *Surville* having propoſed to *Articles for the time of ſurrendering the citadel.* the Confederate Generals the appointing two perſons to treat about the ſurrender of the Citadel, Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* nominated *de Lalo* (a Brigadier in the *Britiſh* troops) on their parts; and *Surville* named the Marquiſs *de Ravignan* (a Brigadier in the *French* ſervice) who, having conferred, drew up and ſubſcribed articles for ſettling the time of ſurrendering the Citadel.

Theſe articles were ſent to the *French* Court *The French King refuſes to ratify the articles.* for their approbation, and an anſwer was to be returned in ſeven days. But upon this occaſion the *French* gave a freſh inſtance of their inſincerity, and manifeſted to the world, that their propoſals for delivering up the Citadel of *Tournay* was but an artifice to gain time, and amuſe the Allies. For the *French* King would not ratify theſe articles, but upon condition, that there ſhould be a ceſſation of arms in general in the *Netherlands* till the 5th of *September*, which the Allies would not conſent to; and therefore the ſiege was carried on with all poſſible vigour, notwithſtanding the great diſadvantages, which the Confederate troops lay under, by reaſon of the great number of the enemies mines. From the 8th of *Auguſt*, the day on which the Marquiſs *de Ravignan* returned from the *French* Court, to the 20th of the ſame month, the enemy ſprung ſixteen mines, which coſt the Beſiegers a great number of men, and very much retarded their approaches. On the 20th the Beſieged ſprung a mine with ſo great execution, that part of the wall from the town to the Citadel, two branches of the trenches, a parallel, two ſaps, and two of the Beſiegers mines were ruined; and a Captain, two Enſigns,

709. ſigns, and nineteen ſoldiers killed. The 22d the miners of the Allies diſcovered the branch of another mine; and, as they were buſy in finding out the mine itſelf, they heard the enemy working on a great gallery. Whereupon a Lieutenant and ſixteen Grenadiers were ordered to diſlodge them; but, the Lieutenant being killed at the firſt onſet, his men were diſheartened and retired. Immediately after another Officer, with a freſh detachment, was ordered to go upon that ſervice; but, the enemy throwing a great number of grenadoes, and making a terrible ſmoke, the Beſiegers were forced to retire, to prevent being ſuffocated. The 23d the Miners, ſupported by a Lieutenant and twelve Grenadiers, were at work to pierce through a traverſe croſs the gallery they had diſcovered; but the enemy threw in a great quantity of ſtraw, hemp, and powder, which, being ſet on fire, occaſioned ſuch a ſmoke, that the Officer and eight Grenadiers were ſtifled. All this while the miners of the Beſiegers frequently met with thoſe of the enemy, and ingaged them with piſtol and bayonnet. On the 26th the enemy ſprung a mine, which killed above four hundred of the Confederate troops, who, notwithſtanding that loſs, and the great fire of the Beſieged, lodged themſelves that night near the palliſadoes at General *Schuylemburgh*'s attack. On the 29th Monſieur *Du Mey*, the chief Director of the attacks, was mortally wounded. That day and the next the Beſiegers made a fierce fire upon the Citadel, and threw abundance of bombs, which did great execution.

The citadel offers to capitulate.

On the 30th, at ſix in the morning, the enemy beat a parley, deſiring to capitulate; and, hoſtages being exchanged, Monſieur *Dolet* and the Marquiſs *de Ravignan*, both Major-Generals, and four other Officers, came out of the Citadel; and Major-General *Hondorff*, with five Officers more on the Beſiegers ſide, were ſent in. *Dolet*, and his company, were brought to the Earl of *Albemarle*'s Houſe, where the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* were met to receive their propoſals. They offered to ſurrender the place, and delivered a project of a capitulation, conſiſting of eleven articles, the chief whereof were: "That the Chapel ſhould not be made "uſe of for the exerciſe of any other Religion "but the *Roman* Catholic, upon any pretext "whatſoever: That they ſhould have twelve "pieces of cannon and ſix mortars, with ammu-"nition for twenty charges, and horſes and "waggons, and other neceſſaries for that pur-"poſe, to be furniſhed by the Beſiegers: That "the garriſon ſhould march out, drums beating, "and colours flying, with the other uſual marks "of honour: That they ſhould have four co-"vered waggons; and that the priſoners ſhould "be returned on either ſide, and no deſerters "ſtopped."

The articles rejected.

Dolet and the other *French* hoſtages having made theſe offers, they were told by the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, that they could not allow of any other conditions, but that the garriſon ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Upon this they returned into the Citadel; and, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the hoſtilities were renewed. The Confederate Generals inſiſted upon having the garriſon made priſoners of war, as well for the honour of the arms of the Allies, as in return for the King's having refuſed to agree to the former capitulation, which was declared to the *French* Officers. Beſides, during the ceſſation, the Allies had confirmed acounts, that the enemy owned they were obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions; which they did in leſs than three days, upon the following conditions: "That all the officers and ſoldiers ſhould retain "only their ſwords and baggage, and, leaving "their colours and arms behind, were permitted "to return to *France*, upon condition that they "ſhould not ſerve, until they were actually ex-"changed againſt the like number of officers "and ſoldiers of the Allies; and thoſe taken "at *Warneton* were immediately to be ſent back "as part of that exchange." After this conqueſt, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* reſolved to leave nothing unattempted, that might tend to the improvement of their late ſucceſſes; and therefore concerted the neceſſary meaſures for beſieging of *Mons*. The army, on the 3d of *September*, paſſed the *Scheld*, and incamped the next day at *Breffeul*, the Hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel* (who was detached the day before with four thouſand foot and ſixty ſquadrons) incamping at ſome diſtance. The 5th, the troops continued their march, notwithſtanding a violent rain. The Prince of *Heſſe* paſſed the *Haiſne* in the afternoon, and the grand army incamped at *Siraut*, within a league of that river. The 6th, in the morning, the army was again in motion; and, in the march, the Duke of *Marlborough* received advice, that, the Prince of *Heſſe* having made the diſpoſitions for attacking the *French* lines from the *Haiſne* to the *Sambre*, three regiments of dragoons had abandoned the ſame. The *French* deſigned to defend thoſe lines; for the Chevalier *de Luxemburg*, with a great detachment, arrived ſoon after to ſuſtain the regiments of dragoons, and was followed by Marſhal *Villars* in perſon. But, ſeeing that their troops had quitted their poſt, they marched back to *Quievrain*, whither the whole *French* army marched from their lines behind the *Scarpe*. On the other hand, the Prince of *Heſſe*, having taken poſſeſſion of the other lines already mentioned, incamped with his right at *Jenappe*, and his left to *Tremiers*, whereby *Mons* was in a manner blocked up, and the army under the Duke of *Marlborough* incamped at *Havre*, and that under Prince *Eugene*, at *St. Denis*.

1709. *The citadel ſurrenders.*

Motions of the two armies.

On the 7th of *September*, *Boufflers* arrived in the *French* camp, and joined *Villars*. The ſame day the Duke of *Marlborough* received advice, about noon, that the *French* were marching to attack the body under the command of the Prince of *Heſſe*. Whereupon, orders were given to the army to decamp from *Havre*, and leave their baggage behind, and their tents ſtanding. The army having made a halt on the hills of *Belian* (where the Prince of *Heſſe* had his quarters) the Generals received farther intelligence, that the *French* had not paſſed the defiles of *Waſſne*, but were incamped near *Quievrain*; whereupon the Confederate army continued in that camp the following night, but in order of battle. The Duke of *Marlborough* being informed, that the garriſon of *Mons* conſiſted only of nine weak *Spaniſh*, and two *Bavarian* battalions, beſides the dragoons of *Paſteur*, conjectured, that *Villar*'s chief deſign was to oblige the Confederates to draw all their forces into the plain between *Belian* and *Tremiers*, that he might

1709. might have an opportunity to throw reinforcements into *Mons:* To prevent which, the Duke ſent ſome troops towards *St. Guiſlain.* The 8th, Prince *Eugene* and the Duke ſpent the whole day in viewing the ground between the two armies; and, the 9th in the morning, the *French* made a motion, as if they would march towards *Boſſu*; but, the Duke of *Marlborough* being advanced with ſome other Generals to take a narrow view of their army, they ſoon perceived, that the motion of their left was only a feint to cover the march of their right, which filed off at the ſame time. The Duke, being unwilling to loſe a moment, ordered his army to march by his left; by which motion the two armies came ſo near, a little after two, that they cannonaded each other till the evening. They continued all the night in the ſame ſituation; the *French* being poſted behind the woods of *la Merte* and *Taiſniere*, near *Malplacquet*, where they intrenched themſelves the 10th. And the Confederate troops lay with the right near *Sart* and *Bleron*, and the left on the edge of the wood of *Lagniere*, the head-quarters being near the center of *Blaregnies.*

The Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, and the Prince Royal of *Pruſſia* paſſed the night with Monſieur *Goſlinga*, that they might be ready, if the enemy ſhould make any attempt. But though they were much ſuperior in number, and more eſpecially in infantry, yet they were ſo far from deſigning to attack the Allies, that, on the contrary, they begun to fortify their camp (though it was by nature very ſtrong and advantageous) with all the induſtry and application imaginable. Beſides the thick hedges, which, like a chain, ran along their whole camp, they made deep lines to cover their foot; and, on the right, caſt up three intrenchments one behind the other, though the acceſs was otherwiſe very difficult, becauſe of a marſhy ground, which lay before them. Their center, which was in a little plain, was likewiſe ſecured by ſeveral intrenchments, defended in convenient places with good artillery; and, beſides all this, they cut down a great number of trees, which they laid acroſs the ways, to obſtruct the paſſage of the Confederate horſe. They alſo cut down the hedges behind their lines, for the more eaſy march of their cavalry to ſupport their infantry, as occaſion might require; ſo that their camp might not be very improperly called a regular fortified Citadel.

Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had, in concert with Monſieur *Goſlinga*, taken the reſolution to attack the *French*, finding, on the 10th, that they had made uſe of the preceding night to improve the advantage of their ſituation, reſolved only, without altering their deſign, to put off the execution of it, till they were reinforced by eighteen battalions, which had been employed in the ſiege of *Tournay*. To theſe orders were immediately diſpatched, that they ſhould march, with all poſſible expedition, to join the grand army; which they did that very night, under the command of Count *Lottum* and Baron *Schuylemburgh*. The ſame evening alſo a detachment from the blockade from *Mons*, under the command of Lieutenant-General *Dedem*, took *St. Guiſlain* ſword in hand, and made the garriſon, which conſiſted of two hundred men, priſoners of war.

The troops, that came from *Tournay*, having, on the 11th of *September*, in the morning, 1709. joined the right wing, over-againſt the wood by *Sart*, where the enemy's left was poſted, Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Field-deputies, rode together along the line between the two armies, and ſeveral men were in their preſence killed by the enemy's cannon.

Battle of Blaregnies or Malplaquet.

The Confederates had begun to work on their batteries at break of day. They raiſed one of twenty-eight pieces of cannon on the left, another of forty in the center, and the reſt of the artillery was diſtributed on the right. A very thick fog, which laſted till half an hour paſt ſeven, had very much facilitated their work; but then it cleared up, and gave the two armies a perfect view of each other.

This being the poſture of the *French* and Confederate forces, a little after eight o'clock, the ſignal for the attack being given by a diſcharge of fifty pieces of cannon, and the cannonading continuing very briſk on both ſides, Prince *Eugene* advanced with his right into the wood of *Sart*, and eighty-ſix battalions of that wing, commanded by General *Schuylemburgh*, the Duke of *Argyle*, and other Generals, and twenty two other battalions, under the command of Count *Lottum*, attacked the enemy with ſuch bravery, that, notwithſtanding the barricadoes of felled trees, and other impediments they met in their way, after an hour's reſiſtance, they drove the *French* out of their intrenchments in the woods of *Sart* and *Taiſniere*. The deſign of the attack was to drive the enemy out of the wood, and then to attack them in the flank of their intrenchments on the plain; which ſucceeded, and all the enemy's infantry of the left wing were ruined. General *Withers*, with nineteen battalions, attacked the enemy in another intrenchment beyond the woods of *Taiſniere* and *Great Lagniere* with the like vigour and good ſucceſs. Thirty-ſix *Dutch* battalions, commanded by the Prince of *Naſſau Friſeland* (or *Orange*) and Baron *Fagel*, who attacked the enemy's right, poſted in the wood of *La Merte*, and in an opening, covered with three intrenchments, met with greater reſiſtance, and loſt abundance of men, before they could penetrate into the intrenchments. The fight was here deſperate; but the *Dutch* ſoon drove the enemy from off their advantageous ground into their intrenchments, taking their colours. They likewiſe drove them out of their firſt intrenchment; but, as they were marching on to the ſecond, they were charged with great vivacity by the enemy, and obliged to retire to their former poſts. The Duke of *Marlborough* then ordered *Withers* to march with the body under his immediate direction to ſuſtain them; but upon notice, that *Withers* was actually engaged with the enemy, and that all things went well on the right, the Duke thought fit rather to preſs the advantages there, than to hazard a new motion towards the left in the heat of the action. As ſoon as the enemy's left went to retire and draw off their cannon, the Duke of *Marlborough* commanded the Earl of *Orkney*, with fifteen battalions, to attack them, and force them from their intrenchments in the plain between the woods of *Sart* and *Janſart*, with directions, if he ſucceeded, to poſt himſelf there, and cover the horſe, as they ſhould file off through the woods into the plain, in order to charge the enemy's cavalry, which were there drawn up.

1709. This was executed with ſuch reſolution and ſucceſs, that, after a ſhort diſpute, the enemy quitted thoſe intrenchments, which gave the horſe an opportunity to enter them. And though the firſt ſquadrons, led by the Prince of *Heſſe*, had great difficulty to form themſelves, and were put into ſome diſorder by the *French* King's houſhold troops; yet being immediately rallied by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and ſeconded by the ſquadrons of Prince *Eugene*'s army, they advanced together into the plain. Being there covered by their own foot, and having formed themſelves into very good order, they charged the enemy's cavalry, who being ſoon broke and defeated, their whole army fell into diſorder, and retired towards the plains of *Bavay*, leaving ſome of their cannon behind them. The Allies made a good uſe of the beginning of the victory, and all their troops moved on with freſh reſolution. General *Vink* having, with the horſe, ſurrounded ſeveral battalions of the enemy's right, ſummoned them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war; but the *French*, being covered by a moraſs, made their retreat along the edge of a wood: Three regiments of *Daniſh* cavalry, falling at the ſame time on the enemy, made a terrible ſlaughter among them, till, having gained a ſecond wood, they found means to eſcape. Eighteen ſquadrons, being detached to endeavour to diſperſe them in their retreat towards *Quievrain*, met their whole left wing on this ſide the little river *Quaiſnau*, conſiſting of about an hundred ſquadrons, commanded by *Boufflers* in perſon; and perceiving only at firſt the enemy's rear, poſted at the corner of a wood, the dragoons made up to them, and drove them without reſiſtance; but Colonel *Lippe*, and a Cornet, advancing too far, were taken, without being perceived by their own men. The wood being forced, the eighteen ſquadrons advanced into the plain; but, perceiving before them the enemy's whole left wing in three columns, one of which retreated in good order, the other two in ſome confuſion, they made a ſhort halt, and were ſomewhat ſurprized to ſee the enemy face about, and draw up in order of battle. However, this ſmall body of the Confederate horſe kept their ground, and poſted themſelves upon an eminence, with the wood of *Elonge* on their right, expecting to be attacked; but they immediately perceived, that the enemy made a ſtand, with no other deſign than to paſs a rivulet, that was in their way to a defile, leading them to *Bavay*, which they gained, before the Allies, who purſued them full gallop, could come up with them. However, the Allies followed the chace as far as the village of *Quievrain*, where the *French* had a brigade of foot, who obliged them to ſlacken their pace. Upon which they thought fit to give over the purſuit, and the enemy marched unmoleſted to *Bavay*. The reſt of their broken army retired in great confuſion, ſome to *Maubeuge* and *Valenciennes*, and others to *Condé*, leaving the Allies in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, ſixteen of their cannon, twenty colours, twenty-ſix ſtandards, and other indiſputable marks of a victory; not to mention a great number of priſoners. Some of theſe were taken in the action, others in the purſuit, and the far greater number the next morning in *Bavay*, and other neighbouring places, either wearineſs or wounds not permitting them to follow the groſs of their army; which, having that night paſſed the rivulet of *Renelle*, incamped with their right at *Queſnoy*, extending their left towards *Valenciennes*. 1709.

The Confederate Generals, upon viewing, after the battle, the advantageous poſts, from whence they had driven the enemy, were themſelves aſtoniſhed to ſee what difficulties they had ſurmounted. And, indeed, all the troops, as well officers as ſoldiers, ſhewed as great reſolution, bravery, and firmneſs in this obſtinate action, as ever was known. The enemy, whether encouraged by their intrenchments, or animated by the ſhame of their former defeats, fought with a bravery beyond what was expected from them, from half an hour paſt eight in the morning, till half an hour paſt two in the afternoon. They were, however, at length forced to yield to the ſuperior courage of the Allies, whoſe Generals, the Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, Count *Tilly*, and the Prince of *Naſſau*, were, during the whole fight, continually at the head of their troops in the hotteſt of the fire. And Monſieur *Goſlinga*, one of the Field-deputies of the *States*, was not wanting to animate the ſoldiers by his example. Great numbers fell in this bloody action; and the Allies owned, that they had above eighteen thouſand killed or wounded (1). Amongſt the ſlain were ſeveral Officers of diſtinction, particularly General Count *Lottum*, General *Tettau*, of the *Pruſſians*; Count *Oxenſtiern*, Lieutenant-General; the Lord *Tullibardine*, eldeſt ſon of the Duke of *Athol*, and Colonel of a regiment of foot in the ſervice of the *States*. Among the wounded were Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* ſlightly on the head, as was alſo Brigadier *May* on the ſame place; Lieutenant-Generals *Spar*, *Wackerbaert*, and *Hamilton*, and the firſt mortally; Brigadier *Cronſtrom*, Count *Oxenſtiern*'s Adjutant, dangerouſly; and Monſieur *Duyts*, Adjutant to the Prince of *Orange*. His Highneſs himſelf had two horſes killed under him, but eſcaped unhurt;

(1) In the army of Prince EUGENE:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Imperialiſts,	190	328
Danes,	534	750
Saxons,	196	510
Palatines,	86	273
Dutch,	711	888
Heſſians,	135	392
Wirtembergers,	132	290
Total	1984	3431

In the Duke of MARLBOROUGH's army.

	Killed.	Wounded.
Britiſh,	575	1281
Pruſſians,	309	894
Hanoverians,	298	1119
Dutch,	2381	6081
Total	3563	9375
Total of both armies	5547	12806

1709. hurt; as did alſo the Duke of *Argyle*, though he received ſeveral muſket-ſhots through his clothes and perriwig. Brigadier *Lalo*, a *French* Refugee, in great favour and eſteem with the Generals; Sir *Thomas Pendergaſt*, Colonel of a regiment of foot; Colonel *Rivett*, of the guards; Colonel *Cranſtone*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Arundel*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Bethel*, were alſo reckoned among the ſlain; Lieutenant-General *Webb*, in the beginning of the action, received a very dangerous wound by a muſket-ball, that lodged itſelf near the groin; Lieutenant-Colonel *Ramſey*, Major *Laſhley*, and Major *Row* died of their wounds; but Lieutenant-Colonel *Farmer*, Major *Chivers*, and ſeveral others of inferior rank, ſurvived theirs.

The *French* were very induſtrious in leſſening and concealing their loſs from the public. But ſome private accounts from their army owned, that they had about five hundred and forty Officers killed on the ſpot, and one thouſand and ſixty-eight wounded, beſides three hundred and one taken priſoners; and the number of their private men killed, wounded, or taken, was modeſtly computed at fifteen thouſand (1). 1709.

This was the moſt deſperate and bloody attack, that had been fought in the memory of man; and both our Generals were very much blamed for throwing away ſo many brave men's lives, when there was no occaſion. It was the only raſh thing the Duke of *Marlborough* was ever guilty of, who, it was generally believed, was preſſed to it by Prince *Eugene* (2). *Remark. Kane's Memoirs.*

The action being over, the Confederate army was ordered to incamp a little beyond the field of battle; and, on the 12th of *September*, they returned

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(1) Among their ſlain were Meſſieurs *de Courſillon*, *de Chemerault*, *Palavicini*, *de Lautree*, *de Greberges*, *de Moret*, and *Sheldon*, Lieutenant-Generals; Count *de Beuil*, Meſſieurs *de Rouleau*, *de Rochebonne*, and *de Tourneſort*, Major-Generals; Count *d'Agennes*, Meſſieurs *de Coaſquin* and *de Stekenburg*, Brigadiers; the Duke *de St. Agnan*, and Meſſieurs *de Schaweſtein*, *de Salis*, *de Seignelay*, the Chevalier *de Croy*, *de Telegonde*, *de Molezum*, *Fitzgerald*, *de Barentin*, *St. Laurent*, and the Duke of *Charoſt*. Amongſt the wounded was the Marſhal *de Villars* himſelf, who, in the heat of the battle receiving a ſhot in the knee, was obliged to leave the command of the *French* army to Marſhal *de Boufflers*; the Duke of *Guiche*, the Chevalier *de St. Toris*; Meſſieurs *de Conſlan*, *de Beaufremont*, *de Savigne*, *de Crauſat*, *de Morneſiers*, *de Opeide*, *de Refuge*, *d'Albergotti*, the Princes *de Lambeſſe* and *de Montbaſon*, Meſſieurs *de Brillac*, *de Tournemine*, *de Renty*, *de Berville*, *d'Autel*, and *de St. Hilaire*.

(2) Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, That military men have always talked of this, as the ſharpeſt action in the whole war, not without reflecting on the Generals for beginning ſo deſperate an attempt. The *French* thought it a ſort of victory, that they had animated their men to fight ſo well behind the intrenchments, and to repulſe our men ſo often, and with ſo great loſs. They retired to *Valenciennes*, and ſecured themſelves by caſting up ſtrong lines, while they left our army to carry on the ſiege of *Mons*, without giving them the leaſt diſturbance. Monſieur *Rouſſet*'s remarks are as follow: 'In the opinion of the whole world (ſays he) our Generals were guilty of an irreparable fault in not attacking on the 9th, but delaying it, in expectation of ſix and twenty battalions, and ſome ſquadrons; while, by giving the enemy time to intrench themſelves (which was what we had infallibly to expect from a General ſo accuſtomed to it as the Marſhal *de Villars*) we weakened ourſelves, in proportion as the enemy grew more formidable. Beſides, we thereby gave him all the time he could wiſh to penetrate into our diſpoſition, to recall ſeveral detachments, which did not join him till the 10th, and in ſhort to render all thoſe places impenetrable, through which only our troops could break into the plains. In the Council of war, which was held the 9th, the Deputies of the *States-General* were of opinion, that the ſiege of *Mons* ſhould be immediately undertaken, without giving the enemy battle; but that, if they ſhould come to attack us, in that caſe, we ſhould retreat from them; and of this opinion were moſt of the Generals. Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* were of opinion to attack the enemy, before they began the ſiege, and they brought over the Deputies to be of the ſame mind; but then, as well they, as the Duke of *Marlborough*, inſiſted, that the attack ought to be made immediately, not to give the Marſhal *de Villars* time to fortify his camp. Prince *Eugene* was not, however, to be diſſuaded from the reſolution he had taken, to wait for the detachment from *Tournay*. A fatal delay, which occaſioned the ruin of the whole body of the *Dutch* infantry, which alone loſt near ten thouſand men, more than ſeven hundred of whom were Officers, at the attack of the intrenchments.'

Monſieur *Du Mont* likewiſe ſays, 'That it was a misfortune to the Allies, that they did not fight on the 9th, for then probably the victory would have been more compleat, and have been obtained with leſs loſs of blood. The enemy was then on the other ſide of the wood in the plain; there was room to come at them through the intervals. They had not time to intrench themſelves; and the advantage of the ground would have been pretty near equal.'

Father *Daniel* aſſerts, that the field of battle coſt the Allies thirty thouſand men killed or wounded, while the loſs, which the *French* army ſuffered, was not two thirds of that number.

Dr. *Hare*, in his *ſecond letter to a Tory Member upon the management of the war*, p. 24, obſerves, That in this battle *the enemy were ſo defeated, that they, who had hazarded a battle to prevent the ſiege of* Mons, *did not dare to venture any thing for the relief of it, towards which they did not make the leaſt ſtep, though the Allies had neither river nor intrenchment to cover them.* He afterwards, p. 32, takes notice of a queſtion aſked by the Author of a piece, intituled, *Arlus and Odolphus, viz.* If the bloody battle of *Taniers* or *Malplacquet* was ſo well concerted, as it might have been; and if there was an abſolute neceſſity to wait two days within ſight of the enemy for a few troops, that never engaged when they came, and give them ſo much time to throw up ſuch unequal fortreſſes before we attacked them?' In anſwer to which Dr. *Hare* writes thus: 'I little thought to have ſeen the battle of *Taniers* inſtanced for a *counter-ſtop* deſigned to hinder the effect of our former ſucceſſes, when it was itſelf ſo great a one: But it ſhews the abſurdity of their cauſe, when victory itſelf is made a crime; and they attempt to prove a General's deſign to prolong the war, becauſe he has endeavoured to force the enemy to put an end to it by a new defeat. This is a ſtrange way of arguing indeed, peculiar to the cauſe, and its worthy Defenders. It is a known ſaying, *Victoriæ ratio non redditur*: But, it ſeems, it now muſt not be allowed. A General has been often called to give an account, how he came to loſe a battle; but to be accountable for winning one is ſomething new; and, if victories had not been ſo common, we ſhould hardly have been ſo difficult; we ſhould have underſtood the value of a ſingle victory, and been thankful for it. But the number, it ſeems, has made us ſo nice, that we had rather not have them, if they are not juſt to our minds; if they are not of as much conſequence as *Blenheim*, or as cheap as *Ramillies* or *Oudenard*. I would be glad to know, if ever any one *French* Writer treated the battle of *Landen* with that contempt, that theſe Gentlemen do that of *Taniers*; or thought the fighting it a crime in a General, becauſe it was dear bought, and had little other conſequence than the

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1709. returned to their old camp at *Belian*. The ſame day, the Allies were employed in burying their dead; and, there having been a great number of *French* officers and ſoldiers left wounded in the field of battle, and in the adjacent villages, the Duke of *Marlborough* ſignified to the Marſhals *Boufflers* and *Villars*, that thoſe perſons might have leave to retire upon their parole, to return when they were cured; and that he would ſend Lieutenant *Cadogan* with two hundred horſe to *Bavay*, to make an agreement about that matter, with any General they would ſend with the like number of men. The enemy accepted this propoſal, and they ordered the Chevalier *de Luxemburg* to meet General *Cadogan* at *Bavay*, in order to concert every thing for the relief of the wounded, and burying of the dead. 1709.

Mons *beſieged and taken.*

The *French*, being retired to *Valenciennes*, left the Confederate Generals at liberty to beſiege *Mons* (1), the capital of *Hainault*, and the place, for the preſervation of which the enemy had hazarded the late battle. In this City the Elector of *Bavaria* had lately kept his fugitive Court, and from thence the Count *Berghieck* and the Duke of *Alva*, by order of King *Philip* their Maſter, wrote a joint letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, to which the Count added a note, importing, "That, if the Queen of *Great-Britain*, by means "of his Highneſs's good offices, ſhould think "it

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gaining what *Arlus* calls *unprofitable honour*. On the contrary never victory was ſo much magnified, the tongues and pens of that Nation were for many years full of nothing elſe; and yet thoſe, who were at that battle, will tell you, that the *French* did not only loſe as many men as the Confederates, but double or treble their number; and the Allies recovered that defeat ſo ſoon, that in ſix weeks time they had a better army than before the battle; and all the uſe the *French* made of their victory was to take *Charleroy*, though the battle was fought in *June*; a conqueſt one may eaſily ſuppoſe they might have made without the purchaſe of ſo dear victory, as they made thoſe of *Mons* and *Namur*, places of much more importance. Now let us ſee, whether the victory of *Taniers* be on any account inferior to that of *Landen*. That it exceeded it in honour, *Arlus* himſelf allows; for he grants, *That in all the wars of immemorial time there never was a battle fought, where mortal men gained ſuch immortal honour.* And, whether he will allow it or not, it is as certain, that it was more valuable alſo in its conſequence, and the advantage the common cauſe reaped from it; for *Mons* was evidently a greater conqueſt in itſelf, and of more uſe to us, when *Brabant* had no other cover, than *Charleroy* could be to them. Beſides *Charleroy* might have been had without *Landen*, but *Mons* could not have been had without *Taniers*; and, though that battle was not fought till the laſt of *Auguſt*, *Mons* had not been the only fruits of it, if the weather would have permitted the Allies to keep the field longer; and the ſucceſs of the ſiege was a plain diſcovery, that the loſs of the enemy was not only as great as that of the Allies, but much greater. Why elſe ſhould they venture a battle to prevent the ſiege; and yet did not move a ſtep to diſturb it, when it was formed? Is not this a confeſſion, that they, who thought themſelves a match for our army before the battle, did not think ſo after it, though ſo many troops were employed and weakened in the ſiege? Did they not ſpend the time the Allies were making the ſiege, in throwing up lines, and drawing all the troops together, that poſſibly they could? And was not the Duke of *Berwick* ſent for poſt from *Dauphiné*, to join with Marſhal *Boufflers* in the command of them? What, I would fain know, was all this for? Why ſuch ſtrong lines, ſo vaſt an army, ſo many Generals, ſo much concern, in the middle of *October*, when the ways were impaſſable, and the Confederate army was intirely ruined by their victory? If their loſs was ſo unequal, as *Arlus* thinks it was, the *French* might have done what they would; they might not only have lain ſtill in great tranquillity, without any apprehenſion of being diſturbed by the Allies, but might have advanced to them, given them battle, and not only ſaved *Mons*, but ruined their army, if they were ſo much ſuperior to them, as their Writers would make the world believe. But, if we will allow the *French* to be better judges of theſe matters than our paper-politicians, the difference, that was made by the battle between the two armies, was to their diſadvantage intirely; and the impreſſion, which the loſs of that battle gave them, made them think themſelves never ſafe; as if neither weather, nor intrenchments, nor numbers could effectually ſtop the progreſs of this victorious army; though weakened by three ſieges, and a battle equal to three more. They ſhewed plainly by all their motions, they thought nothing impoſſible to ſuch an army, that could beat an hundred thouſand men, the beſt troops of *France*, through ſuch intrenchments, or, in the language of the learned *Arlus*, through ſuch *unequal fortreſſes*.' Dr. *Hare* afterwards, p. 36, obſerves, 'That without this battle the reſt of that campaign muſt have been ſpent without action, and perhaps this laſt [of 1710] alſo. For we could not have carried our arms into the *Artois*, while *Brabant* was ſo much expoſed, as it was before the taking of *Mons*, which would conſequently have thruſt the work of this year one campaign at leaſt backwarder. But, if the neceſſity, the glory, and advantage of this victory cannot keep off theſe examiners, you may be well aſſured it will bear examination. I have heard a good deal of it, and, by all I can find, there never was a battle, for which there was a more unanimous concurrence of all parties, than there was here. And the delay, that happened, was not only to wait for a few troops, but for bread, which men, who had been continually marching for ſeven days together, were not very fit to fight without. Beſides, the troops they ſtayed for were not a few; and there was a great number of Officers with them. And it is moſt ridiculous to fancy troops were not worth ſtaying for, becauſe they did not engage. At that rate all *Corps de Reſerve* are very fooliſh and unneceſſary things. Might there not have been an occaſion for troops, becauſe there was not? Or is it no encouragement to men, that do engage, to know there are others ready to ſuſtain them upon occaſion? But it is endleſs to argue with the real or affected ignorance of theſe men. It is no great compliment to our Generals to ſuppoſe they underſtand their buſineſs; and we ought always to preſume they concert their matters well, unleſs we are ſure of the contrary; which, we may eaſily believe, neither theſe Writers, nor their Maſters, are in the caſe before us, ſince they were neither at the conſultations of the Generals themſelves, nor pretend to any correſpondence with thoſe that were. And therefore, to inſinuate, that they did not conſider things ſo maturely as they ſhould have done, is extreme impudence. Thoſe *unequal fortreſſes* indeed, which the enemy had thrown up, were, I have heard, more and greater than they were thought to be. Our Generals knew they were intrenching, but neither believed ſo much work could have been done in ſo little time, nor that the fears of the enemy could make them think ſo much was neceſſary. But this ſerved only to make the victory more glorious. And, notwithſtanding all their *fortreſſes*, had the orders, which, to prevent all miſtakes, were given in writing, been rightly executed, the price of it had been much cheaper than it was. But there is no need of entering farther into the particulars of this battle, to ſhew the folly and malice of this moſt profligate Libeller, and the reſt of his Companions.'

(1) *Mons*, a very large, fine, ſtrong, and rich City of the *Low-Countries*, the Marquiſate of the Earldom of

1709. "it for the intereſt of the Nation to have re- "gard to it, he was provided with powers from "the King his Maſter, to explain himſelf more "particularly, to ſuch perſon, and in ſuch a "place, as his Highneſs would pleaſe to ap- "point." The Duke of *Marlborough* did not think fit to have, at that time, any private Conference with that Miniſter; but, as the latter happened to be in *Mons*, when the Allies inveſted the town, he was, on the 21ſt of *September*, allowed to have an interview with his Grace, who granted him paſſports for himſelf, and ſeveral Ladies and Perſons of diſtinction, who went out of the place. As ſoon as the train of artillery was brought from *Bruſſels*, the ſiege, under the command of the Prince of *Orange*, was carried on with great vigour, tho' the ſeaſon was both cold and rainy. The outworks were carried with little reſiſtance, and *Mons* capitulated about the end of *October*. With the taking of *Mons* ended the campaign, both armies retiring into winter-quarters.

Campaign on the Rhine *inconſiderable.*

The Confederate arms were not this year attended with the ſame ſucceſs every where as in *Flanders*. Little was expected on the *Rhine*. The *Germans* were ſo weak, ſo ill furniſhed, and ſo ill paid, that it was not eaſy for the Court of *Vienna* to prevail on the Elector of *Brunſwick* to undertake the command of the army there, yet he came at laſt; and, upon his coming, the *French*, who had paſſed the *Rhine*, thought it the ſafeſt for them to repaſs that river, and keep within their lines. The Elector ſent Count *Merci* with a conſiderable body of troops to paſs the *Rhine*, and break into *Franche Comte*; but, a detached body of the *French*, under the command of Count *de Borgh*, lying in their way, there followed a very ſharp engagement on the 26th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* Two thouſand men were reckoned to be killed on each ſide; but, though the loſs of men was thought equal, yet the deſign miſcarried, and the *Germans* were obliged to repaſs the *Rhine*, and retire to *Friburg*. The *Germans* having paſſed through the territories of *Baſil*, in order to make their intended irruption into the territories of *France*, the *French* Ambaſſador in *Swiſſerland* expoſtulated with the diet of the Cantons aſſembled at *Baden*, about the violation of their neutrality, and even threatened thoſe of *Baſil* with the effects of his Maſter's reſentments. But the *Helvetic* body took ſuch effectual meaſures for the ſecurity of that Canton and of their frontiers, that the *French* did not think this a proper juncture to increaſe the number of their enemies, and ſo contented themſelves with ſeizing upon the corn and revenues belonging to thoſe of *Baſil* in *Alſatia*.

Campaign in Piedmont *and* Dauphiné.

The campaign in *Piedmont* and *Dauphiné* fell alſo this year much ſhort of expectation. The Duke of *Savoy* refuſing to go into the field, by reaſon the Imperial Court ſtarted ſome difficulties about *Vigevano* and other dependencies of the *Milaneſe*; which, by agreement, were made over to him. The Court of *Vienna* inſiſted to have the controverſy adjuſted by Commiſſaries; but this was oppoſed by the Duke of *Savoy*, who pretended, there was no need of ſuch a dilatory negotiation, to find out the literal ſenſe of the treaty concluded with him by the Emperor; and made preſſing inſtances with the Queen of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General*, who ſtood Guarantees of that treaty for the punctual performance of it. The maritime powers, conſidering with what firmneſs the Duke had adhered to the Grand Alliance, eſpouſed his intereſt with warmth. But, the Emperor inſiſting on a reference to Commiſſaries, the Duke perſiſted in his reſolution not to go into the field, and left the command of the army to Veldt-Marſhal *Thaun*, who, on the 7th of *Auguſt*, went from *Turin* to *Suza*, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to march over Mount *Cenis*. On the other hand, the Duke of *Berwick*, who commanded the *French* army in *Dauphiné*, had, by this time, cauſed ſtrong intrenchments to be caſt up to cover *Briançon*, the place moſt threatened by the Confederates, and to defend ſome other important poſts. So all that Count *Thaun* was able to do, was only to oblige the *French* to abandon their lines at *St. Maurice*, drive them from thoſe at *Feſſons*, defeat a ſmall body at *Conflans*, and make himſelf maſter of the inconſiderable town and caſtle of *Anneci*; after which, for want of proviſions, he was forced to repaſs the *Alps*, and march into *Piedmont* towards the end of *September*. The glory, which the Duke of *Berwick* gained in thus diſappointing the deſigns of the Allies, was the greater, as part of his troops were at that very time employed in ſuppreſſing, in the *Vivarez*, an inſurrection of the *Camiſars*, and other malecontents, who, on the 19th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* maintained a ſharp encounter with the *French* King's troops. But, on the 23d of the ſame month, they were entirely defeated within ſome leagues of *Vernoux*, and about fifty of them taken priſoners, with their chief leader *Abraham*, who was broke alive upon the wheel; and twenty-three others hanged at ſeveral places, ſix or ſeven ſent to the gallies, and the reſt committed to priſon.

Affairs in Italy.

The moſt important thing, relating to *Italy* this year, was, that the Pope delayed acknowledging King *Charles*, by ſeveral pretended difficulties; his deſign being to ſtay and ſee the iſſue of the campaign; but when he was threatened, towards the end of it, that, if it was not done, the Imperial army ſhould come and take up their winter-quarters in the Eccleſiaſtical State, he ſubmitted, and acknowledged him. He ſent alſo his nephew *Albano*, firſt to *Vienna*, and then to *Poland*; he furniſhed him with a magnificent retinue, and ſeemed to hope, that, by the ſervices he ſhould do to the Papal intereſts there, he ſhould be preſſed to make him a Cardinal, notwithſtanding the bull againſt Nepotiſm.

The

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of *Hainault*, in the County of *Mons*, or proper *Hainault*. It was taken in 1691, but ſurrendered to the *Spaniards* by the peace of *Ryſwick* 1697. It ſtands on the river *Troville*, near *Haiſne*, twenty-ſeven miles South-Weſt from *Bruſſels*, thirty-three North-Eaſt of *Cambray*, thirty-ſeven Weſt of *Namur*, thirty-nine South of *Ghent*, forty-eight almoſt South of *Antwerp*, forty-eight almoſt Eaſt of *Arras*, ſixty-five almoſt Weſt of *Liege*, one hundred and twenty North of *Paris*, and one hundred and twenty-eight almoſt South of *Amſterdam*.

1709. *Affairs in* Portugal *and* Spain. *Battle of* Caya. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

The *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* armies having taken the field towards the end of *April*, they ſoon came to an engagement; for, on the 7th of *May*, *N. S.* being both incamped on the *Caya*, and the *Spaniards* making a motion, with a deſign either to forage the adjacent country, or to inſult the Confederates; the *Portugueſe* General, contrary to the Earl of *Galway*'s opinion, paſſed the river with all their horſe, moſt of the foot, and ſome field-pieces, which they fired with good execution on the enemy. The Marſhal *de Bay*, who commanded the *Spaniards*, charged the *Portugueſe* horſe of the right wing, who immediately wheeled about, and fled, without firing a ſhot, which gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity of ſeizing the *Portugueſe* cannon. In order to recover theſe, and to favour the retreat of the body of foot, which had repulſed the enemy three times with great firmneſs and reſolution, the Earl of *Galway* brought up himſelf *Pearce*'s brigade, conſiſting of two *Britiſh* battalions of *Barrymore* and *Stanwix*, and one of the *Spaniards* lately raiſed. But theſe troops not being ſuſtained by the *Portugueſe* horſe of the left, who fled like thoſe of the right, they were intercepted, and obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, and with them Major-General *Sankey*, the Earl of *Barrymore*, Brigadier *Pearce*, and the *Conde de San Juan*, a *Portugueſe* General. The reſt of the *Britiſh* foot, under the command of the Marquiſs *de Montandre*, performed wonders, and, with the *Portugueſe* infantry, made an orderly retreat, with the loſs of about an hundred and fifty men; ſo that, except the priſoners, and other marks of honour, the *Spaniards* had no reaſon to boaſt of their victory. The Earl of *Galway*, who had a horſe ſhot under him, very narrowly eſcaped being taken; but having found means to get away from the enemy with Major *Bladen* his Secretary, and a few other Officers, he rid about four or five miles, and at laſt reached the Confederate army, which that night came to *Aronches*, and the next day incamped at *Elvas*. The Marquiſs *de Bay*, having refreſhed his troops, advanced towards the Confederates; but the Earl of *Galway* took ſuch advantageous poſts along the *Guadiana*, that the *Spaniards* durſt not attempt, either to paſs that river, or beſiege *Olivenza*, into which place the *Britiſh* General found means to introduce ſupplies of proviſions; and, the heats coming on, both armies went into quarters of refreſhment; nor did any thing worth notice happen on that ſide in the autumn campaign. For the *Spaniards* apprehending, that our fleet might have a deſign upon ſome part of their Southern coaſt, were forced to draw their troops from the frontiers of *Portugal* to defend their own coaſt, though they had no diſturbance given them on that ſide.

Alicant taken.

The caſtle of *Alicant* had now been blocked up ever ſince the month of *December* 1708. The garriſon, conſiſting only of *Hotham*'s and *Syburg*'s regiments (which were not above half compleat, when left there two years before) held out with great reſolution all the winter, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the weather, the ſcarcity of proviſions, and the diſturbance they met with from the enemy's bombs. The *Spaniards*, finding all other means ineffectual to reduce that important fortreſs, reſolved at laſt to blow up the rock, on which the caſtle ſtands, by a great mine; the ſeveral chambers whereof being prepared, with incredible labour and induſtry, the Chevalier *d'Asfeldt* cauſed fifteen hundred barrels of powder to be lodged in them, ſummoned Colonel *Syburg* the Governor to ſurrender; and, the better to determine him to it, gave him leave to ſend out two of his Officers to ſee the condition of the mine. This was readily accepted. *Asfeldt* went himſelf with the Officers to the mine, and told them he could not bear to let ſo many brave men periſh under the ruins of a place they had ſo gallantly defended, and gave them twenty-four hours to conſider of it. But, the Governor being immoveable in his reſolution, the mine was ordered the next day to be fired, which the centinels, poſted on the ſide of the hill to give notice of it, perceiving, they made the appointed ſignal. Upon which the Governor, with ſeveral Officers, walked to the parade, and ordered the guard to retire; which was no ſooner done, but the mine was blown up, and with little or no noiſe made an opening in the rock on the very parade, of ſome yards in length, and about three feet wide, into which the Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel *Thornicroft*, Major *Vignoles*, and other Officers fell, and the opening inſtantly cloſing upon them, they all periſhed, though their bodies were not entirely ſunk in. Notwithſtanding this accident, Lieutenant-Colonel *d'Albon* of *Syburg*'s regiment, being the ſurviving Commander, reſolved to hold out as long as he had any proviſions; and, to make theſe laſt the longer, he reduced his men to half allowance. By this time King *Charles* being informed, that the garriſon was reduced to great extremities, a Council of war was held at *Barcelona*, to conſider of the moſt proper means to relieve that place, the reſult whereof was, that Lieutenant-General *Stanhope* ſhould imbark for *Port-Mahon*, to confer with Sir *George Byng* on that ſubject. The General, being returned the 12th of *March*, *N. S.* to *Barcelona*, imbarked again, on the 18th, on board Sir *Edward Whitaker*, who was arrived there with three thouſand five hundred men from *Naples*. Theſe troops were ordered upon this expedition; and then, ſailing for *Port-Mahon*, they took there on board four hundred men more; and, on the 11th of *April*, ſailed for *Alicant*. But, a ſtrong eaſterly wind forcing them to anchor in the bay of *Denia*, the enemy ſuſpected their deſign, and made the neceſſary preparations to prevent its execution. On the 15th the fleet arrived in ſight of *Alicant*; but the weather continuing ſo tempeſtuous, that the ſhips could not come near the ſhore; and beſides Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* had by that time aſſembled ſeven thouſand men, caſt up intrenchments, and erected batteries, to oppoſe the landing of the Confederate troops. However, ſome men of war were ordered to get as near the ſhore as poſſible, and fire upon the enemy's intrenchments, which they did with ſome execution, but were much annoyed by the enemy's batteries. The General and Admirals, ſeeing the impoſſibility of relieving the caſtle, reſolved, in a Council of war, to endeavour to ſave ſo brave a garriſon from being made priſoners of war; and accordingly General *Stanhope* ſent a boat on ſhore with a flag of truce, and an Officer, with a letter for Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*, offering to ſurrender the caſtle of *Alicant* upon honourable terms. This propoſal being accepted, ſeveral

1709. articles were demanded, and moſt of them granted. Purſuant to the capitulation, the garriſon marched out, on the 18th of *April*, with two pieces of cannon, and all other marks of honour, imbarked on board the fleet, and were landed in *Minorca* to refreſh themſelves.

General *Stanhope* having laid a deſign to ſurprize *Cadiz*, either by means of a ſecret correſpondence he had in the place, or merely upon the encouragement of the weakneſs of the garriſon, concerted meaſures for that purpoſe with Sir *George Byng*, on board whoſe ſquadron he imbarked at *Port-Mahon* with two regiments of foot; and, about the middle of *Auguſt*, ſailed for *Gibraltar*. Here he expected to be joined by the forces, which, about the ſame time, imbarked at *Portſmouth* on board a ſquadron, commanded by Rear-Admiral *Baker*, conſiſting of one battalion of *Scots* Guards, the regiments of foot of the Lord *Tyrawley*, Brigadier *Whetham*, Colonel *Gore*, Colonel *Boles*, Colonel *Capel*, Colonel *Munden*, Colonel *Dormer*, and the Earl of *Rochford*'s dragoons. But this ſquadron being long detained on the coaſt of *England* by contrary winds, ſo that they did not make the coaſt of *Portugal* till the beginning of *October*, the *Spaniards*, in the mean time, being apprehenſive of General *Stanhope*'s deſign, made detachments from *Eſtremadura* for the ſecurity of the coaſt of *Andaluſia*; and, the ſeaſon being too far advanced to undertake any thing on that ſide, that General returned to *Port Mahon*, thence to *Barcelona*, and not long after ſailed for *Italy*, from whence he came over to *England* by the way of *Germany* and *Holland*. On the other hand, Rear-Admiral *Baker* having, on the 10th of *October*, ſent a man of war to *Liſbon* for orders, Lord *Galway* gave him directions to ſail directly for *Barcelona* with the forces he had on board. The Court of *Portugal* (who expected, that theſe troops would have ſtaid in that Kingdom) having expoſtulated with Lord *Galway* about their being ſent to *Catalonia*, he took that opportunity to complain of the ill proviſion, that was made for the ſubſiſtence and accommodation of the *Britiſh* regiments in *Portugal*; and ſaid, that nevertheleſs, her *Britannic* Majeſty would take care to recruit theſe forces; and, if the Court of *Portugal* would be as diligent in raiſing the men for ſix regiments of dragoons in the pay of *Great-Britain* (which levies were at laſt reſolved upon) the *Portugueſe* army would then be in a condition to act offenſively. He added, that the forces on board Rear-Admiral *Baker* would be of far greater ſervice in *Catalonia*, even with reſpect to *Portugal* itſelf, by giving a ſtrong diverſion to the enemy; which argument had certainly great weight in it; for the *Portugueſe* were ſenſible, that General *Stanhope*'s bare coming to *Gibraltar* with two regiments, had occaſioned the weakening of the *Spaniſh* forces in *Eſtremadura*, and diſabled them from undertaking any thing on that ſide, in the autumn campaign.

The rejoicings made at the Court of *Madrid*, upon the eaſy and inconſiderable victory gained by the Marquiſs *de Bay* in *Eſtremadura*, and on the birth of a ſecond ſon to King *Philip*, were ſoon damped, both by the death of that young Prince, and their misfortunes on the frontiers of *Catalonia*. For General *Staremberg*, after he received the reinforcements from *Italy*, having paſſed the *Segra* without oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of *Balaguer*, and took nine hundred men priſoners; the Marſhal *de Bezons* having refuſed to ſecond the *Condé d'Aguilar*, who was for attacking the Allies. Upon notice of theſe tranſactions, King *Philip* thought it neceſſary to leave *Madrid*, and go to the army. When he came there, *Bezons* juſtified himſelf, by producing the *French* King's orders for avoiding all engagements. King *Philip* ſeemed much mortified at this, and not thinking it adviſable to attempt the attacking of *Staremberg*, in his advantageous poſt near *Balaguer*, returned to *Madrid*, where Cardinal *Portocarrero* died ſome days before, to the great regret of that Prince, and his Partiſans. Not long after, *Staremberg*, having put a ſtrong garriſon into *Balaguer*, repaſſed the *Segra*, and ſo both armies went into winter-quarters. 1709.

The King of Sweden's defeat. This ſummer brought a cataſtrophe on the affairs of the King of *Sweden*. He reſolved to invade *Muſcovy*, and engaged himſelf ſo far in the *Ukrain*, that there was no poſſibility of his retreating, or of having reinforcements brought to him. He engaged a great body of *Coſſacks* to join him, who were eaſily drawn to revolt from the Czar. He met with great misfortunes in the end of the former year; but nothing could divert him from his deſigns againſt *Muſcovy*. He paſſed the *Nieper*, and beſieged *Pultowa*. The Czar marched to raiſe the ſiege, with an army much ſuperior to the *Swedes*; but the King of *Sweden* reſolved to venture on a battle, in which he received ſuch a total defeat, that he loſt his camp, his artillery, and baggage. A great part of his army got off, but being cloſely purſued by the *Muſcovites*, and having neither bread nor ammunition, they were all made priſoners of war. The King himſelf, with a ſmall number about him, paſſed the *Nieper*, and got into the *Turkiſh* Dominions, and ſettled at *Bender*, a town in *Moldavia*. Upon this great reverſe of his affairs, King *Auguſtus* pretended, that the reſignation of the Crown of *Poland* was extorted from him by force, and that it was not in his power to reſign the Crown, by which he was tied to the Republic of *Poland*, without their conſent. He marched therefore into *Poland*, and *Staniſlaus* was not able to make any reſiſtance, but continued under the protection of the *Swedes*, waiting for another reverſe of fortune. A project was formed to engage the Kings of *Denmark* and *Pruſſia*, with King *Auguſtus* and the Czar, to attack the *Swedes* in ſo many different places, that the extravagant humour of their King was like now to draw a heavy ſtorm upon them, if *England* and the *States-General*, with the Court of *Vienna*, had not cruſhed all this, and entered into a guaranty, for preſerving the peace of the Empire, and by conſequence of the *Swediſh* Dominions in *Germany*.

July 8. N. S.

He flies into Turkey.

Plague at Dantzick. *Dantzick* was at this time ſeverely viſited with a plague, which ſwept away almoſt one half of their inhabitants, though few of the better ſort died of the infection. This put their neighbours under great apprehenſions, who feared the ſpreading of the contagion; but it went no further (1). The

(1) *Burnet* ſays, This ſudden, and, as it ſeemed, total reverſe of all the deſigns of the King of *Sweden*, who had been for many years the terror of all his neighbours, made me write to Dr. *Robinſon*, who had lived

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G. Kneller pinxit *In the Collection of Thomas Walker Esq.r* *I. Houbraken fec.*

Impensis J. & P. Knapton Londini 1742.

1709. *Affairs in Denmark.*

The King of *Denmark* ſpent a great part of this ſummer in a very expenſive courſe of travelling through the Courts of *Germany* and *Italy*; and it was believed, that he intended to go to *Rome*, where great preparations were making for giving him a ſplendid reception; for it was given out, that he intended to change his Religion. But whether theſe reports were altogether groundleſs, or whether, being ſo commonly believed, was like to produce ſome diſorders in his own Kingdom, is not certainly known; but thus much is certain, that he ſtopped at *Florence*, and went no farther, but returned home, and, upon the King of *Sweden*'s misfortunes, entered into meaſures to attack *Sweden*, with King *Auguſtus*, who had called a diet in *Poland*, in which he was acknowledged their King, and all things were ſettled there according to his wiſhes. The King of *Denmark*, upon his return home, ſent an army over the *Sound* into *Schonen*, about the middle of *November*, having firſt publiſhed a manifeſto, wherein he ſet forth his reaſons for declaring war againſt *Sweden*. Finding no reſiſtance at his landing at *Helſingburg*, he fixed there his head-quarters; but, the cold ſeaſon not permitting him to undertake the ſiege of *Landſcroon*, he diſpoſed his troops into winter-quarters, and, on the 4th of *December*, *N. S.* returned to *Copenhagen*. Some-time after, the *Danes* having taken the field, made ſome progreſs in *Schonen*; but the Regency of *Stokholm* having, by this time, ſent a good body of troops into that province, the *Swedes* obliged the enemy to retire under the cannon of *Helſingburg*; where, on the 10th of *March*, *N. S.* 1709-10, they attacked them with ſo much bravery and fierceneſs, that the *Danes* were almoſt totally defeated; and, not being able to maintain themſelves at *Helſingburg*, abandoned that City on the night, between the 15th and 16th of that month, went on board their ſhips, and ſailed for *Elſinore*, leaving behind them their horſes, and ſome proviſions and baggage, which they had not either time or conveniencies to carry off. 1709.

The *Swediſh* army, that was in *Poland*, having got into *Pomerania*, the *French* ſtudied to engage them to fall into *Saxony*, to imbroil the affairs of *Germany*, and, by that means, oblige the neighbouring Princes to recall the troops, that were in her *Britannic* Majeſty's ſervice, and that of the other Allies in *Flanders*. But the Queen and the *States-General* interpoſed effectually in this matter; and the *Swedes* were ſo ſenſible, how much they might need their protection, that they acquieſced in the propoſitions that were made to them; by which means the peace of the northern parts of the Empire was ſecured. A peace was likewiſe made up between the Grand Seignior and the Czar. The King of *Sweden* continued at *Bender*. The war in *Hungary* ſtill went on. The Court of *Vienna* publiſhed ample relations of the great ſucceſſes they had there; but theſe were ſaid to be given out, to make the malecontents ſeem an inconſiderable and ruined party. There were ſecret negotiations ſtill on foot, but without effect.

Sea-affairs.

Nothing of importance paſſed at ſea. The *French* ſent out no fleet; and our convoys were ſo well ordered, and ſo ſucceſsful, that the Merchants made no complaints. Towards the end of the year, the Earl of *Pembroke*, finding the care of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, deſired to lay it down. It was offered to the Earl of *Orford*; but, though he was willing to ſerve at the head of a Commiſſion, he refuſed to accept of it ſingly; ſo it was put in Commiſſion, in which he was the firſt, the other Commiſſioners being Sir *John Leake*, Sir *George Byng*, Mr. *George Dodington*, and Mr. *Paul Methuen*. The Queen gave the Earl of *Pembroke* a penſion of three thouſand pounds a year, payable out of the revenue of the Poſt Office, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices (1). As

The Admiralty put in Commiſſion.

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lived above thirty years in that Court, and is now Biſhop of *Briſtol*, for a particular character of that King. I ſhall ſet it down in his own words:

He is now in the twenty-eighth year of his age, tall and ſlender, ſtoops a little, and in his walking diſcovers, tho' in no great degree, the effect of breaking his thigh-bone about eight years ago: He is of a very vigorous and healthy conſtitution, takes a pleaſure in enduring the greateſt fatigues, and is little curious about his repoſe: His chief and almoſt only exerciſe has been riding, in which he has been extremely exceſſive. He uſually eats with a good appetite, eſpecially in the morning, which is the beſt of his three meals: He never drinks any thing but ſmall beer, and is not much concerned whether it be good or bad: He ſpeaks little, is very thoughtful, and is obſerved to mind nothing ſo much as his own affairs, laying his deſigns, and contriving the ways of acting, without communicating them to any, till they are to be put in execution: He holds few or no Councils of war; and tho' in civil affairs his Miniſters have leave to explain their thoughts, and are heard very patiently; yet he relies more on his own judgment, than on theirs, and frequently falls on ſuch methods, as are fartheſt from their thoughts: So that both his Miniſters and Generals have hitherto had the glory of obedience, without either the praiſe or blame of having adviſed prudently or otherwiſe. The reaſon of his reſervedneſs in conſulting others may be thus accounted for; he came, at the age of fifteen, to ſucceed in an abſolute Monarchy, and, by the forward zeal of the States of the Kingdom, was in a few months declared to be of age: There were thoſe about him, that magnified his underſtanding as much as his authority, and inſinuated, that he neither needed advice, nor could ſubmit his affairs to the deliberation of others, without ſome diminution of his own ſupreme power. Theſe impreſſions had not all their effect, till after the war was begun, in the courſe of which he ſurmounted ſo many impoſſibilities (as thoſe about him thought them) that he came to have leſs value for their judgments, and more for his own, and at laſt to think nothing impoſſible. So it may be truly ſaid, that, under God, as well as all his glorious ſucceſſes, as the late fatal reverſe of them, have been owing ſolely to his own conduct. As to his piety, it cannot be ſaid, but that the outward appearances have highly recommended it, only it is not very eaſy to account for the exceſs of his revenge againſt King *Auguſtus*, and ſome other inſtances; but he is not ſuſpected of any bodily indulgences. It is moſt certain, he has along wiſhed well to the Allies, and not at all to *France*, which he never intended to ſerve by any ſteps he has made. We hear the *Turks* uſe him well, but time muſt ſhew what uſe they will make of him, and how he will get back into his own Kingdom. If this misfortune does not quite ruin him, it may temper his fire, and then he may become one of the greateſt Princes of the age.

(1) *Matthew Aylmer*, Eſq; was appointed Admiral, and Commander in chief of her Majeſty's navy; the Lord *Durſley*, Vice-Admiral; and *Charles Wager*, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of the Red; Sir *John Jennings*, Admiral; and Sir *Edward Whitaker*, Vice-Admiral of the White; Sir *John Norris*, Admiral; and *John Baker*, Eſq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

(1) Dr.

1709. France *makes new overtures of peace.* Hare. Burnet.

As ſoon as the campaign in the *Netherlands* was ended, the *French* Court thought fit to make new advances towards a negotiation of peace. In order to which, Signior *Foſcarini*, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador, who, about this time, came to *Holland*, took a turn *incognito* to *Amſterdam*, to ſound the Burgomaſters of that City. On the other hand, Monſieur *Petkum*, Reſident of the Duke of *Holſtein*, at the *Hague*, who had been ſecretly employed the laſt winter in the negotiations there, kept up a correſpondence by letters with Monſieur *de Torcy*, to try, if an expedient could be found out for the 37th article in the preliminaries, the difficulty in that article being the only point, for which the Conferences, in appearance at leaſt, were broke off. The point they offered to ſatisfy the Allies in, was, that the *French* King ſhould not directly nor indirectly aſſiſt his Grandſon King *Philip*; and, with regard to the expedient propoſed to ſecure this point, all went upon the ſame foot with that, which *Petkum* had propoſed, as from himſelf, the day before *Rouillé* left the *Hague*. That three towns ſhould be put into the hands of the Allies, to be reſtored to *France*, when the affairs of *Spain*, &c. ſhould be decided. The meaning of which ſeemed to be no other, than that *France* was willing to loſe three more towns, in caſe King *Philip* ſhould keep *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*. The places therefore ought to have borne ſome equality to that, for which they were to be given in pawn; but the anſwers, which the *French* made to every propoſition, ſhewed they meant nothing but to amuſe and diſtract the Allies. The firſt demand made by the Allies was of the places in *Spain*, then in the hands of the *French* King; for the delivering up of theſe might have been a good ſtep to the reduction of the whole. But this was flatly refuſed; and, that the King of *France* might put it out of his power to treat about it, he ordered his troops to be drawn out of all the ſtrong places in *Spain*, and ſoon after out of that Kingdom, pretending, that he was thereby evacuating it, though the *French* forces were kept ſtill in the neighbourhood. Thus a ſhew was made of leaving *Spain* to defend itſelf; and upon that King *Philip* prevailed on the *Spaniards* to make great efforts, beyond what was ever expected of them. This was done by the *French* King to deceive both the Allies and his own Subjects, who were calling loudly for a peace; and it likewiſe eaſed him of a great part of the charge, that *Spain* had put him to. But, while his troops were called out of that Kingdom, as many deſerted, by a viſible connivance, as made up ſeveral battalions; and all the *Walloon* regiments, as being ſubjects of *Spain*, were ſent thither; ſo that King *Philip* was not weakened by the recalling the *French* troops; and by this means the places in *Spain* could not be any more demanded. The next demand, as moſt important towards the reduction of *Spain*, was that *Bayonne* and *Perpignan* might be put into the hands of the Allies, with *Thionville* on the ſide of the Empire. By the two former all communication betwixt *France* and *Spain* would be cut off, and the Allies would be inabled to ſend forces thither with leſs expence and trouble. But it was ſaid, theſe were the keys of *France*, which the King could not part with; and therefore it remained to treat of towns on the frontier of the *Netherlands*, and even there they excepted *Doway*, *Arras*, and *Cambray*; ſo that all their offers appeared illuſory, and the intercourſe by letters was for ſome time let fall (1). After ſome time *Torcy* wrote to *Petkum* to deſire, ſince the point in diſpute could not be adjuſted by letters, that paſſes might be granted for ſome Miniſters from *France* to come to *Holland*, and

1709.

(1) Dr. *Hare*, in his fourth letter to a Tory-Member, ſets forth this affair more at large: 'This, ſays he, was the nature of the expedient in agitation; and nothing can ſhew better the readineſs of the Allies to put an end to the war, and the inſincerity of *France*, than what paſſed between them on this ſubject. The towns to be given up for this purpoſe muſt have been either in *Spain*, or on the borders of it, or on the ſide of *Alſace*, or in *Flanders*. Whatever could have been done of this kind, was but a poor expedient for an article of ſo much conſequence; and, had the King of *France* been in earneſt, one cannot think he would have made any difficulty to give the Allies what they were willing to accept. But, as he meant nothing leſs than what he was ſo forward to promiſe, there was no ſecurity of this ſort the Allies could aſk, which he did not think too much to grant.

As for towns in *Spain*, which was the beſt ſecurity, and moſt to the purpoſe, that expedient had been propoſed during the Conferences at the *Hague*, and was by the *French* Miniſters refuſed: And, to prevent the Allies from perſiſting in this demand, the King ſoon after put it out of his power to comply with it; otherwiſe his people, as blind as they are, could not have had any great opinion of his ſincerity in the deſires he expreſſed for peace, while he rejected a condition, that was ſo natural for the Allies to aſk; and not only poſſible, but eaſy for him to grant; and which the ſafety and intereſt of *France*, as diſtinct from *Spain*, were no way concerned in. That the negotiations therefore might not continue to reſt upon this point, he took care immediately, that there ſhould be no room left for the Allies to inſiſt on this demand; and to that end withdrew his troops out of all the *Spaniſh* fortreſſes, as he did afterwards out of the Kingdom, upon pretence indeed of evacuating *Spain*, according to the preliminary articles. But that was only a pretence; for he kept them there all the ſummer, to be at hand to aſſiſt the Duke of *Anjou*, in caſe his army ſhould be attacked, or an invaſion ſhould be made into *Arragon*; though otherwiſe the General, that commanded them, had orders not to venture a battle, but to be on the defenſive; as appeared upon the Duke of *Anjou*'s coming to his army upon the ſurprize of *Balaguer* by the Allies, and expoſtulating with Marſhal *Bezons* for not joining upon that occaſion the *Spaniſh* army; for which he juſtified himſelf by producing the King's orders. By this middle way the King thought he could deceive the Allies, without abandoning the *Spaniards*; and, in the mean time, the Duke of *Anjou*, according to the direction of *French* Councils, made his utmoſt efforts to put *Spain* into a condition to defend itſelf, as if they were in earneſt to expect no farther aſſiſtance from *France*; which had ſo good an effect on the *Spaniards*, that they exerted themſelves beyond what could be expected of them. They compleated in a little time their old regiments, and raiſed beſides a great many new ones; and the moſt vigorous meaſures were taken to find money, and erect magazines, as if they were to ſtand, for the future, on their own bottom, though the King of *France* was far from intending they ſhould want his aſſiſtance, when their affairs called for it. And, that his Grandſon might not want a General for his army, it was publicly talked at *Paris*, before Monſieur *Rouille*'s return, that, in caſe of a peace, the Duke of *Berwick* had

1709. and renew the Conferences; or that *Petkum* might be permitted to go to *France*, to try, if his preſence could help to find out an expedient, that had hitherto been in vain endeavoured by letters. The firſt the *States* refuſed, till they knew preciſely what they were to come for, ſince, under the appearance of ſome good, the preſence of *French* Miniſters in *Holland* gave them an opportunity to do a great deal of harm, by ſowing ſeeds of jealouſy among the Allies, poiſoning the minds of the people againſt their Governors, and retarding the great preparations for another campaign, which can never be puſhed with the vigour they ſhould, while the people are amuſed with the ſpecious appearances of an approaching peace: For ſo the *French* endeavoured to make it every where thought, when they meant nothing leſs. For theſe reaſons the *States* refuſed to give paſſes for any Miniſters to come from *France*, till they knew more of their intentions. But, to ſhew their readineſs to hearken to any reaſonable propoſal, they conſented, that *Petkum* ſhould go to *France*, which he did about the latter end of *November*.

While theſe negotiations were carrying on by letters with *France*, King *Philip* did not only take all the proper meaſures he could to maintain himſelf in the Monarchy, which his Grandfather was, in appearance, treating to give up, but publiſhed a notable manifeſto, wherein he proteſted againſt all that ſhould be tranſacted at the *Hague* in his prejudice, as void and null, and declared 1709. his reſolution to adhere to his faithful *Spaniards*, as long as there was a man of them, that would ſtand by him; and was ſo far from quitting *Spain* and the *Indies* to his Competitor, that he would not conſent he ſhould have thoſe parts of the Monarchy, which he was then poſſeſſed of; and, in purſuance of this manifeſto, he named the Duke of *Alba* and Count *Bergheyck* for his Plenipotentiaries, with orders to notify it to the Maritime Powers; which Count *Bergheyck* did in a letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, dated from *Mons*, *Aug.* 21, with a copy of their inſtructions; and they ſent another, at the ſame time, to the Deputy of the *States*; which were accordingly tranſmitted to their Principals. But no anſwer was thought fit, either by *England* or *Holland*, to be returned to them. And to admit Plenipotentiaries from him now, would undo all, that had been hitherto agreed on; and, inſtead of ſeeking for an expedient for the 37th article of the preliminaries, the whole of them would have been deſtroyed, and the treaty muſt have been begun intirely anew.

In Count *Bergheyck*'s letter there was alſo broad intimations, how grateful King *Philip* would be, if, by means of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s good offices, his juſt and reaſonable deſires might be complied with; and there was nothing he would not do to content *England* in general, or that might be to his ſatisfaction in particular.

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deſired leave to reſign his *Baton* of Marſhal of *France*, that he might go and command in *Spain*: Which ſhews us, how the Duke of *Anjou* might have Officers as well as men from *France*, if he had any want of them. If therefore the King of *France* withdrew his troops, it was not with a deſign to leave his Grandſon to himſelf, but upon very different views: It was to make the Allies and his own people believe he was ſincere, and that he was willing to remove, as far as he could, all the difficulties in the way of peace; and yet, at the ſame time, and by the ſame action, increaſe the difficulties he would ſeem to remove, by rendering by this means the moſt reaſonable demand of the Allies impracticable: Beſides that he really wanted theſe troops himſelf againſt another year, the danger he was threatened with in *Flanders* obliging him to have a more numerous army on that ſide. This was all he meant by withdrawing his troops from *Spain*; and therefore he did not do it, till he had put the Duke of *Anjou*'s affairs upon a pretty good foot, and he was ſure there could be no immediate want of them, the campaign there being at an end. And, that this removal of his troops might be of the leaſt prejudice poſſible to his Grandſon, he contrived, that as many of his own troops ſhould deſert, as would make ſeven or eight battalions; and, to ſupply the place of the reſt as far as he could, he ſent his Grandſon all the *Walloon* regiments from *Flanders*; from whence they began their march for *Spain* the beginning of the *February* following, which was as ſoon as money, arms, and clothes could be provided for them. And not content with giving the Duke of *Anjou* this aſſiſtance, and ſupplying him with great ſtores of ammunition, becauſe new-raiſed troops could not be much depended on, the King kept many of the troops he withdrew in *Rouſſillon* upon the borders of *Spain*, to be ready to return, when his Grandſon's affairs ſhould make it neceſſary. And is not this very like the conduct of one, who means in earneſt to abandon *Spain*, and would reſtore it to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if he could? But poor man! He cannot do impoſſibilities. It is a pretty way to facilitate the reduction of a Kingdom, to make it as difficult as poſſible; a great ſign of ſincerity to put things out of our power, which we cannot, without diſcovering our inſincerity, keep in it; and mighty reaſonable to create impoſſibilities, and then complain of them. Who can help believing ſuch a man, when he tells you, he would with all his heart, to procure a peace, give up the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, if he could, but that he really cannot; and that this is the only hindrance? Or what pledge of his good will is there, one may not expect from him, as a caution, that he will not, directly or indirectly, hinder your doing what he cannot poſſibly himſelf do for you? To expect a valuable pledge from a man, to be returned to him when that is done, which he intends never ſhall be done, is a great jeſt. And therefore, ſince the *French* King has ſo plainly diſcovered his intention, you muſt not wonder he makes ſuch difficulties in ſettling an expedient, as you could not expect in a man, who means one word of what he ſays.

The firſt and only good expedient, you ſee, is made impracticable, on purpoſe, that it may not be inſiſted on. The next beſt was to put into the hands of the Allies ſome *French* towns on the frontier of *Spain*, ſuch as *Bayonne* and *Perpignan*, which would have inabled the Allies to ſend forces to *Spain* with infinitely leſs expence and trouble, and in a quarter of the time they can now; and, at the ſame time, have obliged the *French* pretty effectually to keep their promiſe not to aſſiſt the Duke of *Anjou*, by cutting off in great meaſure the communication between *France* and *Spain*. This was an expedient, which the King could not ſay it was not in his power to comply with. But, when one has not a mind to do a thing, nothing is ſo eaſy as to find out a reaſon for not doing it. If this could not be ſaid to be an impoſſible expedient, it was eaſy to pretend, that it did not ſuit either with the ſafety or dignity of *France* to put the keys of his Kingdom into the hands of the Allies, ſince he could not be ſure what uſe they might make of them, or when he ſhould get them again. And this was very right arguing for a man, who never intended that ſhould be done, which is made the condition, on which the caution he depoſits ſhall be reſtored. If the King does not deſign *Spain* ſhould be quitted by his Grandſon, it muſt

1709. particular. *Torcy* was likewiſe ſaid to write very unneceſſarily, and with great officiouſneſs, two or three very civil letters to the Duke, till he found his civilities were loſt upon him. *Petkum*, after a ſtay at *Paris* of about ten days, and ſeveral fruitleſs interviews with the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, returned to the *Hague* on the 7th of *December*, without having been able to make the leaſt progreſs in the buſineſs he went upon, or bringing ſo much as the pretence of an expedient along with him; but, inſtead of that, he brought the ſenſe of the *French* Court in a paper drawn up by *Torcy*, and importing in ſubſtance, "That it would be impoſſible for the "King of *France* to execute the 37th article "of the preliminaries, even though his Ma"jeſty could reſolve to ſign it. That the other "articles were propoſed by the Allies ſix months "ſince, in order to prevent, by a ſuſpenſion "of arms, the events of the campaign, which "might change the diſpoſitions towards peace: "And that reaſon now ceaſing, becauſe the "winter-ſeaſon naturally produced a ceſſation "of arms, without any agreement in writing, "that therefore, without farther mention of "the preliminaries, the three winter months "might be ſpent in treating and concluding a "peace. That, though the *form* of the preli"minaries were ſuppreſſed, yet the King of "*France* would preſerve the *ſubſtance*, and treat "on the foundation of the conditions, to which "he had conſented, for the ſatisfaction of the "Emperor, *England*, and *Holland*, and their "Allies, though he had declared, that thoſe "conditions ſhould be void, if they were not "accepted during the negotiation at the *Hague*. "That his Majeſty was ready to reſume the "negotiations on the ſame foot, and ſend his "Plenipotentiaries to ſuch a place, as ſhould "be agreed on, to begin the Conferences with "thoſe of the Allies, on the firſt day of *Ja*"*nuary*. And, if this propoſal were accepted, "the Sieur *Petkum* might forthwith return, for "ſettling the paſſes, and other formalities, for "the 1709.

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muſt be owned it would not be very prudent in him to give the Allies ſuch important places under the notion of cautionary towns, which muſt either defeat his deſign of ſupporting his Grandſon; or, if that deſign ſucceed, could never of right be demanded back of them; not but that a Prince of his known abilities would, we may be ſure, ſoon find a pretence to aſk for them, and that pretence he would juſtify, if not readily ſubmitted to, the ſame way he has ſo many others no leſs groundleſs, by force and arms, which with him have always been the meaſures of right and wrong. But if he were ſincere, if he really meant, that *Spain* ſhould be reſtored, what inconvenience could there be in complying with this expedient? What ill uſe could the Allies make of it? Could they, by the help of theſe towns, hurt *France*, before they had reduced *Spain*? Can it be imagined, that would not find them work enough? Or is there any room to fear an invaſion from *Spain* afterwards? No ſure; however ſignificant *Spain* may be in *French* hands, it will not in haſte be very formidable out of them. They would have themſelves too much buſineſs in looking to themſelves, to think of diſturbing ſo powerful a neighbour. And there would be a thouſand times more reaſon for them to be afraid of *France*, than for *France* to apprehend any thing from them. Nor can there be the leaſt pretence for a ſuſpicion, that the Allies, if theſe towns were once in their hands, would never part with them, ſuppoſing the end anſwered, for which they were intruſted with them; for, beſides that ſuch a breach of faith is without example on the ſide of the Allies, they cannot, for the reaſons I gave you in my laſt, act a falſe part in this matter, if they would, eſpecially not on this ſide of *France*; where, if the Allies had ever ſo much juſtice on their ſide, they could not long ſupport themſelves under the mighty diſadvantages, with which they muſt make war on this frontier. But there is no need of ſaying more, to ſhew you how ridiculous it is to pretend any fear of the Allies, if theſe towns ſhould be put into their hands. The ſupporting of *Spain* has coſt *France* too dear, not to know the low condition it is in; and that nothing could be greater madneſs in King *Charles*, or his Allies, than not to ſit down quietly in peace the minute that Kingdom is reduced to his obedience, without ſeeking for new pretences to continue the war needleſsly.

Nothing therefore can be thought to be the true reaſon, why the King of *France* rejected this expedient, but that he never intended the Allies ſhould obtain the end, for which it was aſked, as you will ſee more plainly in what follows. On the ſide of *Alſace* nothing was propoſed, that I know of, but *Thionville*, a place of great conſequence to *France*, were they in any danger from the Empire. But, conſidering the feeble low condition of that enervated exhauſted body, one cannot but think the ſtrong places on that ſide are of no other uſe but to inable the *French* to invade the Empire, and not to ſecure them againſt invaſions from it. And what ſhould be depoſited as a pledge, would be to be reſtored long before the Empire could be in a condition to make any uſe of it, that would be either unjuſt in itſelf, or troubleſome to *France*. But *France* never intending to fulfil the condition, on which the town ſhould be reſtored, this propoſal was rejected upon the ſame pretence as the former.

Nothing now was left, but to ſeek for an expedient in *Flanders*, which was what the *French* offered from the firſt, and all along preſſed, as if they were very much in earneſt. But, had they been ſo, it is very hard to give a good reaſon, why an expedient ſhould be looked for here, rather than in any other part. The Allies, though they were ſenſible whatever could be given on this ſide, was but a poor expedient at beſt; yet they were ſo ſincerely diſpoſed to put an end to the war, that they would not abſolutely reject it. Whatever towns *France* could put into the hands of the Allies on this ſide, if they were not ſuch, as lie neareſt to thoſe, that are to be given up by the *preliminaries*, their tenure would be very precarious; and it would be very difficult to keep them, when *France* had a mind to have them again. This you may eaſily judge of by the impoſſibility the Allies were under laſt campaign to make the ſiege of *Arras*, while they left *Doway* behind them; and the difficulty *Ypres* gave them in the ſiege of *Aire*. But if theſe cautionary towns were to be of thoſe, that lie neareſt, they could not be of ſo much importance to *France*, as that they ſhould not be willing to part with them to keep *Spain*, ſince this would only be making a little farther addition to the barrier of the *Netherlands*; which would ſecure them more from *France*. But as bad an equivalent as this was at the beſt, the *French* refuſed to make it as good as they could, by excepting ſuch towns, as were of moſt conſequence, ſuch as *Doway*, *Arras*, and *Cambray*, which would lay them open to an invaſion from the Allies; which, if the Allies were able to make, they knew their own deſigns would give but too juſt a handle for; beſides, they were unwilling to part with, under the name of a caution, what they could not be willing to part with for good and all, ſince they intended to forfeit the condition, and not do themſelves, or rather not ſuffer that to be done, which would give them a right to aſk for it again.

This being the deſign of *France*, all theſe negotiations by letters came to nothing; and one ſide would never offer what the other could accept, unleſs the Allies would be content with the name of an expe-

1709. " the place and manner of meeting (1)." The *States-General*, having conſidered both the anſwer and the report of their Deputies, came to the unanimous reſolution, " That the Sieur *Petkum*, " who, at the deſire, and, upon the repeated " inſtances of *France*, was permitted, with the " conſent and knowledge of the high Allies, " to go for *France*, to ſee if any expedient " could be found out, for removing the diffi- " culties about the 37th article of the prelimi- " naries, was, contrary to all expectation, re- " turned, not only without bringing any ſuch " expedient with him, but with an anſwer, in " which *France* intirely receded from the foun- " dations agreed to with common conſent, and " with a propoſal to enter into a formal nego- " tiation of peace, without ſettling and adjuſt- " ing any thing beforehand; a propoſal in all " times judged dangerous, and contrary to the de- " claration made on the part of *France*, *That all* " *the preliminary articles ſhould remain firm, as* " *they were ſettled, only with ſuch alterations in the* " *terms of the execution, which the courſe of time* " *had rendered neceſſary, except only the 37th* " *article.* That from this way of proceeding " nothing could be expected, but that the ene- " my was not ſincerely diſpoſed to agree to a " ſafe peace; and that little regard was to be " had to the aſſurances of their good intentions, " ſeeing the effects agreed ſo little with their " profeſſions; but rather, that all was concerted " and deſigned to ſow, if poſſible, diſtruſts and " jealouſies between the Allies and that State, " while the *French* were reſolved to continue " the war. That therefore it was abſolutely ne- " ceſſary, that the Allies in general, and every " one of them in particular, ſhould, in an ex- " traordinary manner, exert themſelves, and " make early preparations for proſecuting with " vigour, in the next campaign, the advantages " obtained in the laſt. That a letter to that " purpoſe ſhould be written to the Emperor and " Diet of the Empire at *Ratiſbon*; the confe- " derated Circles, the Electors and Princes of " the Empire, the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and " the Duke of *Savoy*. And that their *Imperial* 1709. " and *Britannic* Majeſties ſhould be deſired, that " Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and the Prince and " Duke of *Marlborough*, might come to the " *Hague* very early in the ſpring, before the " end of *February*, to concert the neceſſary mea- " ſures for the campaign." The Queen of *Great-Britain* not only returned a favourable anſwer to the letter of the *States-General*, but reſolved alſo to exhort all the Allies to a vigo- rous proſecution of the war; and, in particular, wrote a very preſſing letter to the General Diet of the Empire.

About the time *Petkum* returned to the *Hague*, the *French* King wrote to King *Philip*, to ac- quaint him with what had paſſed, and to aſſure him, that, though he was obliged to recall his troops, he need not be alarmed at it, for that he would never abandon him; and that he had ordered twelve regiments, that were then in *Spain*, to join the *Spaniards*, in caſe King *Charles* ſhould make an irruption into *Arragon*. And a little after Monſieur *Ibberville* was ſent to *Madrid*; but both his journey and buſineſs were made ſo great a ſecret, that it was not for ſome time known whither he was gone; and when he came to *Madrid*, where he arrived on the 26th of *December*, his inſtructions were to com- municate his buſineſs to nobody but the King himſelf. He did not make a long ſtay, nor was he in appearance well received; but no judgment could be made from thence what his errand was; there was no way to diſtinguiſh be- tween what was real and what diſguiſe. But to judge from other ſteps, it is moſt reaſonable to think his buſineſs was to learn the ſtate, in which King *Philip*'s affairs were, and to give him his leſſon, how he ſhould manage in ſo nice a juncture; with aſſurances, that in ſpite of all appearances to the contrary, which the neceſ- ſity of his affairs might oblige the *French* King to make, he would never deſert him, much leſs agree with the Allies, upon any terms, to turn his arms againſt him. But this journey was made a great myſtery of, to make the Allies believe, that

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dient inſtead of the thing, which they were before- hand ſure could by no means anſwer the end it was given for; which the Allies were too wiſe to do.'

(1) Dr. *Hare*, in his *fourth letter to a Tory Mem- ber*, p. 19, obſerves, that ' this anſwer was ſhort even of their expectations, who hoped leaſt from it; for this overthrew all the preliminaries at once, while the King pretended to agree to all but one; and by pro- miſing to keep the ſubſtance of them, while they de- ſtroy the form, they effectually defeat all that had been done, and recover to themſelves an intire liberty to diſpute all points afreſh, and to lay hold of all the occa- ſions, which that would give them, to create diviſions and jealouſies between the *States* and their Allies; which is plainly the great point they have all along aimed at; which though they have been ſo terribly diſappointed in, they are unwilling to give over, in hopes their conſtancy and firmneſs to the common cauſe would in time be wearied out, and yield to the importunate ſol- licitations, with which they tempted them.

Though to prevent a new campaign might be a rea- ſon for haſtening the preliminaries, it was not the only or chief deſign of them. Whenever a treaty ſhould commence, the Allies had declared long before, in an- ſwer to the Elector of *Bavaria*'s letters at the end of the *Ramillies* campaign, they would not enter on it, till ſome fundamental points were firſt ſettled, the ne- ceſſity of which they were convinced of by the dear- bought experience of former treaties: And the ſame experience has taught the Allies, that no treaty with *France* can be effectual, if the fundamental articles are not executed as well as agreed on, before the general treaty is concluded; which ſecurity the Marquiſs would intirely take away, by deferring the execution till after ratification. Thus the two great ends of a preliminary treaty, which are to agree on ſome funda- mental points, and ſecure the execution of them, are by this anſwer intirely deſtroyed; and the Allies are not only where they were before that treaty was begun, but are really the worſe for it; it being of greater ad- vantage to the *French* to know beforehand what are the particular demands, which the Emperor and Mari- time Powers inſiſt on for themſelves, and in behalf of the Allies. As for ſolving all now by two words, *Form* and *Subſtance*, two other words, the *Letter* and *Spirit* of the *Partition-treaty*, are ſtill too well remem- bered for the Allies to be again deceived by *French* diſtinctions, which, if they could now paſs upon them, it is eaſy to ſee, that the form of theſe articles would have been found to be the ſubſtance of them, and the pretended ſubſtance would have proved a ſhadow only. Here then *Dutch* bluntneſs and plain-dealing proved too hard for the *Fineſſe* of the *French*; a word not more peculiar to them, than the thing meant by it.'

1709. that the buſineſs of it was to perſuade King *Philip* to retire out of *Spain*, ſince it would be impoſſible for the *French* King to ſupport him any longer.

Palatines *come to* England.

About the beginning of *May* happened an extraordinary event, which raiſed much diſcourſe and argument in *England*, namely, the coming over of great numbers of *Palatines*, *Swabians*, and other *Germans*, moſt of them *Lutherans*, being driven from their habitations, either by the oppreſſive exactions of the *French*, or the deſolation of their native Country, occaſioned by the calamities of the war; ſo that, by the middle of *June*, they were increaſed to ſix thouſand five hundred and twenty men, women, and children; among whom were ſchoolmaſters, huſbandmen, vine-dreſſers, herdſmen, wheel-wrights, ſmiths, weavers, carpenters, maſons, bakers, coopers, brewers, and other handicrafts-men. It was never certainly known upon what motives, and with what views, theſe people were brought over; but it is certain, that, being come into *Holland*, with deſign to go for the *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*, upon an invitation of ſome of their countrymen, who were reported to be there in a thriving condition, they were furniſhed with ſhipping to come over to *England* by Mr. *d'Ayrelles*, the *Britiſh* Secretary at the *Hague*, by direction from thoſe in the Adminiſtration. Being deſtitute of all neceſſaries, they muſt inevitably have periſhed, had not the Queen firſt ordered a daily allowance to be diſtributed to them, and, at the ſame time, a ſufficient number of tents to be delivered out of the *Tower*, for their incamping on *Black-Heath* near *Greenwich*, and in a large field near *Camberwell*; and afterwards, upon the petition of the Juſtices of Peace for the County of *Middleſex*, granted a Brief for the collection of charity-money within that County; which Brief was ſhortly after made to extend through the whole Kingdom of *Great-Britain*; and, at the ſame time, were appointed ſeveral perſons, in the moſt eminent ſtations, to be Truſtees and Commiſſioners, for receiving and diſpoſing of the monies ſo collected. The kind reception and entertainment, which theſe diſtreſſed fugitives found here, having been reported abroad, encouraged many other *Germans* to leave their deſolate habitations, and to follow their countrymen, inſomuch that their numbers increaſed ſo faſt, that the Secretary at the *Hague* was directed to put a ſtop to their coming over. As a conſiderable number of *German Roman* Catholics had come along with the Proteſtants, ſuch of them, as did not voluntarily change their Religion, were, at the Queen's expence, ſent back to *Holland*, where ſhe ordered a ſum of money to be diſtributed to them, towards the charges of their journey home. As for the *Palatines*, who ſtaid behind in *Great-Britain*, ſome were entertained in private families; ſome ſent to *Ireland*, others to *Carolina*; and the greateſt part to *New-York*, under the direction of Commiſſary *Du Pré*, who ſailed with them for that country about the beginning of *April* 1710, together with Colonel *Hunter*, Governor of that country.

A Parliament in Ireland.

The Earl of *Wharton* having been made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, arrived there the 2d of *April* 1709. A fortnight after his landing, he opened a Seſſion of Parliament, and made a ſpeech to both Houſes, part of which was as follows:

1709.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Am obliged and directed to lay before you another conſideration of infinite conſequence; and that is, to put you in mind of the great inequality there is, with reſpect to numbers, between the Proteſtants and Papiſts of this Kingdom, and of the melancholy experience you have had of this ſort of men, whenever they had it in their power to diſtreſs or deſtroy you.

"Theſe reflections muſt neceſſarily lead you to think of two things; the firſt is, ſeriouſly to conſider, whether any new bills are wanting to inforce or explain thoſe good laws, which you have already, for preventing the growth of Popery. And, in the next place, it makes evident the neceſſity there is of inculcating and preſerving a good underſtanding amongſt all the Proteſtants of this Kingdom. What the moſt proper methods are, to compleat ſo deſirable and neceſſary an end, yourſelves, who have the opportunities of knowing the uneaſineſs that any of your Fellow-ſubjects may lie under, are the fitteſt to judge.

"I will only add, That the Queen, who is all goodneſs, never had any thing ſo much at her Royal heart, as the bringing to paſs, and perfecting the Union of her Subjects of *Great-Britain:* And I may venture to ſay, that ſhe looks upon her ſucceſs, in this great undertaking, to equal, if not to exceed, any other of the glories of her Reign."

Union recommended, and Popery diſcouraged by the Earl of Wharton.

In this ſpeech the Lord *Wharton* recommended a good underſtanding between the Churchmen and Diſſenters, as the ſureſt means to weaken the Popiſh intereſt, by ſtrengthening the Proteſtant. The *Iriſh* Papiſts doubted not, by dividing the Proteſtants, to find an opportunity to deſtroy them. The Lord *Wharton* was reſolved to let the Papiſts know, at his firſt coming, they were to expect no favour from him. As Popery had increaſed under the late Adminiſtration, he procured a bill to prevent the growth of it, by enacting, "That the eſtates of the *Iriſh* Papiſts ſhould deſcend to their Proteſtant heirs." But his care to diſcourage Popery did not hinder his being repreſented by the Tories, in *England*, as a perſecutor of the Church in *Ireland*. He had not only made Dr. *Lambert* Dean of *Downe*, and Dr. *Lloyd* Dean of *Connor*, but it was alſo reported, that he had ſent a Biſhop to priſon. This matter was thus: The Houſe of Peers having (on the 28th of *June*) adjourned to the next day, the feaſt of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, Dr. *John Pooley*, Biſhop of *Raphoe*, took upon him to proteſt againſt it. His reaſon was, "Becauſe he conceived it againſt the laws of the *Church* to do buſineſs upon a *Holiday*, which might hinder Divine Service, Prayers and Sacraments, Sermons or Homilies, and Catechiſms, leſt it ſhould be a robbery of God, as well as Tythes and Offerings." The Lords, the next day, reſented this proteſt, and ſignified to the Biſhop, that unleſs he withdrew it, they muſt ſend him to the *Caſtle*. But he being obſtinate, and adhering to his proteſt, the Houſe ordered him to be taken into the cuſtody of the *Black-Rod*, and adjourning for a month, the Uſher had him ſo long in durance, which, by the Lord *Wharton*'s

The Biſhop of Raphoe taken into cuſtody.

1709. *Wharton*'s direction, was made as eaſy to him, as was conſiſtent with the orders of the Houſe.

A Fellow of Trinity-College *expelled for aſperſing King* William.

The *Provoſt* and *Fellows* of *Trinity-College* near *Dublin*, having lately expelled *Edward Forbes* for aſperſing the memory of King *William*, and they having ſhewn a ſteady adherence to the Revolution, a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons for an addreſs to the Lord-Lieutenant, that he would lay before the Queen the deſire of the Houſe, that five thouſand pounds might be given for erecting a public Library in the College.

Votes about the Palatines.

The Commiſſioners appointed in *England* for the ſettlement of the *Palatines* having ſent into *Ireland* five hundred families of theſe Refugees; the Commons took their diſtreſſed condition into conſideration, and agreed, that the ſending a proportion of theſe *Palatines* into *Ireland* was a ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt, and the encouraging them to ſettle there would greatly contribute to the ſecurity of the Kingdom, and therefore that the Queen be addreſſed to allow five thouſand pounds annually for three years towards their ſupport and ſettlement, which ſhould be made good to her in the next aids granted by Parliament.

Proceedings of the Iriſh *Convocation.*

The Convocation of the Clergy of *Ireland* ſate with the Parliament, and by this time the ſame ill temper, that had prevailed in the *Engliſh* Convocation, began to ferment and ſpread itſelf among the Clergy of *Ireland*. None of the diſputes about the power of proroguing had been thought of formerly in that Church, as they had no records or minutes of former Convocations. The faction in *England* found out proper inſtruments, to ſet the ſame humour on foot, during the Earl of *Rocheſter*'s Government, and, as was ſaid, by his directions: And, it being once raiſed, it continued by reaſon of the indolence of the ſucceeding Governors. So that the Clergy were making the ſame bold claim in *Ireland*, that had cauſed ſuch diſputes in *England*. Accordingly, on the 5th of *Auguſt*, the power of proroguing was by the Lower-Houſe conteſted in a very high and warm debate. The Lord-Lieutenant (who was reſolved to put a ſtop to theſe matters) being informed of it by Dr. *Brown*, Chairman of the Committee, ſent orders in the midſt of the debate to prorogue the Convocation to the 5th of *October* next, to their great ſurprize and mortification. Dr. *Brown*, for giving this intelligence, was ſome time after, by the procurement of the Lord *Wharton*, promoted to the See of *Cork*; yet upon the change of the Miniſtry he became the moſt violent of all the *Iriſh* Prelates againſt the Earl of *Wharton*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who was his friend) and indeed againſt the whole Whig-party, to whom he rendered himſelf ſtill more obnoxious, by diſcountenancing the drinking *to the glorious memory of King* William. Againſt which he wrote and preached ſome tracts and ſermons, but ſo little anſwering the purpoſe, that King *William*'s memory was afterwards more frequently drunk than before, with an additional mark of contempt to the Biſhop, and the ſacredneſs, which he weakly imagined to be tacked to *Commemoration-healths*, became univerſally exploded. 1709.

When the bill to prevent the further growth of Popery, with thoſe for the ſupply, were ready for the Royal aſſent, the Earl of *Wharton* came, on the 30th of *Auguſt* to the Houſe of Peers, and concluded the Seſſion with a ſpeech to both Houſes, in which were theſe paragraphs:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Lord-Lieutenant's ſpeech at the cloſe of the Seſſion.

" I Make no queſtion but that you underſtand too well the true intereſt of the Proteſtant " Religion in this Kingdom, not to endeavour " to make all ſuch Proteſtants as eaſy as you " can, who are willing to contribute what they " can to defend the whole againſt the common " enemy.

" It is not the law now paſt, nor any other " law, that the wit of man can frame, will ſe- " cure you from Popery, whilſt you continue " divided among yourſelves; it being demon- " ſtrable, that, unleſs there be a firm friendſhip " and confidence among the Proteſtants of this " Kingdom, it is impoſſible for you either to " be happy, or to be ſafe.

" And I am directed to declare it to you, as " her Majeſty's fixed reſolution, That as her " Majeſty will always maintain and ſupport the " Church, as by law eſtabliſhed, ſo it is her " Royal will and intentions, that Diſſenters " ſhall not be perſecuted, or moleſted in the " exerciſe of their Religion."

The Parliament being prorogued to the 13th of *March*, the Lord-Lieutenant, attended by Mr. *Addiſon* Secretary of State, imbarked for *England*, where he arrived the 9th of *September*.

Dr. Sacheverel's ſermons. Burnet.

The great buſineſs of the Seſſion of Parliament this winter related to Dr. *Sacheverel*. This affair not only took up moſt of their time, but, in concluſion, had alſo great effects. As it was one of the moſt extraordinary tranſactions of the time, it will deſerve a particular notice. Dr. *Sacheverel* was a bold, inſolent man, with a very ſmall ſhare of religion, virtue, learning, or good ſenſe; but he reſolved to force himſelf into popularity and preferment by the moſt petulant railings at Diſſenters, and Low-Churchmen, in ſeveral ſermons and libels, penned without either chaſtneſs of ſtile, or livelineſs of expreſſion, and full of indecent and ſcurrilous language (1). When

(1) He was grandſon of *John Sacheverel* the Preſbyterian Miniſter of *Wincaunton* in *Somerſetſhire*, who was bred in *St. John*'s College *Oxford*, and ſilenced ſoon after the Reſtoration. This *John*, being taken at a Conventicle, ſuffered three years impriſonment, which occaſioned his death. *John*'s eldeſt ſon (father of Dr. *Henry Sacheverel*) was bred in *King*'s College *Cambridge*, and entertained notions very oppoſite to his father's principles, and died Miniſter of *St. Peter*'s Church in *Marlborough*, leaving a numerous family in very low circumſtances. His ſon *Henry* was put to ſchool at *Marlborough* at the charge of *Edward Hearſt* an Apothecary, who, being his godfather, adopted him for his ſon. *Hearſt*'s widow ſent him afterwards to *Oxford*, where he became Fellow of *Maudlin* College. His mother, by procurement of Biſhop *Burnet*, was admitted into the hoſpital for diſtreſſed widows at *Salisbury*. He had not been long at *Oxford*, before he diſcovered his turbulent ſpirit. When he came to be ordained by Biſhop *Lloyd*, he was by the Biſhop charged with falſe *Latin*, but he confidently defended it, till the Biſhop ſent for books to convince him. The

1709. When he had purſued this method for ſeveral years without effect, he was at laſt brought up from the country by a popular election to *St. Saviour's* in *Southwark*, where he began to make great reflections on the Miniſtry, repreſenting, that the Church was in danger, being neglected by thoſe, who governed, while they Aug. 15. favoured her moſt invetèrate enemies. At the ſummer Aſſizes in *Derby*, where he preached before the Judges, and this winter, on the 5th of *November*, at *St. Paul's*, he gave a full vent to his fury in the moſt violent declamation, that he could contrive, upon theſe words of *St. Paul*, *Perils from falſe brethren*, in which, after ſome ſhort reflections upon Popery, he let himſelf looſe into ſuch indecencies, that both the man and the ſermon were univerſally condemned. He aſſerted the doctrine of Non-reſiſtance in the higheſt ſtrain poſſible; and ſaid, that to charge the Revolution with reſiſtance, was to caſt black and odious imputations on it; pretending, that the late King had diſowned it, and cited for proof ſome words in his declaration, by which he vindicated himſelf from a deſign of conqueſt. He poured out much ſcorn and ſcurrility on the Diſſenters, and reflected ſeverely on the Toleration; and ſaid, the Church was violently attacked by her enemies, and looſely defended by her pretended friends. He animated the people to ſtand up for the defence of the Church, for which, he ſaid, he ſounded the trumpet, and deſired them to put on the whole armour of God. After the preaching of this ſermon, the Lord-Mayor, Sir *Samuel Garrard*, invited the Doctor to dinner, took him in his coach, carried him to his Houſe, gave him thanks for his good ſermon, and told him, that he hoped to ſee it in print. The Doctor anſwered, that he was apprehenſive, *he had ſpoken ſome bold truths, which might diſpleaſe ſome people.* Notwithſtanding which, the Lord-Mayor undertook to propoſe to the Court of Aldermen, that they ſhould return the Doctor thanks for his ſermon, and deſire him to print it. But, though that motion was rejected by the Court of Aldermen, yet the Doctor, looking upon the encouragement already given him by the Lord-Mayor as a tacit command, ventured to publiſh his ſermon, with a dedication to his Lordſhip. The party, who oppoſed the Miniſtry, magnified this ſermon ſo highly, that, as was generally reckoned, about forty thouſand of them were printed and diſperſed over the Nation. The Queen ſeemed highly offended at it, and the Miniſtry looked on it as an attack upon them, that was not to be deſpiſed. The Lord-Treaſurer was ſo deſcribed, that it was next to the naming him. A Parliamentary impeachment was reſolved on; but *Eyre*, then Sollicitor-General, and others, thought the ſhort way of burning the ſermon, and keeping him in priſon during the Seſſion of Parliament, was the better method; but the more ſolemn method was unhappily choſen. 1709.

Books writ againſt the Queen's title.

There had been, ever ſince the Queen came to the Crown, an open revival of the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance by Mr. *Charles Leſley*, who was the firſt man, that began the war in *Ireland*, ſaying, in a ſpeech ſolemnly made, that King *James*, by declaring himſelf a Papiſt, could no longer be our King, ſince he could not be the defender of our Faith, nor the head of our Church, dignities ſo inherent in the Crown, that he, who was incapable of theſe, could not hold it (1). As he animated the people with this ſpeech, ſo ſome actions followed under his conduct, in which ſeveral men were killed; yet he changed ſides quickly, and became the moſt violent Jacobite in the Nation, and was engaged in many plots, and in writing many books againſt the Revolution, and the preſent Government. Soon after the Queen's acceſſion to the Throne, he, or his ſon, as ſome ſaid, publiſhed a ſeries of weekly papers, under the title of the *Rehearſal*, purſuing a thread of arguments in them, all againſt the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance in any caſe whatſoever; deriving Government wholly from God, denying all right in the People, either to confer or to coerce it. The Miniſters connived at this, but with what intention, is not known.

Hoadly's writings in defence thereof.

While theſe ſeditious papers had a free courſe for many years, and were much ſpread and applauded, Mr. *Benjamin Hoadly*, the preſent Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, being called to preach before the Lord-Mayor, choſe for his text the firſt verſes of the thirteenth chapter of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and fairly explained the words there, that they were to be underſtood only againſt reſiſting good Governors upon *Jewiſh* principles; but that theſe words had no relation to bad and cruel Governors; and he aſſerted, that it was not only lawful, but a duty incumbent on all men, to reſiſt ſuch; concluding all with a vindication of the Revolution and the preſent Government. Upon this a great clamour was raiſed, as if he had preached up rebellion; ſeveral books were wrote againſt him; and he juſtified himſelf with a viſible ſuperiority of argument to them all, and ſo ſolidly overthrew the conceit of Sir *Robert Filmer* (at this time eſpouſed by Mr. *Leſley*) that Government was derived by primogeniture from the firſt Patriarchs, that for ſome time he ſilenced his adverſaries; but it was eaſier to keep up a clamour, than to write a ſolid anſwer. Dr. *Sacheverel* reflected with great virulence upon him and on Biſhop *Burnet* and other of the Biſhops, carrying his venom as far back as to Archbiſhop *Grindal*, whom, for his moderation, he called

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Biſhop, finding him very ignorant in *Divinity*, refuſed to ordain him at that time, but did it afterwards on the Biſhop of *Oxford's* recommendation, with particular marks of favour, yet he ungenerouſly traduced that learned Prelate in a libel, called, *The character of a Low-Church-man*. Nor was he leſs virulent againſt Biſhop *Burnet* his mother's benefactor. Being preſented to a ſmall living in *Staffordſhire*, he fell in, both there and at *Oxford*, with the moſt furious of the High-Church and Jacobite party, made ſcurrilous reflections on the death of King *William* and the *Hanover* Succeſſion, and, when the Queen appeared againſt the *High-Church Memorial*, he called her a *waxen Queen*, alluding to the jeſt paſſed upon her at *Oxford* by thoſe, who put her motto *Semper eadem* upon a weather-cock. He was proceeding in this manner, when his friends got him preferment in *London*.

(1) Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, Dr. *King*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, told him, He had ſeen *Leſley*'s ſpeech under his own hand.

709. called a *perfidious Prelate*, and *a falſe ſon of the Church*.

Par-ment ts v. 15. On the 15th of *November* the Parliament of *Great-Britain* being met, the Queen, who had not been in perſon there during the laſt Seſſion, came and made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Queen's ech. H. C. "IT is a great ſatisfaction to me, that I am able to give you ſo good an account of the progreſs of the war ſince the laſt Seſſion of Parliament.

"In the beginning of this year, our enemies made uſe of all their artifices to amuſe us with falſe appearances and deceitful inſinuations of their deſire of peace, in hopes, that from thence means might be found to create ſome diviſions or jealouſies among the Allies. But they were intirely diſappointed in their expectation; and ſuch meaſures were taken upon that occaſion, as made it impoſſible for them long to diſguiſe their inſincerity. The operations of the war were not delayed; and the campaign, which, notwithſtanding the backwardneſs of the ſeaſon, immediately followed, has been at leaſt as glorious for the Allies, as any of thoſe, which have preceded it.

"God Almighty has been pleaſed to bleſs us with a moſt remarkable victory, and with ſuch other great and important ſucceſſes, both before and after it, that *France* is thereby become much more expoſed and open to the impreſſion of our arms, and conſequently more in need of a peace, than it was at the beginning of this campaign.

"However, the war ſtill continuing, I find myſelf obliged again to deſire you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, to grant me ſuch ſupplies, as you ſhall judge neceſſary for the aſſiſting our Allies in all parts, and the vigorous proſecution of our advantages, that we may put the laſt hand to this great work, of reducing that exorbitant and oppreſſive power, which has ſo long threatened the liberties of *Europe*.

"I aſſure you, that all you give ſhall be carefully applied to the uſes of the war, if it continues, or to the leſſening of the debts it has neceſſarily occaſioned, in caſe of a peace; which, though the wants and diſtreſſes of our enemies may naturally lead us to expect, yet, our own late experience may fully convince us, is not to be depended upon any other way, than by being in a condition to compel them to ſuch terms, as may be ſafe and honourable for all the Allies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I think it proper to take notice to you, that the great dearth and ſcarcity, under which our neighbours abroad have ſuffered this year, begins to affect us in ſome meaſure at home, by the temptation of profit in carrying out too much of our corn, while it bears ſo high a price in foreign parts.

"This occaſions many complaints from the poor; for whoſe ſake I earneſtly recommend to you, to take this growing evil into your conſideration; having not neglected any thing on my part towards the remedying of it, that the law would allow. 1709.

"I cannot conclude, without obſerving to you, of what great advantage it will be at this time, to the end we all propoſe to ourſelves, that the greateſt diſpatch be given to the neceſſary preparations for carrying on the war."

The Lords addreſs. Nov. 17. Pr. H. L. The Lords, in their addreſs, expreſſed "their joy to ſee her Majeſty's Royal Perſon upon the Throne, after the great misfortune, which deprived them of her preſence during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament; as alſo their thanks for her ſpeech, whereby it appeared, how readily her tenderneſs for her people inclined her to hearken to propoſals of peace; how wiſely and ſteadily ſhe proceeded in the firſt ſteps of the treaty; and how juſtly ſhe reſented the artifices and inſincerity of the enemy by the vigorous proſecution of the war; which ſoon made it appear, that peace was the choice of her *moderation*, and muſt prove the only *refuge* of her enemies:" Concluding with congratulations "on the continued ſucceſs of her arms, and thoſe of her Allies, under her General, the Duke of *Marlborough*, whoſe conduct was worthy of the chief command in ſo juſt a war, and his valour equal to the bravery of her troops:" And aſſuring "her Majeſty of their utmoſt ſupport to carry on the war, till *France* was compelled to ſubmit to the terms of a ſafe and laſting peace."

The Duke of Marlborough thanked by both Houſes. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C. The Lord-Chancellor, by order of the Peers, returned the Duke of *Marlborough* the thanks of that Houſe, for his continued and eminent ſervices during the laſt campaign. The Commons alſo, after an addreſs to the Queen, upon her continued ſucceſſes, with aſſurances of granting ſpeedy and effectual ſupplies for carrying on the war, unanimouſly voted him the thanks of their Houſe, for the late victory, from which, and his other ſucceſſes, the Kingdom, and the whole Confederacy, had received ſuch honour and advantage. The thanks of both Houſes ſerved to ſilence the Duke of *Marlborough*'s enemies, who reproached him with having wantonly and unneceſſarily ſacrificed the lives of many thouſands, to raiſe his own reputation.

Supply readily granted by the Commons. The Commons made good their aſſurances to the Queen, for in leſs than a month they granted all the neceſſary ſupplies for the next year's ſervice, amounting to 6,184,466 *l.* 7 *s.* Of this ſum, fifteen hundred thouſand pounds were raiſed by way of lottery, and the reſt put on good funds. Purſuant to the Queen's ſpeech, the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in againſt the exportation of the corn, and, at their requeſt, an embargo was laid on all ſhips laden therewith.

Sacheverel *impeached by the Commons.* Burnet. Pr. H. C. Pr. H. L. Hiſt. of *Eur.* By this time the affair of Dr. *Sacheverel* was before the Commons. Mr. *Dolben*, ſon to the late Archbiſhop of *York*, moved with indignation, that the Lord-Treaſurer ſhould be reflected on by the Doctor under the nick-name of *Volpone*, complained, on the 13th of *December*, of the two ſermons before-mentioned. Several paragraphs were read out of each, and Sir *Peter King* and others having made ſpeeches againſt the audaciouſneſs of the Doctor, who had advanced poſitions directly oppoſite to Revolution-

Principles,

1709. Principles, to the preſent Government, and to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and conſequently tending to cheriſh factions, and ſtir up rebellion. Thoſe, who favoured the Doctor's cauſe, were ſurprized at this ſudden attack, and, no Member offering to ſpeak in his defence, it was reſolved, that the two ſermons were malicious, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libels, highly reflecting on the Queen, the late Revolution, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, tending to alienate the affections of her Majeſty's ſubjects, and to create jealouſies and diviſions among them. The Doctor was ordered to attend at the bar of the Houſe the next day, and, being examined, owned the two ſermons. He likewiſe told them, what encouragement he had from the Lord-Mayor to print *the perils of falſe brethren*. Sir *Samuel Garrard*, being a Member of the Houſe, was aſked, Whether the ſermon was printed at his deſire or order? If he had owned it, he would have been expelled the Houſe: But he denied, that ever he *deſired*, or *ordered*, or encouraged, the printing thereof. Though the Doctor offered to prove it, and brought witneſſes for that purpoſe, yet the Houſe would not enter upon that examination, but it was thought more decent to ſeem to give credit to their own Member, though few indeed believed him.

The Lord-Mayor diſowns the Doctor.

The Doctor ſtanding to what he had ſaid, without expreſſing the leaſt conſciouſneſs of having done amiſs, he was directed to withdraw; and it was reſolved, that he ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors, and Mr. *Dolben* was ordered to do it at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, in the name of all the Commons of *Great-Britain*. At the ſame time, a Committee was appointed to draw up the articles againſt him, and the Doctor was taken into cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms.

Vote in favour of Mr. Hoadly.

The Commons having proceeded thus far, ſome Members took occaſion to ſpeak in favour of Mr. *Hoadly*, whoſe principles were more agreeable to the ſenſe of the majority of that Houſe; and who, in ſeveral writings, had vindicated the Revolution (1). Upon which it was reſolved, "That the Reverend Mr. *Benjamin* "*Hoadly*, Rector of *St. Peter's Poor*, *London*, "for having often juſtified the Principles, on "which her Majeſty and the Nation proceeded "in the late happy Revolution, had juſtly me-"rited the favour and recommendation of this "Houſe. 2. That an humble addreſs be pre-"ſented to her Majeſty, that ſhe would be gra-"ciouſly pleaſed to beſtow ſome dignity in the "Church on Mr. *Hoadly*, for his eminent ſer-"vices both to the Church and State." This addreſs having been preſented to the Queen, ſhe anſwered, "That ſhe would take a proper op-"portunity to comply with their deſires:" Which, however, ſhe never did.

When Mr. *Dolben* carried up the impeachment againſt Dr. *Sacheverel*, the Lord *Haverſham* made a ſhort ſpeech, importing, "That it ſeem-"ed ſomewhat ſtrange to ſee a Divine impeach-"ed for preaching a doctrine, for which he 1709.
"would heretofore have been rewarded, and "might, if times changed, be made a Biſhop. "However, added his Lordſhip, ſince he is im-"peached, I hope a day will come for the "calling to account other criminals; for, which "way ſoever I caſt my eyes, I ſee matter for "impeachments."

Dr. *Sacheverel* having petitioned the Commons to admit him to bail, that he might have an opportunity of making his defence, the Committee, who were to draw up the articles of impeachment, were ordered to ſearch for precedents concerning the taking bail in caſe of perſons committed for high crimes and miſdemeanors, and Mr. *Dolben* reporting they could find none, it was put to the vote, whether he ſhould be admitted to bail, and carried in the negative by a majority of an hundred and fourteen againſt ſixty-four.

The proceedings againſt Dr. *Sacheverel* occaſioned great jealouſies and animoſities between the two parties of High-Church and Low-Church; the former gave it out boldly, and in all places, that a deſign was formed by the Whigs to pull down the Church; and that this proſecution was only ſet on foot to try their ſtrength; and that, upon their ſucceſs in it, they would proceed more openly. Though this was all falſhood and forgery, yet it was propagated with ſo much application and zeal, and the tools employed in it were ſo well ſupplied with money (from whom, was not then known) that it is ſcarce credible how generally it was believed.

Some things concurred to put the vulgar in an ill humour; it was a time of dearth and ſcarcity, ſo that the poor were much diſtreſſed. The coming over of the *Palatines*, and the relieving of them, both by the Queen, and by the voluntary contributions of private people, filled our poor likewiſe with indignation, who thought thoſe charities, to which they had a better right, were thus intercepted by ſtrangers. And all, who were ill-affected, ſtudied to heighten theſe their reſentments. The Clergy generally eſpouſed Dr. *Sacheverel* as their Champion, who had ſtood in the breach, and reckoned his cauſe as their own. Many ſermons were preached, both in *London* and other places, to provoke the people, in which they ſucceeded beyond expectation.

Articles againſt Dr. Sacheverel. Pr. H. C.

In the mean time the Committee ſate ſeveral times at Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*'s houſe, in order to draw up the articles of impeachment; ſo that, the Parliament being met again after *Chriſtmas*, Mr. *Dolben* reported, that the articles were ready, which were read paragraph by paragraph. The preamble to the articles being read, a motion was made by the Doctor's friends, that the report ſhould be recommitted, which occaſioned a very warm debate, wherein Mr. *Robert Harley*, Mr. *Bromley*, Mr. *Ward*, and ſome others, made ſeveral exceptions to the matter and form of

(1) Particularly in two books lately publiſhed, the one intituled, *Some conſiderations humbly offered to the Lord Biſhop of* Exeter, *occaſioned by his Lordſhip's ſermon preached before her Majeſty*, March 8, 1708: The other intituled, *An humble reply to the Lord Biſhop of* Exeter's *anſwer, in which the conſiderations lately offered to his Lordſhip are vindicated, and an apology is added for defending the foundation of the preſent Government.*

1709-10. of the articles. Mr. *Harley*, in particular, inſiſted on the leaving out the word *ſeditious*, alledging a precedent in the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt in the proſecution of *Prynn*, *Baſtwick*, and *Burton*. But all objections were anſwered by Mr. Secretary *Boyle*, Mr. *Smith* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Lieutenant-General *Mordaunt*, Mr. *Lechmere*, Mr. *Thompſon*, and ſome others: So, the queſtion for re-committing being put, it paſſed in the negative by a majority of two hundred and thirty-two againſt an hundred and thirty-one; and the articles of impeachment were agreed to, and ordered to be carried up to the Lords. Then the laſt paragraph or recapitulation were alſo read and agreed to, and the whole ordered to be ingroſſed. The next day, *January* 12, the ingroſſed articles being read, Mr. *Dolben* was ordered to carry the ſame to the Lords; which he did accordingly, accompanied by a great number of Members. The ſaid articles imported in ſubſtance, That Dr. *Henry Sacheverel*, in his ſermons and books, did falſly and maliciouſly ſuggeſt and maintain, "1. That the neceſſary means uſed to bring "about the happy Revolution were odious and "unjuſtifiable: That his late Majeſty, in his "*Declaration*, diſclaimed the leaſt imputation "of reſiſtance; and that to impute reſiſtance to "the ſaid Revolution, was to caſt black and "odious colours upon his late Majeſty and the "ſaid Revolution. 2. That the Toleration, "granted by law to Diſſenters, was unreaſonable, and the allowance of it unwarrantable: "And that he was a falſe Brother with relation "to God, Religion, or the Church, who defended the Toleration or Liberty of Conſcience. That Queen *Elizabeth* was deluded by "Archbiſhop *Grindal* (whom he ſcurrilouſly "called *a falſe ſon* of the Church, and a *perfidious Prelate*) to the Toleration of the *Geneva* Diſcipline: And that it was the duty of "ſuperior Paſtors to thunder out their Eccleſiaſtical anathema's againſt perſons intitled to "the benefit of the Toleration, and inſolently "dared or defied any power on earth to reverſe "ſuch ſentence. 3. That the Church of *England* was in a condition of great peril and "adverſity, under her Majeſty's Adminiſtration; "and, in order to arraign and blacken the vote "or reſolution of both Houſes of Parliament, "approved by her Majeſty (mentioned in the "preamble, and importing, that the Church "of *England* was in a ſafe and flouriſhing condition under the Queen's Adminiſtration) he "did ſuggeſt the Church to be in danger; and, "as a parallel, mentioned, that the perſon of "King *Charles* was voted to be *out of danger*, "at the ſame time that his murderers were conſpiring his death; thereby wickedly and maliciouſly inſinuating, that the Members of "both Houſes, who paſſed the ſaid vote, were "then conſpiring the ruin of the Church. "4. That her Majeſty's Adminiſtration, both "in Eccleſiaſtical and Civil affairs, tended to "the deſtruction of the Conſtitution; and that "there were men of characters and ſtations, in "Church and State, who were *falſe Brethren*, "and did themſelves weaken, undermine, be- 1709-10.
"tray, and did encourage and put it in the "power of others, who were profeſſed enemies, "to overturn and deſtroy the Conſtitution and "Eſtabliſhment: And charged her Majeſty, and "thoſe in authority under her, both in Church "and State, with a general Male-adminiſtration: And, as a public incendiary, he perſuaded "her Majeſty's ſubjects to keep up a diſtinction "of factions and parties; inſtilled groundleſs "jealouſies, fomented deſtructive diſtinctions "among them, and excited and ſtirred them "up to arms and violence. And, that his ma"licious and ſeditious ſuggeſtions might make "the ſtronger impreſſions upon the minds of her "Majeſty's ſubjects, he did wickedly wreſt and "pervert divers texts and paſſages of Holy "Scripture."

The Doctor's anſwer.

After the exhibiting of theſe articles, the Serjeant at Arms attending, the Commons delivered Dr. *Sacheverel* to the Deputy-Uſher of the Black-Rod; and the Lords, having read the articles, ordered, that a copy of them ſhould be given to the Doctor, who was admitted to bail, Dr. *Lancaſter*, Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, and Dr. *Bowes* being his ſureties; and, being now at liberty, he conſulted ſome eminent Lawyers and Divines, and, with their aſſiſtance, drew up an anſwer, wherein he either denied the falſe, malicious, and ſeditious poſitions and ſuggeſtions, charged upon him in the articles, or endeavoured to juſtify, palliate, and extenuate what he had advanced in his ſermons; concluding with the expreſſions: "Hard is the lot of the Miniſters "of the Goſpel, if, when they cite the word "of God, in their general exhortations to piety "and virtue, or in their reproofs of men's tranſgreſſions, or where they are lamenting the "difficulty and conflicts, with which the Church "of Chriſt, whilſt militant here on earth, muſt "always ſtruggle; the ſeveral paſſages, by them "cited, ſhall be ſaid to have been by them "meant of particular perſons and things, and "ſhall be conſtrued in the moſt criminal ſenſe, "and made, by ſuch conſtruction, one ground "of an impeachment of high crimes and miſdemeanors."

This anſwer being ſent from the Lords to the Commons, and referred to the Committee, Mr. *Dolben*, in a few days, reported, that it was in many things foreign to the charge, unbecoming a perſon impeached, and plainly deſigned to reflect upon the honour of the Houſe. A replication being ordered to be drawn, a debate aroſe at the ſecond reading, wherein the Doctor's friends inſinuated, "That it was adviſeable to leave "the Offender to the ordinary courſe of juſtice." But this was rejected by a great majority, and the replication ſent up to the Lords, averring their charge, and declaring, they would be ready to prove it, at ſuch convenient time, as ſhould be appointed for that purpoſe.

The Doctor tried in Weſtminſter-Hall.

The Lords appointed the 9th of *March* for the trial at the bar of their Houſe, and the Commons ordered, that the Committee, who had drawn up the articles, ſhould be the Managers to make good the impeachment (1). Then it

(1) Theſe were,
Sir *John Holland*, Comptroller of her Majeſty's houſehold,
Mr. Secretary *Boyle*,
Mr. *Smith*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*,
Sir *James Mountague*, Attorney-General,

1709-10. it was debated, whether the Houſe ſhould attend in a body, or in a Committee of the whole Houſe, and it was carried for a Committee by a majority of an hundred and ninety-two againſt an hundred and eighty. This was done by the Doctor's friends, who found, that, by gaining more time, the people were ſtill more inflamed; and therefore it was, they moved, that the trial might be public in *Weſtminſter-hall*, where the whole Houſe of Commons might be preſent. They knew the preparing of that place would be a work of ſome weeks. Unthinking people were ſo taken with this, that it could not be withſtood, though the effects it would have were well foreſeen. Accordingly upon the Commons requeſt, which was brought up by Mr. *Bromley*, one of the Doctor's chief friends, the Lords addreſſed the Queen for a place to be prepared in *Weſtminſter-hall* for the trial. In the mean time the Doctor's friends in town and country were extremely buſy, and in their private meetings drank to his happy deliverance.

At length the Lords ſent a meſſage to the Commons to acquaint them, they had appointed the 27th of *February* for the trial. On that day (all things being prepared) the Lords, in their formalities, went down to the Court in *Weſtminſter-hall*, where vaſt numbers of ſpectators had been admitted. The Managers of the Commons, and the Committee of the whole Houſe, having taken their reſpective places, and Dr. *Sacheverel*, who was lodged in the *Temple*, and came every day with great ſolemnity in a coach to the hall, being brought to the bar, the trial began, and laſted three weeks, in which all other buſineſs was at a ſtand, for this took up all men's thoughts. The Queen herſelf was preſent every day of the trial in a private manner. The Managers for the Commons opened the matter very ſolemnly. Their performances were very much and juſtly commended. Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Mr. Sollicitor-General *Eyre*, Lieutenant-General *Stanhope*, Sir *Peter King*, but above all Sir *Thomas Parker*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner. They copiouſly juſtified both the Revolution and the preſent Government. There was no need of witneſſes; for, the ſermon being owned by the Doctor, all the evidence was brought from it by laying the words together, and by ſhewing his intent and meaning in them, which appeared from comparing one place with another. When his Council, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Mr. *Dodd*, Mr. *Phipps*, Mr. *Dee*, and Dr. *Henchman* came to plead for him, they very freely acknowledged the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance in extreme caſes, and plainly juſtified the Revolution and our Deliverance by King *William*. But they ſaid, it was not fit in a ſermon to name ſuch an exception. That the duties of morality ought to be delivered in their full extent, without ſuppoſing an extraordinary caſe. And therefore the Doctor had followed precedents ſet by our greateſt Divines ever ſince the Reformation, and ever ſince the Revolution. Upon this they opened a great field; they began with the declarations made in King *Henry* the Eighth's time; they inſiſted next upon the homilies; and from thence inſtanced, in a large ſeries of Biſhops and Divines, who had preached the duty of ſubmiſſion and non-reſiſtance in very full terms, without ſuppoſing any exception; ſome excluding all exceptions in as poſitive a manner as the Doctor had done. They explained the word *Revolution*, as belonging to the new ſettlement upon King *James*'s withdrawing; though, in the common acceptation, it was underſtood of the whole tranſaction, from the landing of the *Dutch* army, till the ſettlement made by the *Convention*. So that, they underſtanding the Revolution in that ſenſe, there was indeed *no reſiſtance* there. That, if the paſſage quoted from the *declaration* of King *William*, while he was Prince of *Orange*, did not come up to that, for which the Doctor quoted it, he ought not to be cenſured, becauſe his quotation did not fully prove his point. As for his invective againſt the Diſſenters and Toleration, they laboured to turn that off, by ſaying, that he did not reflect on what was allowed by law, but on the permiſſion of, or the not puniſhing many, who publiſhed impious and blaſphemous books. And a collection was made of paſſages in books, full of crude impiety and bold opinions. This gave great offence to many, who thought, that this was a ſolemn publiſhing of ſo much impiety to the Nation, by which more miſchief would be done than by the books themſelves; for moſt of them had been neglected, and known only to a ſmall number of thoſe, who encouraged them; and the Authors of many of thoſe books had been proſecuted and puniſhed for them. As to thoſe parts of the ſermon, which ſet out the danger the Church was in, though both Houſes had ſome years ago voted it a great offence to ſay it was in danger; the Doctor's Council ſaid it might have been in none four years ago, when theſe votes paſſed, and yet be now in danger: The greateſt of all dangers was to be apprehended from the wrath of God for ſuch impieties. They ſaid, the reflections on the adminiſtration were not meant of thoſe employed immediately by the Queen, but of men in inferior poſts. If the Doctor's words ſeemed capable of a bad ſenſe, they were alſo capable of a more innocent one; and every man was allowed to put any conſtruction on his words, that they could bear. 1709-10

When the Doctor's Council had ended their defence, he concluded it himſelf with a ſpeech, which he read with much bold heat; in which, with many ſolemn aſſeverations, he juſtified his intentions towards the Queen and her Government. He ſpoke with reſpect both of the Revolution and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. He inſiſted moſt on condemning all reſiſtance under any pretence whatſoever, without mentioning the

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Mr. *Robert Eyre*, Sollicitor-General,
Mr. *Robert Walpole*, Treaſurer of the navy,
Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*,
Mr. *Lechmere*,
Mr. *Dolben*,
Sir *Thomas Parker*,
Sir *Peter King*, Recorder of the City of *London*,
Sir *John Holles*,
The Lord *William Pawlet*,
The Lord *Coningsby*,
Mr. *Spencer Compton*,
Mr. *William Thompſon*,
Lieutenant-General *Stanhope*,
Lieutenant-General *Mordaunt*,
Mr. *Spencer Cowper*,
Sir *David Dalrymple*.

(1) Mr.

1709-10. the exception of extreme neceſſity, as his Council had done. He ſaid it was a Doctrine of the Church, in which he was educated; and added many pathetical expreſſions, to move the audience to compaſſion. This had a great effect on the weaker ſort, while it poſſeſſed thoſe, who knew the man and his ordinary diſcourſes with horror, when they heard him affirm ſo many falſhoods with ſuch ſolemn appeals to God. It was very plain, that the ſpeech was made for him by others, for the ſtyle was more correct and far different from his own; and it was thought to be the joint work of Dr. *Atterbury*, Dr. *Smalridge*, and Dr. *Friend*, ſuperviſed and corrected by Sir *Simon Harcourt* and Mr. *Phipps* (1).

A great diſorder at the trial.

During the trial, the multitudes, that followed him all the way as he came, and as he went back, ſhewed a great concern for him, preſſing about him, and ſtriving to kiſs his hand. And when the Queen went, in the afternoon of the day, on which the trial began, to the Houſe of Lords, to give the Royal aſſent to ſome bills, a great multitude of people gathered about her ſedan, crying out, *God bleſs your Majeſty and the Church: We hope your Majeſty is for Dr.* Sacheverel. The next day, the mob was ſtill more numerous and louder about Dr. *Sacheverel*'s coach, and obliged all perſons they met to pull off their hats to him, and abuſed thoſe who refuſed to comply; among whom were ſome Members of both Houſes of Parliament. The ſame evening, the rioters went to Mr. *Daniel Burgeſs*'s Meeting-Houſe, in a court near *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, of which they broke the windows, and committed ſeveral other outrages and diſorders. Their fury increaſing with their numbers, they advanced to greater enormities, and even to overt-acts of rebellion. For, after they had attended upon Dr. *Sacheverel*, as uſual, they repaired to that Meeting-Houſe again, broke it open, pulled down the pulpit, pews, benches, in ſhort, all that was combuſtible; and, having carried theſe materials into *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, made a bone-fire of them, with repeated cries of *High Church* and *Sacheverel*. About the ſame time, other parties of the mob demoliſhed and deſtroyed ſeveral other Meeting-Houſes (2). They alſo battered and plundered the Houſes of ſeveral Diſſenters; threatened to pull down the Houſes of the Lord-Chancellor, Earl of *Wharton*, Biſhop of *Sarum*, Mr. *Dolben*, and other Managers for the Commons, againſt Dr. *Sacheverel*; and talked of deſtroying Mr. *Hoadly*'s Church and Houſe, *Salters-Hall*, Mr. *Shower*'s, and other Meeting-Houſes in the City; and even of attacking the Bank of *England*, of which the Directors being apprehenſive, they took the neceſſary precautions for its ſecurity, and ſent to *Whitehall* for aſſiſtance. Theſe diſorders were directed by ſome of better faſhion, who followed the mob in hackney-coaches, and were ſeen ſending meſſages to them. Upon the firſt notice of theſe tumults, the Earl of *Sunderland* made his report to the Queen, who commanded him to ſend her horſe and foot-guards to diſperſe the mob; and the Earl repreſenting the danger of leaving her perſon unguarded at that time (it being between ten and eleven o'clock at night) ſhe anſwered, *God would be her guard.* The Earl being returned to his Office at the *Cock-pit*, where were alſo the Lord-Chancellor, the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and ſome other Noblemen, he ſent for Captain *Horſey*, an exempt, who then commanded the Guard, and ordered him to mount immediately, and diſperſe the mob. And, as the Captain was going out, the Earl whiſpered him, and bid him ſend a party 1709 10.

(1) Mr. *Maynwaring*, in his letters to a friend in *North-Britain*, thus remarks on the Doctor's ſpeech: 'But now comes the great ſcope of the Doctor's performance, his own harangue at the bar of the Houſe of Lords; and here, without entering into a particular examination of the whole piece, I cannot help profeſſing, with ſome ſorrow, that I think he was too hardly dealt with by thoſe that made it for him, when they obliged him to aver, in the face of God and the Queen, *That he had neither ſuggeſted*, nor did in his conſcience believe, *that the Church is in the leaſt peril from her Majeſty's adminiſtration.* If thoſe men, he means *Atterbury*, *Smalridge*, *Friend*, *Moſs*, &c. had been endued with the leaſt mercy, conſcience, or humanity, they would never have put into his mouth ſuch a choaking provocation as this; and I cannot help taking his part againſt them upon this occaſion, as abandoned a Prieſt as he is. When this holy man had, in his ſermon at St. *Paul*'s, plainly ſhewn, *How obvious it were to draw a parallel between the ſad circumſtances of the Church of* England *formerly*, *and of the Church of* England *at preſent*, *whoſe walls and incloſures are pulled down*, *and this pure ſpouſe of Chriſt proſtituted to more Adulterers than the ſcarlet whore in the* Revelations. What could enter into the heads of thoſe penmen of the ſpeech, to make the poor wretch ſwear, that he had never ſuggeſted the Church was in danger? With what indignation muſt every one hear ſuch ſolemn appeals made to Heaven, for the truth of a fact, which the whole Aſſembly knew to be directly contrary? What excuſe ſhall we find out for this moſt hardened ſinner? Will it acquit him to ſay, that he did not compoſe his ſpeech, and only performed his part like an actor: Indeed, it may be ſaid to reſemble a play in one reſpect, becauſe it was a farce very well wrought, and had a wonderful effect on the weak part of his audience; the reſt were amazed, continues Mr. *Maynwaring*, they trembled at his oaths, when *he called the Searcher of hearts to witneſs*, *in the moſt ſolemn and religious manner*, *as he expected to be acquitted before God and his Holy Angels*, *at that dreadful Tribunal*, *before which*, *not only he*, *but even their Lordſhips muſt appear*, *that he was far from deſigning to defame her Majeſty's adminiſtration.* Good God! And is this the man for whom the people have made an inſurrection? Is this the man for whom their zeal has flamed out in all manner of appearance? Is this the man, whoſe effigies is ſold about, curiouſly done in *Metzo tinto*; whoſe health is drank before the Queen's, and next in the ſame glaſs with that of the Church? What can he have to do with any Church, who is a ſhame to Chriſtianity itſelf? And is this the man, for whom tears were ſhed, when, by his inſolent behaviour, he had made that compaſſion ridiculous, which would otherwiſe have been due to one in his circumſtances? How offenſive was his aſſurance; how naufeous his preſumption; and how atheiſtical was his purpoſe, in wickedly perverting divers texts of Scripture, inſtead of preaching the truths. He ſaid, *He had no intention to aſperſe the memory of his late Majeſty*; and he has been often heard to ſay, he ought to be *De witted*, of which I have myſelf ſeen an affidavit, under the hand of Mr. *Eberal.*'

(2) Particularly thoſe of Mr. *Earle* in *Long-Acre*; of Mr. *Bradbury* in *New-Street*, *Shoe-Lane*; of Mr. *Taylor* in *Leather-Lane*; of Mr. *Wright* in *Black-Fryars*; and of Mr. *Hamilton* in *Clerkenwell.*

1709-10. party to the Bank. Before the horſe and foot-guards could reach *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, the Officers had notice, that the mob, which had gathered there, was returned to *Drury-Lane*, where they were making another bone-fire, with the furniture of Mr. *Earle*'s Meeting-Houſe; whereupon the guards bent their march that way. At their approach moſt of the mob fled before them; and only one of their ring-leaders, *George Purchaſe*, a Bailiff (who had before been a Life-guard-man, but was diſmiſſed for ſome miſdemeanor) offered to make a ſtand, with a few of the moſt reſolute of his followers, crying out for *High Church* and Dr. *Sacheverel*. From *Drury-Lane* the Guards marched towards the City, and met with ſome oppoſition near *Fleet-Ditch* from the mob, that were rifling the Meeting-Houſe in *Black-Fryars*; but having wounded ſome of the moſt daring, and ſecured others, the reſt were ſoon ſcattered; and the Guards, patrolling all night, prevented any farther miſchief. On the 2d of *March*, the horſe and foot-guards at *Whitehall* and *St. James's* were doubled; and the trained-bands at *Weſtminſter* under arms in divers poſts, where they continued as long as Dr. *Sacheverel*'s trial was depending; which both leſſened the number of the Mutineers (many of the trained-band being men of low circumſtances, hired by ſubſtantial houſe-keepers) and kept the reſt in awe. The ſame day, the Commons reſolved to addreſs the Queen, to take effectual meaſures to ſuppreſs the preſent tumults, ſet on foot and fomented by Papiſts, Nonjurors, and other enemies to her Title and Government; and to iſſue out a Proclamation, promiſing a reward to ſuch, as ſhould diſcover and ſeize thoſe incendiaries, who had been the occaſions of the late tumults and diſorders. To this addreſs the Queen anſwered, "That ſhe was extremely ſenſible of the great "care and concern of the Houſe of Commons "for the ~~public peace upon~~ this occaſion; and, "as ſhe had a juſt reſentment at theſe tumultu-"ous and violent proceedings, ſo ſhe would "take immediate care for ſuppreſſing them, and "would loſe no time in endeavouring to find "out the authors and abettors, in order to "bring them to puniſhment, according to the "deſire of this Houſe". The Commons, upon this anſwer, unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs, importing, "That they begged leave "to return their moſt hearty thanks for her moſt "gracious anſwer to their addreſs, and for her "effectual care in ſuppreſſing thoſe rebellious "tumults, which were ſet on foot and fomented "by Papiſts, Non-jurors, and other enemies to "her Title and Government, in defiance of the "juſt proſecution of the Commons againſt Dr. "*Henry Sacheverel*. And they humbly be-"ſought her to believe, that as this proſecuti-"on proceeded only from the indiſpenſable ob-"ligation, which her faithful Commons looked "upon themſelves to lie under, not to ſit ſtill, "and patiently ſee the juſtice of the late happy Revolution, and the glory of their late "Royal Deliverer reflected upon; her Majeſty's "undoubted Title ſtruck at; her Adminiſtrati-"on, by which ſo many bleſſings were derived "upon them, endeavoured to be rendered odi-"ous to the people, and repreſented as deſtruc-"tive of the Church and Conſtitution; the "preſent Eſtabliſhment and Proteſtant Succeſſi-"on undermined; the reſolutions of the Parlia- 1709-10.
"ment treated with contempt; the Governors "of the Church, and her Majeſty, as ſupreme, "aſperſed and vilified; the Toleration expoſed, "as wicked; and ſedition inſolently invading "the Pulpit: So the maintenance of her Ma-"jeſty's Right, the ſafety of her Perſon, the "quiet of her Government, the continuance of "their happineſs under her excellent Admini-"ſtration, the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant line, "the ſupport and honour of the Church of "*England*, as eſtabliſhed by law, with that To-"leration, which was by act of Parliament al-"lowed to Proteſtant Diſſenters, ſhould be "their conſtant care and concern. And they "would, upon all occaſions, venture all that "was dear to them, in defence of ſuch ineſti-"mable bleſſings." It was moved, that in the firſt paragraph it might be ſuggeſted, that the *rebellious tumults were ſet on foot and fomented by Republicans*, as well as by *Papiſts* and *Nonjurors*; but the motion was rejected. The day before March 3.
this addreſs was preſented, a proclamation was publiſhed for ſuppreſſing the tumults, purſuant to which ſeveral perſons, who had been active in the late riots, were apprehended, and committed to divers priſons, particularly *George Purchaſe*, the Bailiff; *Daniel Damaree*, one of the Queen's Watermen; and *Francis Willis*, a Footman; which three were ſome time after tried for high-treaſon; but, though the two firſt were ſentenced to die, yet neither of them ſuffered. The remiſſneſs, in puniſhing ſo great a diſorder, was looked on as the preparing and encouraging men to new tumults; and there was a ſecret management in the whole affair, that amazed all people.

When Dr. *Sacheverel* had ended his defence, *Continuation of the trial.*
the Managers for the Houſe of Commons replied, and ſhewed very evidently, that the words of his ſermon could not reaſonably bear any other ſenſe, but that, for which they charged him. This was an eaſy performance, and they managed it with great ſtrength and vivacity. But the humour of the town was turned againſt them, and all the Clergy appeared for the Doctor. Many of the Queen's Chaplains ſtood about him, encouraging and magnifying him; and it was given out, that the Queen herſelf favoured him, though upon Biſhop *Burnet*'s firſt coming to town, which was after the impeachment was brought up to the Lords, ſhe ſaid to him, that it was a bad ſermon, and that he deſerved well to be puniſhed for it.

Sir *John Holt*, Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the *Chief Juſtice Holt's death and character.*
Queen's-Bench, died during the trial of the Doctor, upon the 6th of *March*. He was very learned in the law, and had, upon great occaſions, ſhewed an intrepid zeal in aſſerting its authority; for he ventured on the indignation of both Houſes of Parliament by turns, when he thought the law was with him. He was a man of good judgment and great integrity, and ſet himſelf with great application to the functions of that important poſt. Sir *Thomas Parker* was immediately made Lord-Chief-Juſtice in his room. This great promotion ſeemed an evident demonſtration of the Queen's approving the proſecution; for none of the Managers had treated the Doctor ſo ſeverely as he had done; yet ſecret whiſpers were very confidently ſet about, that though the Queen's affairs put her upon

1709-10. upon acting the part of one, who was pleaſed with this ſcene, yet ſhe diſliked it all, and would take the firſt occaſion to ſhew it.

On the 10th of *March* the Earl of *Nottingham* ſaid, that he had ſomething to propoſe; and the Lords being adjourned to their Houſe, he ſtarted an unexpected queſtion, "Whether in proſe-"cutions by impeachments for high crimes and "miſdemeanors, by writing or ſpeaking, the "particular words, ſuppoſed to be criminal, are "neceſſary to be expreſsly ſpecified in ſuch im-"peachments?" After ſome debate, the Lords reſolved to conſult the Judges, who very readily delivered their unanimous opinions, "That, "according to law, the grounds of an indict-"ment or impeachment ought to be expreſsly "mentioned in both." Thoſe, who were for puniſhing Dr. *Sacheverel*, were not a little ſurprized at this unforeſeen difficulty, which was of no leſs conſequence, than to annul the whole proſecution, and to make it neceſſary for the Commons to begin anew, which they could not expect to have time to do. But it being ſuggeſted, that the Judges had delivered their opinion according to the *rules* of *Weſtminſter-hall*, and not according to the *uſage* of *Parliament*, the Lords at laſt reſolved, "That in impeach-"ments they were to proceed according to the "laws of the land, and the law and uſage of "Parliaments;" and, upon ſearching the journals of the Houſe for precedents, they found a parallel inſtance to that of Dr. *Sacheverel*'s impeachment, which was that of Dr. *Maynwaring* in King *Charles* I's Reign, wherein the words, for which he was impeached, were not expreſsly mentioned in the articles. Whereupon it was voted after ſome debate, "That by the law and "uſage of Parliaments in proſecutions by im-"peachments for high-crimes and miſdemea-"nors, by writing or ſpeaking, the particular "words, ſuppoſed to be criminal, are not ne-"ceſſary to be expreſsly ſpecified in ſuch im-"peachments:" Againſt which reſolution many Lords entered their proteſt.

On the 16th of *March*, the Queen went *incognito* to the Houſe of Lords, where a motion being made to declare, "That the Com-"mons had made good the firſt article againſt "Dr. *Sacheverel*," a warm debate aroſe. The Earl of *Wharton*, who ſpoke firſt, ſaid, "There "is a different ſtrain between the Doctor's *ſer-"mon* and his *ſpeech*; the ſpeech is a full con-"futation and condemnation of the ſermon. "All he has advanced about *non-reſiſtance* and "*unlimited obedience*, is ridiculous and falſe; as "is alſo his diſtinguiſhing in the affair of the "Revolution, in which there was notorious re-"ſiſtance in the *aſſociation* begun at *Exeter*, "and in the ſeizing of *York* and *Oxford* gates, "and breaking the bridge. The doctrine of "*paſſive obedience*, as preſſed by the Doctor, is "not reconcileable to the practice of Church-"men. If the Revolution is not lawful, many "in that Houſe, and vaſt numbers without, "were guilty of blood, murder, rapine, and "injuſtice; and the Queen herſelf is no lawful "Queen, ſince the beſt title ſhe had to the "Crown, was her Parliamentary title, founded "on the Revolution." The Lord *Haverſham* made a long ſpeech in anſwer to this; and the Lord *Ferrers* endeavoured likewiſe to excuſe the Doctor, alledging, "That the Revolution was "not mentioned in his ſermon: That nothing "but plain matter of fact ſhould ground ſuch 1709-10. "a ſolemn accuſation: That, if the Doctor were "guilty of ſome fooliſh unguarded expreſſions, "he ought to have been tried in *Weſtminſter-"hall:* But he doubted, whether even in the "inferior Courts there would be ſufficient mat-"ter to convict him." He was ſupported by the Earl of *Scarborough*, who ſaid, the Revolution was a nice point, and above the law; and moved, that they ſhould adjourn the debate, and take time to conſider, before they gave their judgment.

The Lord *Haverſham* having reflected on ſome Biſhops *voting contrary to their doctrines*, Dr. *Talbot*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, took from thence occaſion to ſpeak on the other ſide. But Dr. *Hooper*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, endeavoured to excuſe Dr. *Sacheverel*; "he allowed, indeed, "of what the Biſhop of *Oxford* had advanced, "about the neceſſity and legality of reſiſtance "in ſome extraordinary caſes; but was of opi-"nion, that this ought to be kept from the "knowledge of the people, who are naturally "too apt to reſiſt; and that the oppoſite doc-"trine ought rather to be maintained and in-"forced. That the *Revolution* was not to be "boaſted of, and made a precedent; but we "ought to throw a mantle over it, and rather "call it a *Vacancy* or *Abdication:* And the *Ori-"ginal Compact* were two very dangerous words, "not to be mentioned without a great deal of "caution. That they, who examined the *Re-"volution* too nicely, were no friends to it; for, "at that rate, the Crown would roll like a ball, "and never be fixed." He concluded, "That "there ſeemed to be a neceſſity to preach up "*Non-reſiſtance* and *Paſſive Obedience* at that "time, when reſiſtance was juſtified." The Duke of *Argyle*, who ſpoke on the other ſide, ſaid, among other things, "That the Clergy, "in all ages, have delivered up the rights and "liberties of the People, and preached up the "King's power, in order to govern him; and "therefore they ought not to be ſuffered to "meddle with politics." The Earl of *Angleſey* anſwered to this, "That political ſermons were "ſometimes neceſſary, and allowed on the 30th "of *January*, and other occaſions. As to the "*Revolution*, which was the chief matter now "in debate (he ſaid) the *vacancy of the Throne* was "properly the thing; and therefore the mention-"ing *neceſſary* means, was mere nonſenſe in the "Doctor; and he would not find him guilty for "nonſenſe; the rather, becauſe the doctrine of "reſiſtance, which the Doctor had confuted, juſ-"tifies rebellion, murder, and all manner of "crimes." The Duke of *Leeds*, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, made a very long ſpeech, wherein he owned, "he had a great ſhare in the "late Revolution, but ſaid, he never thought, "that things would have gone ſo far, as to ſet-"tle the Crown on the Prince of *Orange*, whom "he had often heard ſay, that he had no ſuch "thoughts himſelf. That they ought to diſ-"tinguiſh between *Reſiſtance* and *Revolution*; "for *Vacancy* or *Abdication* was the thing they "went upon, and therefore Reſiſtance was to "be forgot; for, had it not ſucceeded, it had "certainly been rebellion; ſince he knew of no "other but hereditary right." Upon this the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* made a ſpeech, "wherein "he ſhewed the falſhood of an opinion too "commonly received, that the Church of *Eng-*

1709-10. " *land* had always condemned Reſiſtance, even " in the caſes of extreme tyranny. The books " of the *Maccabees*, bound up in our bibles, " and approved by our articles, as containing " examples of life and inſtruction of manners, " though not as any part of the Canon of the " Scripture, contained a full and clear precedent " for reſiſting and ſhaking off extreme tyranny. " The *Jews*, under that brave family, not only " defended themſelves againſt *Antiochus*, but " formed themſelves into a free and new Go- " vernment: Our homilies were only againſt " wilful rebellion, ſuch as had been againſt our " Kings, while they were governing by law. " But, at that very time, Queen *Elizabeth* had " aſſiſted, firſt the *Scots*, and then the *French*, " and to the end of her days continued to pro- " tect the *States*, who not only reſiſted, but, " as the *Maccabees* had done, ſhook off the " *Spaniſh* yoke, and ſet up a new form of Go- " vernment. In all this ſhe was not only juſti- " fied by the beſt Writers of that time, ſuch " as *Jewel* and *Bilſon*, but was approved and " ſupported in it. Both her Parliaments and " Convocations gave her ſubſidies to carry on " thoſe wars. The ſame principles were kept " up all King *James*'s Reign. In the begin- " ning of King *Charles*'s Reign he protected " the *Rochellers*, and aſked ſupplies from the " Parliament, to inable him to do it effectually, " and ordered a faſt and prayers to be made for " them. It is true, ſoon after that, new no- " tions of abſolute power, derived from God " to Kings, were taken up: At the firſt riſe " given to theſe by *Maynwaring*, they were " condemned by a ſentence of the Lords; and " though he ſubmitted, and retracted his opi- " nion, yet a ſevere cenſure paſſed upon him. " But, during the long diſcontinuance of Parlia- " ments that followed, this Doctrine was more " favoured: It was generally preached up, and " many things were done purſuant to it, which " put the Nation into the great convulſions, " that followed in our civil wars. After theſe " were over, it was natural to return to the " other extreme, as Courts naturally favoured " ſuch Doctrines. King *James* truſted too " much to it; yet the very Aſſerters of that " Doctrine were the firſt, who pleaded for Re- " ſiſtance, when they thought they needed it."

Several other Peers, particularly the Duke of *Devonſhire*, the Lord-Chancellor, and the Lords *Sommers*, *Halifax*, and *Mohun* ſpoke alſo in vindication of the late Revolution; and maintained, that in extraordinary caſes Reſiſtance is neceſſary and lawful; and concluded, that the Commons had made good the firſt article. The Archbiſhop of *York*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Rocheſter*, the Lords *Guernſey*, *North* and *Grey*, and *Caermarthen*, and the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Landaff*, who ſpoke on the other ſide, declared, " That " they never read ſuch a piece of madneſs and " nonſenſe, as Dr. *Sacheverel*'s ſermon, but did " not think him guilty of a miſdemeanor." After a long debate, which laſted till paſt nine in the evening, it was at laſt carried by a majority of nineteen, that the Commons had made good their firſt article of impeachment againſt Dr. *Sacheverel*.

The next day, *March* 17, the Lords took into conſideration the ſecond article of the Commons impeachment, and Dr. *Wake*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, began the debate with a ſpeech, where- in he gave an account of the deſign of a *Com-* 1709 10
prehenſion ſet on foot, towards the end of King *James* II's Reign, by Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, and promoted by the moſt eminent Divines of the Church of *England*, particularly Dr. *Patrick*, late Biſhop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Sharp*, the preſent Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhops of *London* and *Ely*, which was, " to improve, and, if " poſſible, to inforce our Diſcipline, to review " and inlarge our Liturgy, by correcting ſome " things, and adding others; and by leaving " ſome few indifferent ceremonies, in order to " reconcile Diſſenters to the Church. That Dr. " *Sacheverel* had made a ſtrange and falſe repre- " ſentation of this deſign, which was again ſet " on foot, and openly eſpouſed by King *Wil-* " *liam* and Queen *Mary*, but which unhappily " miſcarried." He then proceeded to offer ſuch paſſages out of Dr. *Sacheverel*'s ſermon, as plainly and fully made out the ſecond article of the Commons impeachment, including, " That " ſomewhat ſhould be done to put a ſtop to " ſuch preaching, as, if not timely corrected, " may kindle ſuch heats and animoſities among " us, as may truly endanger both our Church " and State. As for the Preacher himſelf, I am " (ſaid the Biſhop) very willing to come into " any meaſures of favour to him, that are con- " ſiſtent with your Lordſhips honour and juſtice, " and will anſwer the ends of the impeachment, " that has been brought before us againſt him." Dr. *Trimnel*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, inforced what the Biſhop of *Lincoln* had ſaid " about Tolera- " ration; inveighed againſt the inſolence of " Dr. *Sacheverel*, who had arraigned Arch- " biſhop *Grindall* (one of the eminent Re- " formers in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*) " as a *perfidious Prelate*, for favouring and to- " lerating the *Genevian* Diſcipline; checked his " preſumption, in taking upon him, in his " ſermon, to preſcribe rules to his Superiors, " by telling them when they are to *thunder out* " *their anathema's againſt Schiſmatics*; ſhewed, " that the proper uſe of thoſe ſpiritual weapons " is to ſuppreſs vice, immorality, and profane- " neſs, among the members of the Church; " and that they were altogether uſeleſs to con- " vince Heretics or Schiſmatics, who are ra- " ther to be won by gentle methods and Chriſ- " tian forbearance. And to that purpoſe his " Lordſhip took notice of the good effects of the " *Toleration act*; and mentioned ſeveral inſtances, " wherein he had himſelf been inſtrumental in " *reconciling Diſſenters to the Church.* I ſhall not " take upon me (ſaid he in the concluſion) to " charge the Doctor, or any of his particular " friends, with this practice (meaning the late tu- " mults) as great temptation as one is under to do " ſo from ſeveral circumſtances. And it is not the " leaſt, that occurs in his prayers, which he has " publiſhed on this occaſion, to repreſent, not ſo " much to God, as to the World, that he is " under perſecution, when he is proſecuted for " offending againſt the law, by thoſe, who, in " common juſtice, ought to be thought the faireſt " accuſers, and, before your Lordſhips, who are " juſtly acknowledged to be the moſt impartial " Judges. However, I will never believe, till " I cannot avoid it, that any Members of the " Church of *England*, who have acknowledged " the Government, much leſs any Clergyman, " who has ſo often profeſſed his obedience to it " in Church and State, ſhould have been any

" way

1709-10. " way acceſſary to theſe threatenings, that have
" been given out, particularly againſt ſuch Bi-
" ſhops, as ſhould happen to condemn the Doc-
" tor's proceedings. As far, my Lords, as I
" have ſeen of this cauſe, I am likely to be one
" of thoſe Biſhops; and, though I do not pre-
" tend to any great ſhare of courage, I am ve-
" ry free to declare to your Lordſhips, that I
" am in no compariſon ſo apprehenſive of what
" may befall myſelf for condemning this per-
" ſon, as I am of what will probably befall the
" public, if your Lordſhips ſhould not condemn
" him. However, I wiſh he may be treated
" with all poſſible *moderation*; and that the
" *wholſome ſeverities*, he recommends in his ſer-
" mon, may not be uſed againſt him. But that
" is in your Lordſhips judgment, to which I
" humbly ſubmit it; and only beg pardon for 1709-10.
" having detained your Lordſhips ſo long in gi-
" ving my reaſons, why I think the Commons
" have made good this *ſecond part* of their
" charge." No Peer offering to ſpeak in fa-
vour of the Doctor, it was voted, That the Commons had made good the ſecond article of their impeachment. The party, that was for the Doctor, made no oppoſition to the third, and but little to the fourth. They contented themſelves with proteſting againſt them, as they had done againſt the two firſt. The four articles being thus voted to be proved, the Lords went down to the Hall, when the queſtion being put upon the whole impeachment, *Guilty* or *not Guilty*, the Doctor was voted *not Guilty* by fifty-two *, and *Guilty* by ſixty-nine † (1).

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* The Archbiſhop of *York*; the Dukes of *Ormond*, *Beaufort*, *Northumberland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Leeds*, *Buckingham*, *Hamilton*; the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Northampton*, *Denbigh*, *Berkſhire*, *Thanet*, *Scarſdale*, *Angleſea*, *Suſſex*, *Yarmouth*, *Nottingham*, *Rocheſter*, *Abingdon*, *Plymouth*, *Scarborough*, *Jerſey*, *Poulet*, *Mar*, *Wemys*, *Northesk*; the Viſcounts *Say* and *Seal*, *Weymouth*; the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Cheſter*; the Barons *Ferrers*, *Willoughby* of *Brooke*, *North* and *Grey*, *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, *Chandos*, *Leigh*, *Lexington*, *Berkley*, *Craven*, *Osborn*, *Dartmouth*, *Stawel*, *Guilford*, *Butler*, *Lempſter*, *Haverſham*, *Guernſey*, *Conway*.

† The Lord-Chancellor, Lord-Treaſurer, Lord-Preſident, Lord-Privy-Seal, Lord-Steward of the Houſhold; the Dukes of *Cleveland*, *Richmond*, *Grafton*, *St. Albans*, *Bolton*, *Schomberg*, *Bedford*, *Montroſs*, *Roxburgh*, *Dover*; the Marquiſſes of *Kent* and *Dorcheſter*; the Earls of *Derby*, *Lincoln*, *Dorſet*, *Bridgewater*, *Leiceſter*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Manchester*, *Rivers*, *Stamford*, *Winchelſea*, *Sunderland*, *Carliſle*, *Radnor*, *Berkley*, *Holderneſs*, *Portland*, *Warrington*, *Bradford*, *Orford*, *Greenwich*, *Grantham*, *Wharton*, *Cholmondley*, *Crawford*, *Loudoun*, *Leven*, *Orkney*, *Seaſield*, *Roſeberry*, *Glaſgow*, *Ilay*; the Biſhops of *Sarum*, *Ely*, *Peterborough*, *Oxford*, *Lincoln*, *Norwich*, *St. Aſaph*; the Barons *De la War*, *Fitzwalter*, *Paget*, *Hunſden*, *Mohun*, *Biron*, *Colepeper*, *Rockingham*, *Cornwallis*, *Oſſulſton*, *Herbert*, *Hallifax*, *Harvey*, *Pelham*.

(1) The proceedings of the Peers more at large were as follows:

In relation to the third article, the Lord *Hallifax* made a ſhort ſpeech, and was anſwered by the Lord *Ferrers* and the Earl of *Nottingham*. The fourth article occaſioned a longer debate, which was begun by the Earl of *Wharton*, in the commendation of the preſent adminiſtration. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* ſeconded him, and ſpoke with vehemence againſt Dr. *Sacheverel*, 'who, by inveighing againſt the *Revolution*, *Toleration*, and *Union*, ſeemed to arraign and attack the Queen herſelf, ſince her Majeſty had ſo great a ſhare in the firſt, and had often declared, that ſhe would maintain the ſecond; and that ſhe looked upon the third as the moſt glorious event of her reign. That nothing could be more plain than his reflecting on her Majeſty's Miniſters; and that he had in particular ſo well marked out a noble Peer there preſent, by an ugly and ſcurrilous epithet * (which he would not repeat) that it was not poſſible to miſtake him.' Upon this ſome of the younger Peers fell a laughing, and cried out, *name him*, *name him*; but the Lord Chancellor interpoſed, declaring, 'That no Peer was obliged to ſay but what he thought fit." The Lord *Ferrers* ſaid ſomething in favour of Dr. *Sacheverel*, but was anſwered by the Earl of *Ilay*; and then the Lord *Haverſham* made a ſhort ſpeech about that part of the fourth article, wherein Dr. *Sacheverel* was charged with wreſting and perverting divers paſſages of Scripture.' He ſaid, 'No man on earth has authority to interpret the ſcripture; which, he thought, muſt be interpreted by itſelf: Since the Reformation, we had contended againſt the Church of *Rome*, who pretended to that authority: And ſhall we (added he) allow *Infallibility* in the Commons, which we deny to the Pope of *Rome?*' And in concluſion he repeated his deſire, that the reverend Prelates there preſent would tell the Houſe, 'How Dr. *Sacheverel* could be charged with wreſting the ſcripture?' But none of the Biſhops offered to ſatisfy him. The Duke of *Hamilton* having ſaid ſomething in favour of the Doctor, he was anſwered by the Lord *Mohun*. The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Earls of *Scarſdale* and *Abingdon*, and the Lord *Caermarthen*, endeavoured likewiſe to extenuate the Doctor's offences, but it was voted that the Commons had made good the fourth article of the impeachment. However, thirty-eight Lords entered their diſſent to the queſtion upon the ſecond, third, and fourth articles. At the cloſe of the debate, the Earl of *Wharton* ſaid, That ſince the Houſe had reſolved, 'That the Commons had made good their four articles of impeachment againſt Dr. *Sacheverel*,' the Lords ought, by a neceſſary conſequence, to reſolve and declare likewiſe, That the Doctor was *guilty of the High Crimes and Miſdemeanors charged upon him*. But the Earls of *Abingdon* and *Rocheſter*, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *North* and *Grey*, and the Lord *Ferrers*, ſtarting ſome difficulties, it was propoſed, that the queſtion to be aſked every Lord in *Weſtminſter-hall* ſhould be as follows: 'That the Commons having made good the ſeveral articles of the impeachment againſt *Henry Sacheverel*, Doctor in Divinity; the ſaid Doctor *Henry Sacheverel is guilty of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.*'

Accordingly, on the 18th of *March*, the queſtion being read, the Earl of *Rocheſter* moved, that the Judges ſhould be conſulted; but no Peer ſeconding that motion, the Lord *Guernſey* ſaid, " The queſtion, as ſtated, was not fit to be put in *Weſtminſter-hall*, becauſe it would ſubvert the conſtitution of Parliament, and preclude the Peers from their right of giving their Judgment, both of the fact, as well as of the law. For in this caſe ſome Peers might be ſatisfied as to the fact, but not as to the law, and if they were to give their judgment as the queſtion was ſtated, their freedom of voting would be taken away. Therefore he moved, *That the firſt part of the propoſed queſtion be left out.*" The Lord *North* and *Grey*, who ſpoke next, ſaid, 'There is no neceſſity of putting the queſtion in *Weſtminſter-hall*, but only acquainting the Commons there, that Dr. *Sacheverel* is guilty in general: For how can any Peer, that thinks him not guilty (as for my part, I don't) ſay in the face of the Commons, he is not guilty, and allow at the ſame time, that the Commons have made good their articles of impeachment?' The Earl of *Wharton* ſaid, 'He wondered at the Lord *Guernſey*'s making that motion, after

* Vol. pone.

the

1710. The next debate was, what cenſure ought to paſs upon him. And here a ſtrange turn appeared; ſome ſeemed to apprehend the effects of a popular fury, if the cenſure was ſevere; to others it was ſaid, the Queen deſired it might be mild; it was therefore propoſed to ſuſpend him from preaching for one year, others were for ſeven years; but by a vote it was fixed to three years. It was next moved, that he ſhould be incapable of all preferments during theſe three years; upon that the Houſe was divided, fifty-nine were for the vote, and ſixty againſt it; ſo that was laid aſide. The ſermons were ordered to be burnt in the preſence of the Lord-Mayor and the Sheriffs of *London*, which was done; only the Lord-Mayor being a Member of the Houſe 1710. March 7.

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the Houſe had come to a reſolution, that the Commons had made good their articles. The queſtion, as ſtated by the Lord Chancellor, did not preclude any Peer from his right of giving his judgment; for every Lord was at liberty to proteſt and enter his diſſent, if he would not be convinced by the majority of the Houſe; and that the Lords, being in the nature of a jury, ought to deliver their opinions *ſeriatim*.' The Lord *Ferrers* ſupported the Lord *Guernſey*'s motion, objecting againſt the preamble of the queſtion as unneceſſary, and urging, that it was only the majority of the Houſe, and not the Houſe, that came to a reſolution, 'That the Commons had made good their impeachments.' On the other hand, the Lord *Guernſey*, in anſwer to the Earl of *Wharton*, ſaid, 'That the Lords were not as a jury, for every Lord was both a judge and a juror; that ſome Peers might think Dr. *Sacheverel* guilty of one part, and innocent of the other; and yet if they were to give their judgment, as this queſtion was ſtated, how could they ſay he was not guilty, when the preamble ſet forth, that the Commons had made good their impeachment?' The Earl of *Wharton* replied, 'That this objection had been much more proper before the Houſe had proceeded ſo far.' However the Earl of *Rocheſter* having moved, that the preamble be left out, the Earl of *Wharton* and the reſt agreed to it; and the Lord Chancellor ſtated the queſtion thus: 'That the queſtion to be put to each Lord in *Weſtminſter-hall*, beginning at the junior Baron firſt, ſhall be, *Is Dr.* Henry Sacheverel *guilty of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors?*' The Earl of *Nottingham* moved, that the words of *High Crimes and Miſdemeanors* be left out, and was ſeconded by the Lord *North* and *Grey*. But the Earl of *Wharton* ſaid, 'That what was offered was unfair; for the Commons having impeached Dr. *Sacheverel* of *High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*, and the Lords having agreed and reſolved, that the Commons had made good the impeachment, it neceſſarily followed, that he was guilty of the ſaid *Crimes and Miſdemeanors*.' To moderate the matter, the Duke of *Buckingham* propoſed, that the queſtion be thus altered, *of the Crimes and Miſdemeanors charged upon him by the Impeachment*; to which the Earls of *Wharton* and *Sunderland* readily agreed; but the Earl of *Jerſey* excepted againſt the queſtion, as being *complex* or *complicated*. The Lord *Guernſey* purſued the ſame objection, for the reaſon he alledged before, *viz.* 'That ſome Peers might think Dr. *Sacheverel* guilty of ſome of the crimes charged upon him by the impeachment of the Commons, and innocent of the other; and urged an inſtance of an indictment concerning ſeveral charges, in which caſe the jury is not to anſwer *generally*, but *particularly* to each offence, becauſe the judge goes by the verdict, and impoſes the fine accordingly.' Therefore his Lordſhip moved, *That each Peer ſhould give his Judgment ſeverally to each article*. To this the Lord *Sommers* anſwered, 'That the matter of fact was already ſettled, though every Peer might proteſt and diſſent: That the Lord *Guernſey*'s objection, grounded on the inſtance he brought in of indictments in the courts below, was very improper, becauſe, as his Lordſhip himſelf had ſuggeſted, the Lords are both *Judges* and *Jury*. That, as *Jury*, they might, in conſcience, pronounce the Doctor *guilty*, though they thought him guilty only of one article: But that the Lords, who did not think him guilty of all the four articles, might, afterwards, as Judges, moderate the *puniſhment*.' The Earl of *Nottingham* replied, 'That, for his part, he thought Dr. *Sacheveral* guilty of no crime;' and moved, that the particle be left out, and the queſtion put thus; '*Is Dr.* Henry Sacheverel *guilty of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors* charged upon him by the impeachment?' Which was agreed to.

Then it being propoſed to conſider what anſwer each Lord ſhould give, the Lord *Hallifax* ſaid, That, according to the uſage of Parliament, the Lords ought to anſwer *content*, or *not content*. But the Lord *Ferrers* alledged, That *content*, or *not content*, was not an adequate anſwer to the queſtion: And both the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Guernſey*, his brother, urged, 'That there were ſeveral precedents for *guilty*, or *not guilty*, *upon my honour*; but did not remember any for *content*, or *not content*. The Lord *Halifax* maintained his aſſertion, and ſaid, he wondered, the Lord *Nottingham* did not know there were precedents for *content* or *not content*; and inſtanced in the Lord *Sommers*'s trial, in which the Lords gave their Judgment that way. On the other hand, the Lord *Guernſey* inſiſted upon anſwering *guilty* or *not guilty*; and was ſeconded by the Lord Treaſurer, who ſaid, 'That there was a difference between the Lords voting in their Houſe promiſcuouſly, ſometimes in confuſion, and their giving their judgments in *Weſtminſter-hall*; and that the precedent mentioned by the Lord *Hallifax* was an extraordinary one, made in an extraordinary caſe.' The Lord *Hallifax* moved for *ſearching the Journals*; and the Earl of *Wharton* for following precedents. The clerk turned to, and read the precedent of the Lord *Sommers*'s impeachment, in which the Peers gave their judgment by *content* or *not content*. But the Earl of *Rocheſter* deſiring, that other precedents might be ſearched, and urging, that there was a difference between the Lords voting in their Houſe and in *Weſtminſter-hall*; the Duke of *Buckingham* anſwered, 'That the trial was the ſame in *Weſtminſter-hall*, as if the Lords were in their Houſe; that they removed to the Hall only for the ſpaciouſneſs of the place: And therefore the queſtion ought to be anſwered, as if they were in the Houſe, *content*, or *not content*.' To this the Earl of *Ilay* replied, 'That *content*, or *not content*, was a very improper and ungrammatical anſwer to the queſtion, *Is Dr.* Sacheveral *guilty of High Crimes*, &c. And therefore either the queſtion ought to be altered, or the anſwer be, *guilty*, or *not guilty*.' Then the Lord *Ferrers* endeavoured to ſhew the inconveniencies, that might attend the putting the queſtion, as propoſed, alledging, 'That ſome of the Peers there preſent, might hereafter be impeached, and repent too late the having made ſuch a precedent of *giving judgment generally*.' The Earl of *Angleſey* purſued the ſame argument; adding, that if the queſtion was put, and anſwered generally, the majority of the people, would not know what the Doctor was condemned for. To which the Lord Chancellor readily replied, 'That every body would know he was either *guilty*, or *not guilty* of the crimes charged on him by the impeachment of the Houſe of Commons.' But the Earl of *Mar* inſiſted, 'That every Peer ought to be at liberty to vote, *guilty* or *not guilty* to every article; otherwiſe it might happen, that the majority of the Houſe might think Dr. *Sacheverel* innocent upon each article; yet, by this method of a general anſwer, he might be condemned of all; which ſeemed inconſiſtent with the uſual method of juſtice in that Houſe.' The Duke of *Buckingham* urged on the ſame ſide, 'that, ſince the judgment of the Houſe in this caſe ought to be a declaration

1710. Houſe of Commons, did not think he was bound to be preſent (1).

The Oxford decree voted to be burnt. Pr. H. L.

With *Sacheverel*'s ſermons, the famous *decree* of the Univerſity of *Oxford* paſſed in their Convocation, *July* 21, 1683, was, at the ſame time, voted by the Lords to be burnt, as containing ſeveral poſitions contrary to the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and deſtructive to the Proteſtant Succeſſion. This *decree* had been given in evidence by the Doctor at his trial, in which the abſolute authority of Princes, and unalterableneſs of the hereditary right of ſucceeding to the Crown, were aſſerted in a very high ſtrain.

Sacheverel's collections, and other books burnt. Pr. H. C.

The Commons alſo, upon a complaint made to them of a book intitled, *Collections of paſſages referred to by Dr.* Sacheverel, *in his anſwer to the articles of his impeachment*, ordered the ſame to be burnt. On the other hand, the Doctor's friends complained to the Houſe, of a book intitled, *The Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, &c. and *a defence* of it, in two parts, with *a letter* from a *Country Attorney* to a *Country Parſon*, concerning *the rights of the Church*; and *Le Clerc*'s judgment of that book in his *Bibliotheque Choiſie*. All which were condemned to the flames; as was alſo *a Treatiſe of the word* Perſon, by *John Clendon* of the *Inner-Temple*. Not content with this, the Tories moved for an addreſs for a *Faſt*, to deprecate the divine vengeance, which there was juſt reaſon to fear, on account of the horrid 1710.

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claration of the law, the condition of the people would be moſt miſerable, to have puniſhment for *High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*, and not have a probability of informing themſelves, what the crimes thereby puniſhed were, which they could not learn from this general determination: And that, this uncertainty being in the caſe of a Clergyman for preaching, it might create ſome fears in good men, when they preach ſome doctrines of the Church of *England*, particularly that of *Non-Reſiſtance.*" The Earl of *Sunderland* calling for the queſtion, the Earl of *Angleſey* inſiſted on the inconveniencies of anſwering generally to it. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor mentioned four inconveniencies that might enſue: 'Firſt, That Clergymen would know, that to preach againſt the *Revolution*, was a *High Crime and Miſdemeanor*: Secondly, To preach againſt the *Toleration*: Thirdly, Againſt the *Union*: And, Fourthly, That to reflect on the Queen's *Miniſters*, and ſuggeſt, that *the Church is in danger* under her Majeſty's adminiſtration, were likewiſe *High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*. Theſe, ſaid his Lordſhip, are the only inconveniencies, that I can foreſee, will attend this judgment.' The Earl of *Wharton* calling then for the queſtion, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* ſaid, 'That he did not think the Doctor guilty of the firſt article, though he had as great a ſhare as any man in the late *Revolution*, and would ever go as far as any to vindicate the memory of our late glorious Deliverer. That he thought the Church ſafe under her Majeſty's Adminiſtration; but he would not have it made a High Crime and Miſdemeanor to ſay, *That the Church is in danger*, becauſe times might come, when it might really be in danger.' And, in concluſion, his Grace inſiſted on voting *article by article*. The Lord *Caermarthen*, the Earl of *Angleſey*, and the Earl of *Nottingham* did the like; but, the ſame being oppoſed by ſome other Peers, the Lord Chancellor at laſt propoſed this queſtion, 'Whether the anſwer to be given by each Lord ſhould be *guilty* or *not guilty only?* Which being reſolved in the affirmative, then the main queſtion was put, Whether it ſhould be aſked, *Is* Henry Sacheverel, *Doctor in Divinity, guilty of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, charged upon him by the Impeachment of the Houſe of Commons?* This was likewiſe carried in the affirmative; when four and thirty Lords entered their proteſt, importing, in ſubſtance, 'That the obliging every Lord to anſwer generally *guilty* or *not guilty*, to a queſtion containing all the articles of his impeachment, was a kind of *tacking* upon themſelves by an unneceſſary joining of matters of a different nature, and ſubjecting them to one and the ſame determination; and conſequently, might prejudice the right every Peer had to give a free affirmative or negative; ſince whoever thought Dr. *Sacheverel* guilty of one part, and innocent of the other, would be obliged either to approve what he condemned, or condemn what he approved. 2. They conceived, there was at leaſt a poſſibility, that tho' a majority of the Houſe was admitted to vote to the articles *ſeparately*, and might think him innocent upon each article; yet, by this method of a general anſwer, he might be condemned of all; which ſeemed not to be conſiſtent with the uſual method of juſtice in this Houſe. 3. That ſince the judgment of the Houſe, in this caſe, ought to be a declaration of the law; the condition of the people would be moſt miſerable, to have puniſhment inflicted for *High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*, and not have a poſſibility of informing themſelves, what the *High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*, thereby puniſhed, are. For the people's only guide is the law; and they can never be guided by what they can never be informed of. And that, this uncertainty being in the caſe of a Clergyman for preaching, it might create ſome fear in good men, when they preach ſome doctrines of the Church of *England*, particularly that of *Non-Reſiſtance*; and might be made uſe of by ill ones, as an excuſe for the neglect of that duty, which upon ſome occaſions is required.'

On the 20th of *March*, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Lords and Commons having taken their reſpective ſeats, and their Lordſhips Houſe being reſumed, the Lord Chancellor declared, that they had agreed upon a queſtion to be put to each Lord ſeverally. And then his Lordſhip having put the queſtion, beginning at the junior Baron firſt, ſixty-nine Lords declared Dr. *Sacheverel guilty*, and fifty-two *not guilty*. The Lord Chancellor, having caſt up the votes, declared Dr. *Sacheverel guilty*; and the Uſher of the Black rod having brought the Doctor to the bar, and cauſed him to kneel down, the Lord Chancellor told him, that the Lords having with, their uſual candour and equity, examined and conſidered the articles exhibited againſt him, with the allegations to make good the ſame, and what had been offered by his council and himſelf in his defence, had found him guilty of *high crimes and miſdemeanors* charged upon him by the Commons of *Great Britain*. Then the Doctor, ſtanding up, made a ſhort ſpeech, importing, 'That not having been ſuffered to be at their Lordſhips bar, while their Lordſhips were giving their votes; he hoped he might now be permitted to put in a plea, before their Lordſhips paſſed ſentence upon him. That he was adviſed by his Council to offer, firſt, That, by the opinion of all the Judges, the particular words, ſuppoſed to be criminal, ought to have been expreſsly ſpecified in the articles of impeachment againſt him. Secondly, That, in the title of the ſaid articles, the ſame were ſaid to be *exhibited in the name of all the Commons of Great-Britain*, and yet *the Commiſſioners of ſhires*, who make part of the Commons of *Great-Britain*, were not mentioned with the *Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled*. Both which he begged their Lordſhips to take into conſideration.' The Lords, being returned to their Houſe, conſidered of the Doctor's plea; and reſolved, that the ſame was frivolous, and that they would the next day conſider what cenſure to paſs upon him. *Pr. H. L.*

(1) The ſentence paſſed upon him was, That *Henry Sacheverel*, Doctor in Divinity, ſhall be, and is hereby injoined not to preach during the term of three years

1710. rid blaſphemies lately publiſhed in the Kingdom. Thoſe who ſupported this motion, thought not only to caſt a reflection on the Whigs, as encouragers of ſuch writings, but alſo to juſtify what the Doctor had advanced in his ſermon about the danger of the Church, which he had aſcribed to the heretical and blaſphemous poſitions lately printed. But their deſign was eaſily ſeen through, and therefore the majority added to the addreſs, " many of which *blaſphemies* " have again, in a moſt irregular, extraordina- " ry, and inſolent manner been printed, pub- " liſhed, and diſperſed, throughout the King- " dom, to the ſcandal of good *Chriſtians*, by " Dr. *Henry Sacheverel*." Upon this addition the Tories would have dropped the addreſs, but it was preſented to the Queen, who, probably, on that account anſwered, " That, a faſt having " lately been obſerved, ſhe did not think proper " to appoint another ſo ſoon, but would con- " ſider of it at a more convenient time."

As ſoon as it was known what a mild ſentence the Lords had paſſed upon Dr. *Sacheverel*, thoſe, who ſupported him during his trial, expreſſed an inconceivable gladneſs, as if they had got a victory; bone-fires, illuminations, and other marks of joy, appeared not only in *London*, but over the whole Kingdom. However, much greater effects than theſe rejoicings were produced by it, as will hereafter be ſeen.

The Parliament prorogued. April 5. Pr. H. C.

This affair being over, and the Supplies all granted, beſides which little more was done this Seſſion (1), the Queen, on the 5th of *April*, came to the Houſe of Peers, and made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" IT is with great ſatisfaction, that I come " hither at this time, to return you my hearty " thanks for the marks of duty and affection, " which you have given me through the whole " courſe of this Seſſion. 1710.

" And I am to thank you, Gentlemen of the " Houſe of Commons, in a very particular " manner for the great diſpatch, which you " have made in providing, ſo early in the year, " ſuch great and effectual ſupplies for the pub- " lic ſervice. This cannot but make me very " deſirous to repeat the aſſurances I gave you at " the opening of the Seſſion, that they ſhould " be very carefully applied to the uſes, for which " you have deſigned them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I cannot ſufficiently expreſs to you my " great concern, that you have had ſo neceſſa- " ry an occaſion of taking up a great part of " your time towards the latter end of this Seſ- " ſion.

" I am confident no Prince, that ever ſate on " the Throne, has been more really and ſincerely " kind to the Church than myſelf, nor ever had " a more true and tender concern for its welfare " and proſperity than I have, and always ſhall " continue to have.

" The ſuppreſſing immorality, and profane " and other wicked and malicious libels, is what " I have always earneſtly recommended, and " ſhall be glad of the firſt opportunity to give " my conſent to any laws, that might effectu- " ally conduce to that end. But, this being an " evil complained of in all times, it is very in- " jurious to take a pretence from thence to inſi- " nuate, that the Church is in any danger from " my adminiſtration.

" I could heartily wiſh, that men would ſtu- " dy to be quiet, and do their own buſineſs, ra- " ther than buſy themſelves in reviving queſ- " tions and diſputes of a very high nature, and " which muſt be with an ill intention, ſince " they

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years next enſuing. That Dr. *Henry Sacheverel*'s two printed ſermons, referred to by the impeachment of the Houſe of Commons, ſhall be burnt before the *Royal Exchange* in *London*, between the hours of twelve and one, on *Monday* the 27th day of this inſtant *March*, by the hands of the common hangman, in the preſence of the Lord-Mayor of the City of *London*, and the two Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex*.

The Lord-Mayor, who was not a little mortified at his being, by the Lords ſentence, obliged to aſſiſt at the burning of a ſermon, which he had approved, and commanded to be printed (as Dr. *Sacheverel* aſſerted in the Dedication) deſired and moved, that he might be excuſed from attending at the execution, he being a Member of the Houſe: And a debate ariſing, it was deferred till the Houſe was informed what anſwer the Lord-Mayor had returned to the Sheriffs, when they ſhould demand of him, whether he would attend, or not; and ſo that buſineſs was dropped.

(1) During the trial a bill was ordered to be brought in for limiting the number of Officers, military or civil, in the Houſe of Commons. Mr. *Wortley Montague* was Chairman of the Grand Committee, and General *Stanhope*, and other leading men of the Whig party, promoted it. It paſſed the Houſe of Commons, but was rejected by the Houſe of Lords; where not only the Earl of *Wharton*, but the Earl of *Scarborough*, and the Lord *North* and *Grey* ſpoke againſt it. The Houſe of Commons, having examined the ſubject-matter of the petition of the Creditors of the *Mine-Adventure*, reſolved unanimouſly, *March* 31, 'That Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*, Deputy-Governor of the *Mine-Adventurers*, was guilty of many notorious and ſcandalous frauds, and indirect practices, in violation of the Charter granted to the ſaid Company, in breach of his truſt, and to the manifeſt wrong and oppreſſion of the Proprietors and Creditors of the ſaid Company:' And, that he might not run away, a bill was ordered to be brought in, 'to prevent Sir *Humphrey Mackworth* leaving this Kingdom, and alienating his eſtate till the end of the next Seſſion of Parliament.' This Gentleman had written ſeveral *Polemical* as well as *Devotional* tracts, and was for many years of great note with the High-party. For which reaſon, on the change of the Miniſtry, nothing more was heard of his proceedings.

A bill was alſo brought in for ſettling the *African* trade, but was not brought to perfection.

Some of the *French* Refugees, ſettled in *England*, petitioned the Houſe of Commons, that as the *French* Proteſtants were by the *French* King declared to be outlawed and excluded from claiming any inheritance in *France*, and as, on the contrary, many perſons living in *France* did frequently claim here and inherit the eſtates of their deceaſed relations, to the prejudice of the remoter relations ſettled in her Majeſty's dominions; they begged leave for a bill 'to preclude the ſubjects of the *French* King, reſiding in his dominions, from claiming any eſtates of their relations dying in her Majeſty's dominions.' Mr. *Hampden* brought in a bill for this purpoſe; but upon the private ſuggeſtions of ſome eminent *French* Proteſtants, that it would be prejudicial to themſelves and other Refugees, who from time to time received conſiderable remittances from their relations in *France*, the bill was dropped.

1710. " they can only tend to foment, but not to " heal our diviſions and animoſities.

" For my own part, as it has pleaſed God to " give ſucceſs to my endeavours for the Union " of my two Kingdoms, which I muſt ever " eſteem as one of the greateſt bleſſings of " my Reign; ſo I hope his divine goodneſs " will ſtill continue favourable, and make me " the happy inſtrument of that yet more deſira- " ble union of the hearts of all my people in " the bonds of mutual affection, that ſo there " may remain no other contention among you, " but who ſhall exceed the other in contributing " to advance our preſent happineſs, and ſecure " the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

" Finding by the advices from abroad, that " our army has not yet taken the field, and that " the Plenipotentiaries of *France* are ſtill in " *Holland*, I think it proper at preſent to make " the prorogation but for a very ſhort time."

Accordingly the Lord-Chancellor prorogued the Parliament only to the 18th of *April*, when it was farther prorogued.

The Queen's expreſſing thus her concern, that there was a cauſe given for what had taken up ſo much time, and her wiſhing that all her people would be quiet and mind their own buſineſs, rather than employ themſelves in reviving ſuch diſputes, ſeemed to look a different way from what had been whiſpered about. But ſoon after her proceedings (as will be ſeen) revived thoſe whiſpers again.

The Queen ſpoke to with great freedom by Biſhop Burnet.

As the Biſhop of *Sarum* had been encouraged, this winter, by the Queen, to ſpeak more freely to her of her affairs, than he had formerly ventured to do, he told her what reports were ſecretly ſpread of her through the Nation, as if ſhe favoured the deſign of bringing the *Pretender* to ſucceed to the Crown, upon a bargain that ſhe ſhould hold it during her life: He was ſure theſe reports were ſpread about by perſons, who were in the confidence of thoſe, that were believed to know her mind: He was well aſſured, the *Jacobites* of *Scotland* had, upon her coming to the Crown, ſent up one *Ogilby* of *Boyne*, who was in great eſteem among them, to propoſe the bargain to her; he, when he went back, gave the party full aſſurances that ſhe accepted of it: This, he ſaid, he had from ſome of the Lords of *Scotland*, who were then in the ſecret with the profeſſed *Jacobites*. The Earl of *Cromarty* made a ſpeech in Parliament contradicting this, and, alluding, to the diſtinction of the *Calviniſts*, made between the ſecret and the revealed will of God; he aſſured them, the Queen had no ſecret will contrary to that ſhe declared *: Yet, at the ſame time, his brother gave the party aſſurances to the contrary. The Biſhop told the Queen all this, and ſaid, if ſhe was capable of making ſuch a bargain for herſelf, by which her people were to be delivered up and ſacrificed after her death, as it would darken all the glory of her Reign, ſo it muſt ſet all her people to conſider of the moſt proper ways of ſecuring themſelves, by bringing over the Proteſtant Succeſſors, in which he told her plainly he would concur, if ſhe did not take effectual means to extinguiſh thoſe jealouſies. He ſaid, her Miniſters had ſerved her with that fidelity, and ſuch ſucceſs, that her making a change among them would amaze all the world.

* *See note, Vol. III. p. 650.*

The glory of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign aroſe from the firmneſs of her Councils, and the continuance of her Miniſters, as the three laſt Reigns, in which the Miniſtry was often changed, had ſuffered extremely by it. He alſo ſhewed her, that, if ſhe ſuffered the *Pretender*'s party to prepare the Nation for his ſucceeding her, ſhe ought not to imagine, that, when they thought they had fixed that matter, they would ſtay for the natural end of her life, but that they would find ways to ſhorten it: Nor did he think, it was to be doubted, but that in 1708, when the *Pretender* was upon the ſea, they had ſome Aſſaſſinates here, who, upon the news of his landing, would have tried to diſpatch her. It was certain, that their intereſt led them to it, as it was known that their principles did allow of it. This, with a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, the Biſhop laid before the Queen, who heard him patiently, and, for the moſt part, ſilently; however, by what ſhe ſaid, ſhe ſeemed deſirous to make him think, ſhe agreed to what he had repreſented to her; but he found afterwards it had no effect upon her; for ſhe ſoon began the change of the Miniſtry, by the introduction of the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, and diſmiſſion of the Earl of *Sunderland*, as will be related. 1710.

It is now time to take a view of the tranſactions abroad, particularly in relation to the negotiations for peace, which ſeemed to be proſecuted with warmth.

New overtures of peace by France. Hare. Burnet. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

The treaty at the *Hague* the laſt year having proved fruitleſs, the *French* Court thought proper to make new overtures of peace. In the beginning of *January* 1710, the Marquiſs *de Torcy* ſent another project to Mr. *Petkum*, Reſident of *Holſtein*, conſiſting of the five following articles:

I. Immediately after the ſigning of the peace, the *French* King would acknowledge King *Charles* as King of the whole Monarchy of *Spain*; and not only withdraw all the ſuccours he had given his Grandſon, but alſo forbear ſending him any aſſiſtance for the future, and forbid his ſubjects to liſt in his ſervice; and conſent likewiſe, that no part of the Monarchy of *Spain* ſhould ever be united to *France*.

II. As for the Emperor and Empire, the *French* King would reſtore *Straſburg* and *Briſac*; content himſelf with *Alſatia*, according to the literal ſenſe of the treaty of *Munſter*; leave the Empire *Landau*; raze the fortifications he had built on the *Rhine* from *Baſil* to *Philipſburg*; and acknowledge both the King of *Pruſſia* and the Elector of *Hanover*.

III. As to *England*, he would acknowledge Queen *Anne*, and the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant line; reſtore *Newfoundland*, and agree to a mutual reſtitution of all, that had been taken in the *Weſt-Indies* on both ſides; demoliſh the fortifications of *Dunkirk*, and ruin the harbour thereof; and conſent to the Pretender's leaving *France*.

IV. As to the *States-General*, he would yield to them for a barrier all the places ſpecified in the twenty-ſecond article of the *Preliminaries*, and confirm what he had offered to them with reſpect to their trade.

V. As to the Duke of *Savoy*, that he was willing to grant the demands made for him by the

1710. the Allies; but that he likewiſe demanded, that the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates and dignities.

This project being rejected by the Allies, the *French* reſolved to make other overtures, and diſpatched a Cabinet-Courier to the *Hague* with a letter from the Marquiſs *de Torcy* to *Petkum*. The Courier arrived the 2d of *February*, *N. S.* at the *Hague*, and brought a freſh project of peace to be communicated to the Allies, which differed little from the former, or rather was an amplification of it. It was in the main the ſame with the *Preliminaries*, but caſt into another form, which as effectually deſtroyed the *Preliminaries*, as if it had been put into no form at all, beſides ſeveral material alterations. For the reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, there was a promiſe only. The clauſe in the fourth article, whereby the *French* King engaged to take in concert with the Allies proper meaſures to oblige his Grandſon to it, was left out. The reſtoring of the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* was inſiſted on as a Preliminary, and of the Elector of *Bavaria* in particular to the *Palatinate*, in contradiction to the Preliminaries, by which it was agreed it ſhould remain to the Elector *Palatine*, whom the Emperor had ſome time before put into poſſeſſion of it; than which nothing could be more reaſonable, no Prince having ſuffered ſo much from *France* as one of them, or deſerved ſo ill of the Emperor as the other. As for the thirty-ſeventh article, the expedient offered was three towns in *Flanders* of his own chuſing; an offer of no conſequence, ſince he would never give any towns, that the Allies could think a tolerable ſecurity for ſo important a point. But to compleat the project, and that the deſign and end of the Preliminaries might be intirely ſubverted, it was propoſed, that the execution of all the articles be deferred, till the treaty be concluded, and the ratifications exchanged. The Marſhal *d'Uxelles* and the Abbot *de Polignac*, afterwards a Cardinal, were appointed the *French* King's Plenipotentiaries, and to meet thoſe of the Allies at *Antwerp*, or any other place, if the Allies would ſend the neceſſary paſſports. This project being communicated by *Petkum* to the Penſionary, and by him to the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and the Queen of *Great-Britain*, ſeveral Conferences were held between theſe Miniſters and the Deputies of the *States-General*. The reſult of which was, that the *French* Courier was ſent back, the 13th of *February*, *N. S.* with an anſwer from *Petkum* to the Marquiſs *de Torcy*'s letter, importing, "That the Allies required, that "his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould declare, in "plain and expreſſive words, that he conſented "to all the Preliminaries, except the ſeven and "thirtieth article; which done, the Allies "would ſend paſſports to his Miniſters, to treat "of an equivalent for that article." When the *French* Court ſaw ſo much firmneſs on the part of the Allies, they thought fit to recede, and give the *States* all the aſſurance the moſt expreſs words could do, that the King agreed to all the Preliminaries; and if they would conſent, that his Miniſters ſhould come and confer with them on the thirty-ſeventh article, he did not doubt, but what ſhould be propoſed from him, would be to their ſatisfaction. The *States* therefore ſent back the expreſs (which had brought the *French* King's anſwer) with paſſports for the *French* Plenipotentiaries. But as the ſuſpicions, which the *French* gave of their inſincerity, made the *States* purſue the moſt effectual meaſures for an early campaign; ſo it put them upon taking the beſt care they could, that, if no good ſhould come from the renewing of the Conferences, they might prevent the miſchief, which they apprehended was deſigned by them. As they foreſaw the ill effects of ſuffering the *French* Miniſters to come into their country, who, by their Agents, were every where ſtirring up the people againſt the Government, as if the war was prolonged without neceſſity; they propoſed, upon *Antwerp* being diſliked, to ſend their Deputies, *Buis* and *Vanderduſſen*, to treat with the Miniſters of *France*, either at *Maerdyke* or *Gertruydenberg*. The *French* liked neither of theſe places, but, when no other could be obtained, they choſe the laſt, where they arrived the 19th of *March*, but were met the day before by *Buis* and *Vanderduſſen* at *Maerdyke*, who had a Conference with them. The next day they had another with them, which laſted ſeveral hours, and then the Deputies ſet out for the *Hague* to make their report to the *States*. 1710.

Addreſs to the Queen to ſend over the Duke of Marlborough Pr. H. C.

By this time the Duke of *Marlborough* was come to the *Hague*. When the *States* ſent the paſſports for the *French* Miniſters, they wrote in very preſſing terms to the Queen, to ſend over the Duke of *Marlborough* before the end of *February*. The Houſe of Commons likewiſe being informed, that advances were made towards renewing a negotiation of peace, voted an addreſs to the Queen to ſecond the requeſt of the *States-General*, about ſending the Duke of *Marlborough* to *Holland*. The Lords concurring in the addreſs, it was preſented by both Houſes on the 18th of *February*. As this was the laſt Parliamentary reſpect ſhewn the Duke, it will not improper to inſert it at large:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and "Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament aſ"ſembled, having reaſon to believe, that the "negotiations of peace will ſuddenly be re"newed in *Holland*; and being juſtly appre"henſive of the crafty and inſinuating deſigns of "our enemies, to create diviſions among your "Allies, or by amuſing them with deceitful ex"pectations of peace, to retard their preparati"ons for war, do think ourſelves bound in duty, "moſt humbly to repreſent to your Majeſty, of "how great importance we conceive it is to the "intereſt of the Common Cauſe, that the Duke "of *Marlborough* ſhould be abroad at this criti"cal juncture.

"We cannot but take this opportunity to "expreſs our ſenſe of the great and unparalleled "ſervices of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and, "with all imaginable duty, do applaud your "Majeſty's great wiſdom, in having honoured "the ſame perſon with the great characters of "General, and Plenipotentiary, who, in our "humble opinion, is moſt capable of diſcharg"ing two ſuch important truſts. We therefore "make it our humble requeſt, That you will "be pleaſed to order the Duke of *Marlborough*'s "immediate departure for *Holland*, where his "preſence will be equally neceſſary, to aſſiſt

"at

1710. " at the negotiations of peace, and to haſten the " preparations for an early campaign, which will " moſt effectually diſappoint the artifices of our " enemies, and procure a ſafe and honourable " peace for your Majeſty and your Allies."

Her Majeſty's anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I am ſo ſenſible of the neceſſity of the " Duke of *Marlborough*'s preſence in *Holland*, " at this critical juncture, that I have already " given the neceſſary directions for his imme- " diate departure; and I am very glad to find, " by this addreſs, that you concur with me in a " juſt ſenſe of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s emi- " nent ſervices."

There is no doubt but the *States* letter, and the Parliament's addreſs, were intended to let the Queen ſee what confidence they put in the Duke of *Marlborough*, and how neceſſary they thought his ſervice for carrying on the Common Cauſe, whether by arms or treaty. But it was without any effect, for, whatever ſoft words the Queen made uſe of in her anſwer, ſhe was at that time determined to change Miniſters and Meaſures. The Duke ſet out the next day for *Harwich*, and landed in *Holland* the 7th of *March*, *N. S.*

Four days after, *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen* returned to the *Hague*. The next morning they had a Conference with the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Lord *Townſhend*, and Count *Zinzendorf*, in the preſence of the Penſionary and the Deputies of the *States*, wherein they made the following report: 'The *French* Plenipotentiaries had endeavoured, in the firſt place, to perſuade them, that it was the intereſt of the Allies to make a ſeparate peace with *France*, excluſive of *Spain*; and to render the ſame more effectual, and remove the umbrage the Allies ſeemed to have taken, that the King of *France* might underhand aſſiſt his Grandſon, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was willing to enter into the moſt ſolemn engagements to the contrary, and give Cautionary Towns for the performance of his promiſe.' The Deputies of the *States* anſwered, 'Theſe offers of *France* were not ſufficient; and, the Allies having chiefly undertaken this war for reſtoring the Monarchy of *Spain* to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, they could not treat with the *French* King (who had placed his Grandſon on the *Spaniſh* Throne) without ſtipulating, that he ſhould relinquiſh the ſame; adding, the high Allies would be very much ſurprized to hear, that, after the preſſing inſtances, the *French* had made for theſe Conferences, their Plenipotentiaries were come to offer what had been already rejected; and would doubtleſs take it as an evidence, that their Court was not ſincere, and ſought only to amuſe the Allies.' Meſſieurs *d'Uxelles* and *de Polignac* pretended, 'They did not know, that any ſuch thing had been yet offered; but they were told, that, though Miniſters might be allowed ſometimes to diſſemble, yet this was not a fit time to make uſe of that privilege, and they ought plainly to ſpeak their minds. Thoſe Gentlemen made large proteſtations of their Maſter's ſincere inclination for peace: That he could never be prevailed upon to enter into a war with his Grandſon, or take any other violent meaſures againſt him. They inlarged on the affection of the *Spaniards* for that Prince; and at laſt declared, they ſaw no other expedient for procuring the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to King *Charles*, than to give a ſhare of it to King *Philip*; concluding, if the Allies would conſent to give him *Naples* and *Sicily*, King *Philip* might be induced to reſign the reſt to the Archduke. They urged, this was the only way for preventing a farther effuſion of Chriſtian blood, and which would ſave the Allies abundance of trouble, and ſecure to the Houſe of *Auſtria* the Monarchy of *Spain*; whereas, the fortune of the war being uncertain, it might ſtill happen, that the Allies would be obliged to make peace upon other terms. The Deputies confuted theſe reaſons without any great difficulty; and having repreſented, that ſuch a partition was contrary to the treaties, which the Allies had amongſt themſelves, and to the whole tenor of the preliminaries, which the *French* themſelves acknowledged for the foundation of the treaty, they declared, in expreſs terms, they were ſent to hear what equivalent they had to propoſe for the thirty-ſeventh article of the preliminaries, which they excepted againſt; but not to debate upon any other point. Whereupon they parted.' 1710.

The ſame day, to prevent any jealouſies among the other Miniſters of the Allies, the Deputies of the *States* communicated to the *Pruſſian* Plenipotentiaries what had been tranſacted at *Maerdyke*; and, the next day, the ſame was in a more ſolemn manner communicated to all the Miniſters of the Allies, who were deſired to uſe their intereſt with their reſpective Maſters, that their troops might be in a readineſs to begin the campaign as early as poſſible, as the moſt effectual means to force the common enemy to accept ſuch conditions, as might ſecure a ſafe and laſting peace.

Six days after, an expreſs from the *French* Plenipotentiaries arrived at the *Hague*, and acquainted the Penſionary, that they had received an anſwer from the Court to their laſt diſpatches; and deſired, either that they might be permitted to come to the *Hague*, or that the *States* Deputies might again confer with them at *Gertruydenberg*. The firſt being denied, and the latter granted, Meſſieurs *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen* ſet out for *Gertruydenberg*, where, on the 21ſt and 22d of *March*, they had ſeveral Conferences with the Miniſters of *France*, who again propoſed a ſeparate peace, excluſive of *Spain*; offering, as before, all manner of ſecurity, that the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould not aſſiſt his Grandſon: Which being rejected, they propoſed ſeveral ſchemes of partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. They mentioned, in the firſt place, *Naples* and *Sicily* for King *Philip:* Afterwards, that the Allies would leave him in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Arragon:* And laſtly, that he would content himſelf with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the *Spaniſh* places on the coaſt of *Tuſcany*. The *Dutch* Deputies told the *French* Miniſters, they were ſurprized to hear of no *equivalent* for the thirty-ſeventh article of the preliminaries, as their Court had promiſed, and on which conſideration alone the preſent negotiation was agreed on by the Allies; adding, they had no power to treat of any partition. Having ſaid this, they took their leave of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who ſent an expreſs to *Verſailles* for farther inſtructions. On the other hand, *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen*,

1710. *derduſſen*, being returned to the *Hague*, made a report of theſe Conferences to the Penſionary, in the preſence of the Imperial and *Britiſh* Miniſters, who diſpatched Expreſſes to their reſpective Courts, with an account of the propoſals made by *France*, which were alſo communicated to the *States* of *Holland*, and other Provinces.

On the 22d of *March Petkum* went from the *Hague* to *Gertruydenberg*, but without any Commiſſion on the part of the Allies, and ſolely at the deſire of the *French* Plenipotentiaries; who, not many days after, having given notice of the return of the expreſs they had ſent to their Court, the Deputies of the *States* ſet out again for *Gertruydenberg*. In theſe new Conferences, the *French* Plenipotentiaries inſiſted on a Partition of the *Spaniſh* dominions, according to the ſchemes they had propoſed before; but ſeemed, however, to depart from what they had advanced in relation to *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, pretending that was only by way of converſation, and demanded either *Naples*, with the places on the coaſt of *Tuſcany*, or the Kingdom of *Arragon*; which occaſioned great debates. The *French* Miniſters mentioned afterwards the article of ſecurity for the performance of what ſhould be ſtipulated in the Preliminaries, and propoſed what they expected from the Allies for themſelves; but would not explain their meaning on the ſecurity to be given by *France* to the Allies for the performance of the Preliminaries. The Deputies of the *States*, being very much diſſatisfied with the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, frankly told them, 'The Allies were tired with this way of treating, and therefore expected a full and clear declaration on the part of *France* on the matters already debated; or elſe they would break off all manner of Conference with them.' Hereupon *d'Uxelles* and *Polignac* deſired time to ſend another Courier to *Verſailles* for further inſtructions; pretending, 'That the final reſolution of their Maſter depended upon that of the Court of *Madrid*, which was expected about that time at *Verſailles*.' This dilatory way of treating confirmed the general opinion, that the *French* had not a real intention to come to a peace, even by way of partition; and that they had no other deſign in theſe Conferences, than either to divide or amuſe the Allies. In both of which, however, they were equally diſappointed; for, Prince *Eugene* being come to the *Hague* on the 12th of *April*, and having, with the Duke of *Marlborough* and the Deputies of the *States*, concerted the operations of the next campaign, for the early opening of which great magazines of dry forage and other neceſſaries had been provided, thoſe two Generals ſet out, on the 15th, for *Tournay*, near which place the Confederate forces, quartered on the *Maeſe*, and in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, were ordered to rendezvous.

Prince Eugene *and the Duke of* Marlborough *ſet out for* Tournay.

It was by many expected, that the early ſucceſs of the Confederate armies in paſſing the lines, and inveſting *Doway*, would have quickened the Negotiation at *Gertruydenberg*. But *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen* being again returned thither on the 24th of *April*, *N. S.* at the deſire of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, they had the ſame day a Conference, in which they deſired to know, 'Whether by the laſt Courier they had received any further inſtructions on the grand affair, for which they were come into theſe Provinces?' The *French* Miniſters anſwered, they had no other propoſals to make, but what they had already offered; and told the Deputies they had expected the anſwer of the Allies on their propoſals. This declaration occaſioned ſome warm debates among them; and the Deputies complained of the inſincerity of the *French* Court, telling them in expreſs terms, 'That the Miniſters of *France* having ſo often and ſo poſitively declared by letters, and otherwiſe, that their Plenipotentiaries were to propoſe an expedient for the thirty-ſeventh article; the Allies could not but be ſurprized, that, after ſo many Conferences, they ſhould hear nothing from them but a propoſal for the partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy.' And ſo the Conference broke up without any ſucceſs. The next morning the Deputies of the *States* went to take their leave of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, and inſinuated to them in general terms, 'That, the armies being actually in the field, and no advances made in the late Conferences towards procuring a general peace, they thought it was to no purpoſe to continue them.' The *French* Miniſters alledged, they had made ſeveral propoſals, which, in their opinion, might have conduced to a general peace; and that they wondered the Allies had made none on their part, ſince they were not ſatisfied with thoſe of *France*. They deſired likewiſe the *Dutch* Deputies to give them their anſwer or declaration in writing, that they might tranſmit it to their Court: But, this being denied, the Deputies took their leaves, and the *French* Plenipotentiaries diſpatched *d'Uxelles*'s Secretary to *Verſailles*. Many were ſtill of opinion, that the late ſucceſs of the Allies, and the ſiege of *Doway*, would have obliged the Court of *France* to alter their ſtyle; and it was then ſtrongly reported, that, in the Council held at *Verſailles*, upon the firſt advice of the Allies having paſſed the lines, there appeared a great diviſion among the Princes of the blood; ſome inſiſting upon the neceſſity of peace to preſerve *France* from intire ruin; and others perſiſting in their former opinion, that it was better to venture the fate of another campaign, than to ſubmit to ſuch ignominious terms, as were inſiſted on by the Confederates.

1710.

Upon the report made at the *Hague* by *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen* of the laſt fruitleſs Conferences, the Imperial Miniſter thought fit to declare, 'That the Emperor, his Maſter, could not conſent to any partition of the *Spaniſh* dominions; and therefore propoſed, that the *French* Plenipotentiaries ſhould be forthwith diſmiſſed.' But the *Dutch* were of a different opinion, alledging, that, ſince the *French* Miniſters had ſent an expreſs to their Court, it was but reaſonable to expect his return, and ſee whether the late progreſs of the Confederate arms had cauſed any alteration in the meaſures of that Court. The expreſs being returned on the 3d of *May*, *N. S.* the *French* Plenipotentiaries wrote the next day the following letter to *Petkum*:

"We could wiſh our Conferences had pro-
"duced a peace; but, as we have no order to
"make any other propoſition than thoſe we
"have already made, we patiently expect, that
"the Deputies will come hither, to declare
"themſelves in a more open manner than they
"have done hitherto, or to give us our diſmiſ-
"ſion; or, at leaſt, that the Penſionary will
"ſend us an order to be gone."

This

1710. This letter being communicated to the *States-General*, and by the Penſionary to the Imperial and *Britiſh* Miniſters, it was thought fit to impart it to all the Miniſters of the Allies, who, being met on the 9th of *May*, unanimouſly reſolved, Monſieur *Petkum* ſhould be deſired to write to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, That, ſeeing they had nothing further to propoſe, and the Allies nothing more to ſay than what they had ſaid before, it was to no purpoſe to continue uſeleſs Conferences; but he ſhould avoid to ſpeak any thing of diſmiſſion, or order to depart. *Petkum* having writ a letter to that purpoſe to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, they ſent him the next day an anſwer, importing, They were extremely concerned to ſee, that, notwithſtanding all the advances of the King their Maſter for procuring Peace, the *States* and the Allies ſo reſolutely refuſed it; and, ſince it was thought fit to break off the Negotiations, they were preparing to depart. Upon this declaration, it was generally believed, the *French* Plenipotentiaries would have ſet out for *Paris*, for which purpoſe they had cauſed their baggage to be packed up. But, having received another Courier from *Verſailles*, they gave notice of it to *Petkum*, deſiring at the ſame time, that the *States* would once more ſend their Deputies to *Gertruydenberg*. Theſe new Conferences met with ſome difficulties, Count *Zinzendorf*, the Imperial Miniſter, having inſiſted on his being preſent: But his demand being over-ruled (by reaſon the other Miniſters of the Allies, particularly *Britiſh*, might with equal juſtice have claimed the ſame privilege) *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen* ſet out the 23d of *May* for *Gertruydenberg*. Being returned to the *Hague*, they made the next day their report to the Penſionary in the preſence of the Imperial and *Britiſh* Miniſters, to this effect: After many proteſtations of their Maſter's ſincere inclination to Peace, the *French* Plenipotentiaries ſaid his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had been prevailed upon to recede from the former demand he had made of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the places on the coaſt of *Tuſcany*; and therefore was willing, that *Naples* ſhould remain to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and that King *Philip* ſhould content himſelf with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the places on the coaſt of *Tuſcany*. The Deputies upon this thought fit, without granting any part of the propoſals, to aſk the *French* Plenipotentiaries, what ſecurity they had to propoſe to the Allies for the evacuation of *Spain* and the *Indies* by the Duke of *Anjou*, ſuppoſing that theſe propoſals of a partition ſhould be accepted. But they declined to give them any ſatisfactory anſwer. Whereupon the Deputies told them, the Allies being daily more and more convinced, that the *French* Court continued the Negotiation, not out of a ſincere deſire of Peace, but only to encourage their ſubjects to bear the more patiently the burthen of the war, they would be obliged to break off all further Conferences with them, to remove all occaſions of jealouſy amongſt themſelves. The *French* made great proteſtations of their Maſter's ſincerity, and ſaid, they would ſend him another expreſs, with an account of theſe Conferences.

The *Dutch* Deputies having made the like report to the *States* of *Holland*, they took no final reſolution, but deferred it to another meeting, in order to give the *French* Plenipotentiaries time to receive new inſtructions from their Court; which they did the 6th of *June*, and immediately writ a letter to *Petkum*, with one incloſed for the Penſionary, acquainting him, that, having new overtures to make, they deſired, that Meſſieurs *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen* would once again return to *Gertruydenberg*. The Imperial Plenipotentiary renewed his former pretenſion of aſſiſting at the Conferences; and being again refuſed, and his orders from *Vienna*, to perſiſt in his demand, being poſitive, he ſent an expreſs to Prince *Eugene* for his opinion, who adviſed him to follow the example of the *Britiſh* Miniſters, whoſe Miſtreſs, though ſhe contributed more to the war than any other of the Allies, was yet ſo well ſatisfied of the wiſdom and integrity of the *States-General*, as to truſt to them that preliminary Negotiation of Peace. 1710.

Buys and *Vanderduſſen* being abſent from the *Hague*, when the *French* Courier, ſent to *Petkum*, arrived there, they did not ſet out for *Gertruydenberg* till the 14th of *June*. The two following days they had ſeveral Conferences with the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who declared, Their Maſter receded from the demand made in the laſt Conference, of the *Spaniſh* places on the coaſt of *Tuſcany*, and would content himſelf with *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for King *Philip*; and uſe all poſſible means to perſuade his Grandſon to conſent to that partition: This required ſome time; but, if that Prince would not acquieſce in this propoſal, the moſt Chriſtian King, though he could by no means declare war againſt his Grandſon, would yet furniſh a ſum of money towards the charges of a war to be continued againſt him, till he had ſurrendered *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. This declaration of the *French* Plenipotentiaries being reported to the Penſionary, in the preſence of the Imperial and *Britiſh* Miniſters, occaſioned two or three Conferences between them, and confirmed the general opinion, that the *French* had no other deſign, than either to amuſe the Allies, or to decoy them to a ſeparate peace, excluſive of *Spain*; where, notwithſtanding their promiſes to the contrary, they might underhand aſſiſt King *Philip*, and carry on the war with ſuch advantage, as might in the end tire out, if not exhauſt the principal Members of the Alliance. The Imperial Miniſter was ſtill of opinion, that, ſince the *French* Plenipotentiaries did not propoſe any equivalent or expedient for the thirty-ſeventh article of the preliminaries, which was the main intention of the preſent Negotiation, they ought to be immediately diſmiſſed; and therefore moved, that *Petkum*, who, on the 21ſt of *June*, went to *Gertruydenberg*, as he pretended, for ſome private concerns, ſhould be deſired to ſignify to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, that the Allies would not conſent to any further Conferences. But it was thought more adviſeable to ſend him to make the following declaration on the part of the Allies: I. The laſt propoſal made by the *French* King, of contributing a ſum of money towards the charges of the war, to oblige the Duke of *Anjou* to quit the Monarchy of *Spain*, and content himſelf with *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, if he would not do it voluntarily, was not acceptable to the Allies upon ſeveral accounts; and namely, becauſe this would produce but a ſeparate, and not a general peace, which was the end the Allies propoſed to themſelves. II. The Allies inſiſted to have *Spain*

and

1710. and the *Indies* delivered up, according to the tenor of the preliminaries. III. This foundation being laid and agreed upon, the Allies would conſent to continue the Conferences on other articles. The *French* Miniſters deferring their anſwer to this declaration, *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen* were directed to ſend an expreſs to *Gertruydenberg*, who returned to the *Hague* the 10th of *July*, with an anſwer, importing, "That by "virtue of their powers and inſtructions they "were always in a condition to explain the ſen- "timents of the King their Maſter; and there- "fore deſired, that the Deputies would come "once more to *Gertruydenberg*." This being communicated to Count *Zinzendorf* and the Lord *Townſhend*, thoſe Miniſters met at the Penſionary's, where, after a long debate, it was reſolved to ſend back the *Dutch* Deputies to *Gertruydenberg* with this inſtruction, That they ſhould inſiſt upon a plain and poſitive anſwer to the articles delivered to the Plenipotentiaries by *Petkum*. *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen* ſet out the next day, and had a Conference with the *French* Plenipotentiaries, that laſted about four hours, though to as little purpoſe as the former. For the *Dutch* Deputies inſiſting on the declaration made on the part of the Allies by the Reſident of *Holſtein*, the *French* ſaid, They had no further inſtructions, but would ſend another expreſs to their Maſter for a final anſwer, which they would communicate upon the return of the Courier, for whoſe journey fifteen days were allowed. The *Dutch* Deputies being by this time convinced of the inſincerity of the *French*, *Vanderduſſen* could not forbear making ſome warm expoſtulations about it; to which the Abbot *de Polignac* replied in very high terms, not without reproaching the *Dutch* with ingratitude towards the Crown of *France*, which had been their main ſupport upon their defection from *Spain*. Whereupon the Conference, which proved to be the laſt, broke off unkindly. The *French* Miniſters, not thinking it proper to demand another interview, on the 20th of *July* ſent a letter to the Penſionary, wherein they 1710. repreſented the propoſals made in the laſt Conference by the Deputies to be unjuſt, and impoſſible to be executed, and complained of the ill treatment they pretended they had received in contempt of their character; of the injurious, falſe, and ſcandalous libels, which had been ſuffered to be diſperſed during their ſtay at *Gertruydenberg*, to inflame the minds of thoſe, whom they were endeavouring to reconcile; and of all the letters, which they either received or writ, having been opened, in breach of the public faith. This letter being communicated to the *States-General*, they came to a reſolution, 'That the contents of it concerned not only their State, but likewiſe all the Allies, and therefore they thought it their duty to communicate it to their Miniſters reſiding at the *Hague*, that every thing might be done in concert with them, as it had been hitherto. That the *French* Plenipotentiaries rejecting, by their anſwer, the propoſitions made to them, declaring, that it was uſeleſs to hold any more Conferences upon theſe propoſitions, and thereby breaking off the Negotiations on that ſubject, nothing more remained to be done on the part of the Allies, than to acquieſce therein, and to enter into no more Conferences, as long as the enemy ſhould continue in ſuch ſentiments. And the Sieurs *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen* were, by this reſolution, required to ſignify the ſame by a letter to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, without entering into a debate upon the contents of their letter, notwithſtanding it might be eaſily confuted, as well with reſpect to things as words.' Accordingly *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen* returned a ſhort anſwer to the *French* Miniſters, importing, 'That, ſince their Court would not give a ſufficient ſecurity for the delivering up of *Spain*, it was to no purpoſe to continue the Conferences.' Upon this the *French* Plenipotentiaries ſet out the 25th of *July*, from *Gertruydenberg*, to return home (1). It was obſerved, that, about this time, the *French* began to

(1) Dr. *Hare*, in his *fourth letter to a Tory Member*, Part II. p. 42. obſerves, 'that the ill ſucceſs of theſe Negotiations was intirely owing to the *French*; the King of *France* having put it out of the power of the Allies to make a general Peace, by refuſing to give them *Spain* and the *Indies*, without which a good Peace could never be made, or the end, for which they went into the war, tolerably anſwered. And the more, ſays he, this affair is examined into, the more you will be convinced of the inſincerity of the *French*, and the neceſſity the Allies were under to act as they did.

Firſt, It is indiſputably true, and confeſſed on all hands, that the reſtitution of *Spain* and the *Indies*, whatever became of the reſt of the Monarchy, was promiſed from the very firſt. They did not pretend to deſire ſo much as one ſingle Conference for Peace on any other terms.

Now if the King could do what he promiſed, what became of the pretended impoſſibility? And if he could not, what could he mean by ſuch a promiſe but to amuſe and deceive? But, if he deſigned that, then it undeniably follows, all theſe Negotiations, on his part, have been one continued cheat from the beginning to the end. And, that this is the truth of the caſe, I have given you many proofs both in my laſt letter and in this. All the expedients, he propoſed, were ſo many ſhams, and had no other meaning in them but to gain time, quiet his people, and ſow jealouſies among the Allies; and defeat, if poſſible, by a treaty thoſe he cannot defeat by his arms. What elſe could he mean by propoſing a Partition as an expedient, and yet refuſing to let it have the effect of one? To ask the *States* to conſent to a Partition, and not ſuffer them to ask for what, is a little too bare-faced. Could they think the *Dutch* would conſent to this expedient, for the ſake of a general Peace, without being ſure a general Peace would be purchaſed by it? I ſcarce believe, they expected that of them; but nevertheleſs hoped, they ſhould gain their ends by it; and that the very hearkening to the propoſal of a Partition would create jealouſies, and divide the Allies, in which they did not judge very ill; for the Conferences upon this foot very much alarmed the Miniſters of the Emperor and King *Charles*, who were utterly averſe to a partition of any kind; and it was with great difficulty they were prevailed with to conſent to let the Conferences with the Miniſters of *France* be managed by the Deputies of the *States*, without their being themſelves preſent at them; which would have rendered the Negotiations for a general Peace much more difficult than they were, though *France* had been in earneſt for it. And this was all *France* aimed at by propoſing a Partition: Some of the Allies, they knew, would be extremely againſt it, while the *States*, they hoped, would, for ſo deſirable an end, be willing enough to come into it. And this difference they promiſed themſelves much

1710. to talk of Peace with indifference, either, as ſome conjectured, in hopes of a diverſion in the North, or, which is much more probable, from an expectation, that the ferment, raiſed in *England* by the late trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, would be ſo induſtriouſly fomented and improved by their friends, as to produce a favourable turn. On the other hand, the *States-General* were ſo exaſperated by the late evaſive conduct of the Court of *France*, that on the 27th of *July*, *N. S.* they came to another vigorous reſolution, in confutation of the letter from *d'Uxelles* and *Polignac* to the Penſionary, and in particular to ſhew, 'That the enemy had departed from the foundation, on which the Negotiation had begun, and ſtudied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the reſtitution of *Spain* and the *Indies*; and, in ſhort, that *France* had no other view, than to ſow and create jealouſy and diſunion among the Allies. As to the complaint of the Plenipotentiaries relating to their perſons, the pretended contempt of their character, the publication of abuſive libels, the opening of their letters, the hindering the making any viſits to them and their lodging, as if they had been in a kind of priſon; the *States* obſerved, That, purſuant to the agreement, the Plenipotentiaries came without any character, for which reaſon no ceremonial was obſerved on either ſide; but that all manner of conſideration was had for their birth, quality, and merit. That libels were ſeverely forbidden in *Holland*, and the authors and printers liable to puniſhment. That none of the many Couriers, the *French* Plenipotentiaries had received and diſpatched, had been ſtopped; nor were any of the letters, which they ſent by the ordinary poſt, intercepted. That no perſon was ever hindered from going to them; nor was any order given to take notice who viſited them. But as, in all frontier-towns, it is the cuſtom, that none enter, unleſs they declare who they are, both at the Gate and to the Governor; it ought not to be thought ſtrange, nor ought exceptions to be taken, if this cuſtom were not diſcontinued during the ſtay of the *French* Miniſters at *Gertruydenberg*. And, in the laſt place, they could not call a kind of priſon the town, which they pitched upon for their reſidence, and which they preferred to *Antwerp*, a large and noble City. 1710.

On the 7th of *Auguſt*, the Lord *Townſhend* delivered to the *States-General* a memorial, wherein he acquainted them, that the Queen intirely approved their reſolution, in anſwer to the letter of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, and all the ſteps they had taken during the late Negotiations; giving them, at the ſame time, freſh aſſurances of her Majeſty's firm reſolution to proſecute the war with all poſſible vigour, till the enemy was brought to accept ſuch terms of peace, as might ſecure the tranquillity of the Chriſtian world.

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much from. But, for fear this difficulty ſhould be overcome, and the Allies ſhould take them at their words, and accept ſome of the expedients offered, they had another reſort behind, by which they could at any time confound all that had been done, and had great hopes, at the ſame time, that the Alliance might be broke by it. And that was this; they pretended they could not execute any part of the preliminaries, unleſs the Allies would oblige themſelves not to make any further demands, than what were already contained in thoſe articles, or that they ſhould be now declared; which is contrary to the 32d article, in which there is a power expreſsly reſerved for the Empire, the four aſſociated Circles, the Kings of *Portugal* and *Pruſſia*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, to make what further demands they ſhould find reaſonable. This the *French* inſiſted on for no other reaſon, but becauſe they knew it was impoſſible for the Allies in juſtice to comply with it, unleſs the reſpective powers above-named, had had Miniſters at the *Hague*, with full inſtructions from each of them, which they knew they neither had, nor could have, without loſing a great deal of time. Beſides, this demand of the *French* is contrary, not only to the expreſs terms of the preliminaries, but to the very nature of them; for, if nothing is to be left to be adjuſted at a general treaty, how does a preliminary treaty differ from it? But it was very much for the purpoſe of the *French*,— who meant nothing but to amuſe the Allies, and make miſchief, to inſiſt on it; which accordingly they did, being ſure which ever part the Allies took, they ſhould find their account in it. For, if the Allies would not agree to this demand, then there was always a handle ready to break off the treaty upon: As long as further demands may be made upon them, they cannot be ſure any conceſſions will procure a laſting Peace, and they ſhall be in danger of having the War renewed upon them, after all they ſhall have done to put an end to it. And this is very plauſible and ſpecious; but has at the bottom nothing at all in it. But, if the Allies had complied with this demand, and declared no further demands ſhould be inſiſted on, what a fine game would the *French* have had? They had nothing elſe to do to break the Alliance, but to repreſent to ſome of theſe members of it, how their intereſts were neglected, and what poor terms the Maritime Powers and the Emperor had made for them. You ſee, Gentlemen, the utmoſt your Allies ask for you; you ſee the whole you are to expect from them. Theſe are the terms they have made for you; and they have promiſed to oblige you to acquieſce in them. Are theſe Allies worth adhering to? Come over to the intereſt of the King, and ſupport his firſt pretenſions; and you will find both him and his Grandſon more grateful. You ſhall have this and that, and the other good thing; this town, that principality, ſo much money, ſuch a valuable match; in ſhort, terms infinitely more advantageous to your maſters, and the intereſt of their families, than any thing the Allies will do for you. This artifice the *French* found the good effects of the laſt war; and their fingers itch to be at it again; for this was the way they drew off a certain Prince then, which was the ruin of that Confederacy. After their emiſſaries had been for ſome time in *Holland*, propoſing under-hand terms of Peace, and endeavouring to find, what articles the principal Allies would be content with for the reſt; when they had learned this, the uſe they made of it, was to ſeduce one of them, by offering much better terms than had been asked for him. The bait took, and it was agreed to leave the ſide he thought himſelf ill uſed by. Nothing remained but to contrive how this might be done moſt decently. The way agreed on was to invade his country with a great army, and lay ſiege to his capital. What could the unhappy Prince do in theſe circumſtances? He is in the utmoſt danger; his Allies neither do, nor can ſupport him. There is no ſafety for him but in a Peace. Thus a member was brought off from the laſt Confederacy; and the ſame play they want to be again at. This is ſo certain, that we are ſure they were trying this very trick with the ſame Prince. While the Marquis *de Torcy* made at the *Hague* ſuch mighty difficulties in complying with the terms demanded for the Duke of *Savoy*, whom he pretended his Maſter had great reaſon to be diſſatisfied with, this falſe perfidious Court was at that very time tempting him with better offers at

1710. *Campaign in* Flanders. Brodrick. Hiſt. of *Eur.* Burnet.

By this time the Confederate armies, under Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, had made a conſiderable progreſs in *Flanders*. On the 14th of *April*, the Earl of *Albemarle*, Governor of *Tournay*, in concert with Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, cauſed the caſtle of *Mortagne* to be attacked, which was executed with ſo much ſucceſs, that the garriſon, conſiſting of a Captain, four Subalterns, five Serjeants, and ſixty-five private men, ſurrendered priſoners of war. But the next morning the enemy retook that poſt with about ſixty men. The Earl, reſolving to be maſter of it again, made a ſecond attack with ſix hundred men of the garriſon of *Tournay*; and though the *French* garriſon, which conſiſted of two hundred grenadiers, were aſſiſted by twelve or fifteen Galliots from *Condé*; yet the Confederate troops, being ſupported by a detachment from the body of Count *Feltz*, and favoured by the cannon, which they had planted on the heights of *Munde*, the enemy were obliged again to ſurrender priſoners of war. The Allies, conſidering the great conveniency and advantageous ſituation of that poſt, left there two hundred men, and four pieces of cannon.

The *French* had all the winter been ſtrengthening their lines for covering *Doway*, and other frontier-towns, and boaſted they were impregnable; but not being able to ſupply their troops with proviſions, and eſpecially forage for their horſe, the two Confederate Generals, with Count *Tilly* and Monſieur *de Claerbergen*, one of the *States* Deputies, made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for advancing towards the enemy's lines; and the army began their march in two columns; the right commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough* to *Pont-a-Vendin*, and the reſt by Prince *Eugene* to *Pont-Oby* on the *Deule*. This march was ſo well contrived, and ſo ſudden, that notwithſtanding the great preparations, which the *French* had made for fortifying and defending their lines; the Chevalier *de Luxemburg*, being for that purpoſe incamped with about four thouſand men near *St. Amand*, and the Marſhal *de Monteſquiou*, having aſſembled about forty battalions, and ſixty ſquadrons, near *Lens*, and *Bethune*; yet the Prince of *Wirtemberg*, and Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, with a detachment of fifteen battalions and fifty ſquadrons from the Duke of *Marlborough*'s column, entered thoſe lines at *Pont-a-Vendin*, without any oppoſition. The few troops they had there, for the defence of that poſt, retired without firing a gun; and the battalions and ſquadrons, poſted near *Lens* and *Bethune*, made likewiſe their retreat, partly towards *Arras*, and partly towards *Doway*. The Allies having laid bridges over the *Scarpe*, the Prince of *Heſſe*

1710. April 20.

Turin; but that Prince underſtood his intereſts too well, to hearken again to them.

This is the uſe the Miniſters of *France* hoped to make of this demand of their's, if the Allies had been weak enough to have agreed to it. But they were not to be ſo impoſed on, nor would they act in ſo arbitrary a manner, as to force any of their Allies to ſubmit to terms made againſt their conſent, or without their knowledge; and therefore could not, by all the artifice of *France*, be prevailed with to preclude them from making ſuch further demands, as they ſhould think reaſonable. But, to ſhew they were ſincere, they were willing to deſiſt from all further demands for themſelves, according to the 31ſt article. This they could do; more injuſtice they could not. And, had the *French* been in earneſt on their part, they would, without difficulty, have truſted the Allies in this point; for they could not, with any colour of reaſon, believe, that, when the Maritime Powers and the Emperor were ſatisfied, they would renew the war at the end of two months, or what other time ſhould have been agreed on, for the ſake of any further demands on the part of the other Allies, which it would not be very reaſonable for *France* to grant them. And therefore it cannot be thought they meant any thing elſe by urging this point, but to make miſchief, and, draw the Allies, if they could, into a ſnare; and, if that did not ſucceed, that they might always have it in their power to go off.

To reduce the whole management of the *French* in this affair under one ſhort view: They preſs the Allies to an impoſſibility contrary to the preliminaries, and complain at the ſame time of being preſſed to an impoſſibility themſelves, though the Allies ask nothing but what they themſelves offered from the beginning; and the ſteps they have taken are very extraordinary. Firſt, Negotiations are broke off upon the ſingle point of the 37th article. Then an expedient is offered of cautionary towns; then the Conferences are again deſired to be renewed, upon repeated aſſurances of agreeing to all the other preliminaries, except the 37th. Then, as what would ſolve all difficulties, a partition is propoſed, which is at laſt reduced to *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. And what is all this for? Will they ſign the preliminaries, if this partition be agreed to? By no means; they take the very asking of this queſtion for a plain deſign in the Allies to break off the Conferences; and they, who would have given you before all the preliminaries, except the 37th article and three cautionary towns, now take it very ill you will not accept the preliminaries, not only without that article, but without any cautionary towns, or other expedients, though *Sardinia* and *Sicily* be taken out of them, without having for this any more ſecurity given than before, that *Spain* and the *Indies* ſhall be reſtored, though the propoſing a partition could not poſſibly have any other meaning in it. For it was propoſed as an expedient; but for what? To leave the Allies where it found them? No ſure; but to remove the pretended difficulty of evacuating *Spain* and the *Indies*, in favour of King *Charles*. But, if this be the plain meaning of this propoſal, how came the treaty to break off upon this point? What can be more unjuſt, than to deſire the Allies to quit part of what the preliminaries give them, for the ſake of the reſt, and yet not tell them, which way the reſt is to be had? What is more ridiculous than to preſs the *States* to all the inconveniencies, which the conſenting to a partition might be attended with, without allowing them the leaſt advantage from it? How can one reconcile the asking a partition at the beginning of the Conferences, and then breaking them off, becauſe the Allies deſire to be ſecured of the effect propoſed from it? Now after all that has been ſaid upon this ſubject, can there be any doubt, which ſide is in fault, or at whoſe door it lies, that thoſe Conferences did not ſucceed? — It is plain they broke off, becauſe the *French* would not ſecure to the Allies the reſtitution of *Spain* and the *Indies*. And it is as plain, the *French* ought to have done this: It is what they promiſed from the beginning, and undertook for at the opening of thoſe Conferences, the propoſal of a partition being incapable of any other fair conſtruction. And therefore the blame of the rupture can lie only upon the *French*, or on thoſe, who have encouraged them to act thus, by diſcovering the mighty haſte they were in for Peace. For whether the *French*, when they firſt began theſe Conferences, intended they ſhould end as they did, may poſſibly be a queſtion. I muſt own, when I heard they had propoſed a partition, I thought the neceſſity of their affairs had at laſt forced them to be ſincere; and that they would

1710. *Heſſe Caſſel* was detached with twelve ſquadrons to fall upon their rear; but they broke down ſo many bridges, and retired ſo faſt that he could not put his deſigns execution, and only took a April 22. few priſoners. The army under the Duke of *Marlborough* paſſed the *Scarpe*, incamping his right near *Vitri*, and his left at *Gouy*; the extremity of his left at *Gouleſſin*. The army under Prince *Eugene* remained on the other ſide of the river to inveſt *Doway*, the ſiege of which was reſolved upon; and for that purpoſe Lieutenant-General *Cadogan* marched to take poſt at *Pont-a-Rache*, and other detachments were made to open a communication over the lower *Scarpe* with *Liſle* and *Tournay*. The enemy quitted *St. Amand*, *Marchienne*, and the abbey of *Haſnon* below *Doway*; and their army retired towards *Cambray*, upon the news that the Confederates had paſſed the *Scarpe* at *Vitri*. This opened the way to *Doway*, which was immediately inveſted.

Doway *beſieged and taken.* On the 8th of *May*, eight hundred men were detached from Prince *Eugene*'s army to attack the caſtle of *Pignonville* near *Fort-Scarpe*, which would have diſturbed the Beſiegers in their approaches; and after an hour's reſiſtance, the garriſon, conſiſting of about one hundred men ſurrendered priſoners of war. At the ſame time the neceſſary preparations for the attack of *Doway* being made, forty battalions were appointed for that ſervice, under the command of the Prince of *Anhalt-Deſſau*, and the Prince of *Naſſau-Frieſland*, both Generals of foot. And, on the 4th at night, the trenches were opened with ſo much precaution and regularity, that the men 1710. were covered before they were perceived from the town; ſo that all the fire, which the enemy then made, proved ineffectual. The ſiege was carried on in the uſual methods till the 7th; when about ten at night the Beſieged, to the number of one thouſand foot (moſt grenadiers) and two hundred dragoons, made a vigorous ſalley, under the command of the Duke of *Mortemar*, againſt the left attack, commanded by the Prince *Naſſau*; put the workmen into great diſorder, and levelled ſome paces of the parallel. Colonel *Sutton*'s regiment ſuffered very much, being the firſt, that ſupported the workmen; but, *Maccartney*'s and ſome other regiments coming up to their relief, the enemy were repulſed with conſiderable loſs, and purſued to their counterſcarp. The Beſiegers had above three hundred men killed or wounded upon this occaſion, and among the latter, Lieutenant-Colonel *Gledhil*, who was taken priſoner.

By this time the enemy's troops began to aſſemble in different bodies near *Bethune*, *Bapaume*, *Arras*, *Cambray*, *Landeci*, and behind the river *Somme*; and, Marſhal *Villers*, whom the *French* Court had appointed to command their forces in the *Netherlands*, being arrived at *Peronne* on the 14th of *May*, the Confederate Generals received advice, that he deſigned to paſs the *Scheld*, between *Bouchain* and *Denain*, in order to advance towards the Allies. And indeed he made ſuch ſpeeches to his army, that it was generally believed he would venture a battle, rather than look on and ſee *Doway* loſt.

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have ſtruck up a Peace before *Doway* was taken, that the Allies might not extend their conqueſts beyond the bounds of their preliminaries. And perhaps, even after this, they might balance with themſelves, and were for ſome time irreſolute with intention to conſent, or not conſent to the Allies, as they found themſelves preſſed by the War. And, could the Duke of *Marlborough* have either beat their army, or beſieged *Arras*, I believe they would have thought the King might with honour have abandoned his Grandſon, after he had ſacrificed ſo much for the ſupport of him; and the ſafety of *France* would have excuſed to all the world his quitting *Spain*. And it was with this view principally they kept their Miniſters ſo long at *Gertruydenberg*, that they might be upon the ſpot, to clap up a Peace immediately, if there ſhould be occaſion. By this they were ſure to have an advantage in caſe of a battle, which ever way it turned; for, if they loſt it, they would have been able to prevent the fatal conſequences of a great defeat by cloſing with the terms of the Allies, before a victory could be purſued; and, if they had won it, they would have made uſe of the firſt conſternation, which the loſs of a battle would have put the *Dutch* into, to preſs them to a Peace on their terms. That this was the moſt the *French* meant by theſe Conferences, is evident from what was doing at the ſame time in *Spain*. I have obſerved before, that either the *Spaniards* or we muſt have been deceived; and therefore the *French* kept it in their power, by the moſt artful ways they could, to do either as they found moſt convenient; but that the King's inclination and intereſt were too well known to leave room to doubt, that he would keep his promiſe to the *Spaniards*, if he could. Accordingly we ſee, he did not only enable his Grandſon, as I have obſerved before, to put *Spain* into the beſt poſture of defence it was capable of, and ſupply him with every thing that was neceſſary; but promiſed to make the ſiege of *Gironne* early in the ſpring, and was making a new offenſive and defenſive treaty with him during theſe very Conferences. And the aſſiſtance and aſſurance, the Duke of *Anjou* had given him, made him think of nothing leſs than quitting *Spain*. In the ſpring he pretended to have an army of one hundred and twenty-two battalions, and one hundred and forty-five ſquadrons, beſides the troops that were coming to him from *Flanders*. Before the Conferences begun, the King received an expreſs from his Grandſon, to acquaint him with the zeal the *Caſtilians* expreſs for him, and his reſolution to ſtand by them; and the *French* Miniſter at *Madrid* in *April* gave out, that the Conferences were broke off. At the ſame the Duke of *Anjou* was haſtening to put himſelf at the head of his army, but was ſtopped by the affair of the Duke *de Medina Celi*; which, as great a myſtery as it was, was probably at bottom a *French* trick. It was very natural for the *Spaniards* to take umbrage at the Conferences, and to think it was time to take care of themſelves; and that, if the King ſhould in earneſt abandon them, it was to no purpoſe for them to adhere to his Grandſon. To feel their pulſe upon this point, it is probable the *French* Miniſters, either *Blecour* or *Ibberville*, or ſome others of their emiſſaries, had pretended to treat with ſome of the Grandees upon this foot, and acquainted them, that the King's affairs would not permit him to ſupport his Grandſon any longer, and that the King did not expect they ſhould ruin themſelves to maintain him on the Throne, ſince in that caſe it would be impracticable: But that, if they would diſpoſe him to reſign, the King would endeavour to get ſome partition for him. It is extremely probable, this trick was tried at *Madrid*, to find how the Grandees were inclined to act on this occaſion; the Duke of *Medina* in particular, who was the firſt Miniſter; and that, when they had got out of him the ſenſe of him and his friends on this nice ſubject, the uſe they made of it was to betray him to the Duke of *Anjou*. And poſſibly the thing went farther; and that in concert with the *French*, to ſave the King's honour, they had

1710. On the 17th of *May*, in the morning, the Beſieged made a ſecond ſalley with nine companies of grenadiers, and a detachment of dragoons upon the left. But Colonel *Preſton*, who commanded there, gave them ſo warm a reception that, upon the firſt firing of his men, the enemy retired with precipitation. The 21ſt, at night, the Beſieged made another ſalley on the left, wherein ſeveral men were killed on both ſides; and, notwithſtanding they were diſappointed, they made a fourth attempt on the trenches, the 23d at night. But, the Beſiegers, who had notice of it, having killed about twenty of their men, upon the firſt diſcharge, the reſt retired in great confuſion.

May 19. During theſe tranſactions before *Doway*, *Villars* ſet out from *Peronne*, and arrived the ſame day at *Cambray*, where he held a grand Council of war, in which it was reſolved, immediately to aſſemble the *French* army, in order to attempt the relief of *Doway*. Accordingly, *Villars* ſent expreſſes to ſome reinforcements, that were commanded to join him from the *Upper Rhine*, to advance with all poſſible expedition; and having drawn together all his troops, paſſed the *Scheld*, and incamped with his right near *Bouchain*, and his left at *Ribecour*. Upon advice of this motion, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* thought fit to alter the diſpoſition of their forces, except thirty battalions left at the ſiege, and twelve ſquadrons at *Pont-a-Rache*. The 24th, all the cavalry of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s army marched over the *Scarpe*, and incamped near *Gouleſſin*; and, the next day, the infantry moved the ſame way, incamping with the right over againſt *Vitri*, and the left near *Arleux*. At the ſame time, Prince *Eugene* made a motion with his army, placing his right at *Iſe-les-Eſquerchien*; by which ſituation, the Confederate troops were ready to repair immediately to either of the fields of battle already marked out, according to the next motions of the enemy; for which purpoſe roads were made for the armies to march in four columns either way. The 25th, bridges were laid in ſeveral places over the *Scarpe* (which parted the two armies) for the more eaſy communication of the troops; and, the ſame day, upon advice, that the enemy were in motion, all the troops were ordered to be in a readineſs to march. The four following days, both armies made ſeveral motions; and, on the 30th, the *Dutch* infantry, under Count *Tilly*, was ordered to join the Duke of *Marlborough*'s army; which was by this time reinforced by the arrival of the *Pruſſians*, *Palatines*, and *Heſſians*, and the recalling of ſeveral detachments. Upon intelligence, that *Villars* had poſitive orders from Court to venture a battle, the expectation of a ſudden engagement increaſed on both ſides; and that General, who was incamped with his right at *Roquelincourt* near *Arras*, and his left at *St. Eloy*, advancing with his troops in order of battle, the Confederate Generals repaired to their reſpective poſts; the cannon was placed on the batteries, that defended the avenues to their camp; and all other neceſſary diſpoſitions were made to receive them. *Villars*, with a great detach- 1710.

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had agreed to ſeize his perſon, and carry him off; which I remember, was the firſt report we had upon that Miniſter's diſgrace. After this affair was over, which had ſufficiently intoxicated the *Spaniards*, the Duke of *Anjou* left *Madrid*, and joined his army near *Lerida*. And the Duke of *Noailles* was advanced to the banks of the *Ter*, the river *Gironne* ſtands upon, to favour his deſigns. In *June* the Duke of *Anjou* was ſo ſanguine, that he made no doubt of being able to drive King *Charles* out of *Catalonia* that campaign, eſpecially if the Duke of *Noailles* could but make the ſiege of *Gironne*. This appears at large in ſome letters of his, that were intercepted, to the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, writ to congratulate the marriage of the Duke of *Berry*, which he ſhews himſelf not at all pleaſed with. Upon his diſappointment in *Catalonia*, when he could neither attack Marſhal *Staremberg*, nor beſiege *Balaguer*, he grew diſſatisfied with his *Spaniſh* Generals: And in *July* both he and his Princeſs ſollicit the King in very preſſing terms to ſend the Duke of *Vendoſme* to him; which was ſoon complied with, and, that the Duke might have no apprehenſions of the King's deſigning to abandon him, he entered into a new Alliance with him. This Alliance was framing while the Miniſters of *France* were at *Gertruydenberg*; which place they left but the 25th, and the 8th of *Auguſt*, or before, the articles of this new treaty were known publickly at *Paris*: Which makes it plain to a demonſtration, that this treaty was forming before the Conferences were broke off.

From this account, it is exceeding evident, that the *French* were taking the moſt affectual methods to ſupport the Duke of *Anjou*, and make the *Spaniards* faithful to him, while they were perſuading the Allies, the King would in earneſt abandon him, and give him no aſſiſtance directly or indirectly; nay, while they were making terms for him, upon which they would oblige him to reſign. And, if this be not inſincere in the laſt degree, I would be glad to know what is. If he was ſincere, why did he treat for a general Peace, when either he would not, or could not make the neceſſary conditions of it practicable? Why, when he meant nothing but a ſeparate Peace, did he not frankly from the beginning tell the Allies, that he was willing to make terms with them for himſelf, but that he could make none for *Spain*? Was this for any thing elſe but to amuſe the Allies, who, he knew, would flatly have refuſed entering into any Negotiations, if he had ſpoke out plainly what he meant? Did not he intend, from the beginning, to defeat by an exception a general Peace, while he pretended all the while to be for it? As old managers ſometimes do with a bill in Parliament, which they contrive ſhould be loſt by an amendment, while they would be thought zealous for it; which they would not have been able to effect, had they openly declared againſt the bill itſelf. Thus they gain the point they would have, by ſeeming to be for what in truth they would not have: And the ſame part the King of *France* has acted with reſpect to Peace, but not with the ſame ſucceſs. He has not got yet what he wants, I mean a ſeparate Peace, by affecting to treat for a general one, which he would of all things keep off. A man muſt ſhut his eyes very hard, not to ſee the *French* meant nothing by theſe Conferences but to amuſe the Allies, and keep it in their power to make what uſe of them they ſhould have occaſion for; and that they never deſigned to conſent to what was neceſſary to make a general Peace practicable. They meant either no Peace at all, or only a ſeparate one for themſelves; which they hoped from the temper of the *Dutch*, the nature of their government, and the experience they have formerly had of them, they might be frightened into. To which end they affected from the very firſt Conference to let nothing fall from them, that might look like a deſire to retard the operations of the campaign, but on their own part threatened what mighty things they would do upon the *Rhine* and in *Spain*; and, to intimidate them the more, Marſhal *Villars* condeſcended

1710. detachment, advanced ſome time after, within muſket-ſhot of the Confederates guard, and took a view of the army and its ſituation. But inſtead of attacking them (as he had ſo confidently given out in the morning, he marched back, and joined the center of his army, and incamped beween *Noyelles Sous-Lens* and the Heights of *St. Laurenes*. The Confederates judging, he did not deſign to attack them, but only to retard the ſiege, ſent the troops back, which they had drawn from before *Doway*; and thoſe under General *Fagel* returned into the lines on the other ſide of the *Scarpe*. And, to prevent any ſurprize from the enemy, orders were given to join the ſeveral redoubts, in the front of the camp by a line to extend from *Montignon* to *Vitri*, which was finiſhed on the laſt of *May*.

The ſiege of *Doway*, which by all theſe motions had been retarded, was carried on with all imaginable vigour, notwithſtanding the many obſtacles the Allies met with in their approaches, both from the difficulty of the ground, and the reſolute defence of the garriſon. On the 29th of *May*, the Beſieged made a fifth ſalley on the right attack, and penetrated into the trenches; but, after an obſtinate engagement, they were repulſed with the loſs of twenty-five officers, and about one hundred private men. The next day a party of the garriſon of *Fort-Scarpe* made a ſalley, and advanced to *Pont-a-Rache*, with a deſign to intercept the bread-waggons of the Allies. But Colonel *Caldwell*, who commanded there with three hundred dragoons, vigorouſly repulſed them, though he had the misfortune of being wounded in one of his arms. The laſt day of *May*, the Beſieged made a vigorous ſalley, burnt ſeveral villages, took part of the equipage of General *Fagel*, and returned into the town with a good number of cattle. The Beſieged continued to defend their out-works with the utmoſt obſtinacy; but notwithſtanding their frequent ſallies and mines, on the 5th of *June*, the Allies made two lodgments on the glacis of the counterſcarp at the right attack; as alſo lodgments on the right and left of the other attack of the counterſcarp of the ravelins, and fired briſkly from the batteries of cannon and mortars, to drive the enemy from their traverſes. The 10th in the morning, the Allies fired five pieces of cannon into the covered-way, and continued the ſap, which went on but ſlowly, by reaſon of the great fire of the enemy. However the Beſiegers in the night, between the 14th and 15th, perfected a lodgment on the covered-way at the right attack, and repaired the damages their works received at the left by the great number of bombs, that were thrown into them. On the 16th, the Beſiegers began to fire againſt the ravelins, from a battery of ſeven pieces of cannon, and made a line of communication on the left attack. They ſprung likewiſe two mines, that night, at the right attack with ſo much ſucceſs, that the enemy abandoned all their places of arms, and the Beſiegers made lodgments at both attacks. After this they brought ſeveral pieces of cannon on their batteries, and fired ſo effectually, that, 1710. the

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deſcended to the mean artifice of writing to the *French* Miniſters, from time to time, letters filled with the groſſeſt gaſconade, what a brave army he had; how deſirous they were to come to an engagement; and that, if the Allies had a mind to a battle, they ſhould meet with no intrenchments, but ſhould find him ready to receive them in an open plain. Theſe poor tricks they fancied would paſs upon the *Dutch* Deputies; but they were too well known to be believed; and the event ſhewed there was nothing elſe in all theſe boaſts aimed at, but to deceive; for, the minute *Doway* began to capitulate, the Marſhal retired to ſafe ground, and intrenched with all his might, and dared not offer them battle all the reſt of the campaign, though more battalions had been weakened by the ſieges of *Doway* and *Bethune*, than the battle of *Blenheim* was fought with; and almoſt as many more were afterwards at the ſame time employed in the ſieges of *St. Venant* and *Aire*. But theſe and all the other artifices of *France* could not delude or drive the *States* to quit the common intereſt, or induce the Allies to hearken to a ſeparate Peace with the *French*, who, they knew, were taking the moſt effectual means to make the reduction of *Spain* impoſſible, while they were treating of terms for the ſurrender of it. But nothing can diſcover more plainly the inſincerity of *France*, than what happened after theſe Conferences were ended. Two days after their Plenipotentiaries were gone, the Duke of *Anjou* received a conſiderable diſgrace at *Almanara*; and, in about three weeks after that, his army was intirely defeated at *Saragoſſa*, beyond a poſſibility of maintaining his ground, or recovering his affairs, without the aſſiſtance of *France*. Here was now a fair occaſion for the *French* King to ſhew himſelf; his language had been all along, that he could not be active to dethrone his Grandſon, but would conſent abſolutely to abandon him, if that would procure a Peace. The Allies cannot take his bare word: His Miniſters make the moſt ſolemn proteſtations in his name, and give repeated aſſurances of this in the moſt expreſs words, and complain heavily, that they are not believed. Now, in leſs than a month after the Conferences were ended, there happens the beſt opportunity in the world for the King to ſhew his great ſincerity: The obſtruction to a Peace is the evacuation of *Spain*. Let now the King but keep his word, and be paſſive only, and the thing will do itſelf: The Allies cannot fail of *Spain*, if the King does not ſupport his Grandſon againſt them. What part now does the King take? Does he ſend to the Allies, that he will abandon his Grandſon in earneſt, if that will content them? Nothing like it; he balances, indeed, for ſome time what to do, and holds frequent councils: But for what? Not becauſe he was in any doubt, whether he ſhould act agreeably to his word, or ſhew he is ſincere; for that I have already obſerved he could not be; he muſt deceive either us, or the *Spaniards*. All the debate therefore was, which he ſhould do: At firſt their affairs ſeemed to be in ſo deſperate a condition, as to be beyond retrieve; and that all the ſupport he could give his Grandſon would be inſignificant; and therefore there were ſome thoughts of making a virtue of neceſſity, and to procure a Peace to *France* by abandoning *Spain*; ſince, if he did not abandon it, it muſt be loſt. And, had the action of *Saragoſſa* happened a month ſooner, it is very likely it had proved ſo, for the hands of the *French* were too full of other work to ſend any conſiderable force to *Spain*, till the campaign was in other parts, *Savoy* particularly, drawing to an end. After many conſultations, it is reſolved to make the utmoſt efforts to ſupport the Duke of *Anjou*, notwithſtanding all their pretences to leave him to himſelf, or rather to perſuade him to quit a kingdom, which, without their help, all the world ſees he could not have kept. What ſucceſs this aſſiſtance, that has been given him, has had, I need not tell you; nor what further miſchief the common cauſe is like to ſuffer from it. It is a great pity the Conference did

[1710. the breaches in the ravelins being judged wide enough, and all things being in a readineſs to ſtorm both of them by the 19th, the troops commanded for the aſſault performed that ſervice with great bravery, but met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that many were killed on both ſides. On the 23d at night the Prince of *Anhalt* having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking the two ravelins at the right attack, they ſtormed the ſame on the 24th, and lodged themſelves thereon after a ſmall reſiſtance. Soon after the enemy ſprung two mines under the ravelin of the right, whereby the Beſiegers loſt ſome workmen: However they inlarged the lodgments and communication at the left. At length the garriſon, being reduced to the laſt extremity, on the 25th at two in the afternoon beat a parley, and offered to capitulate for the town only, without including *Fort-Scarpe*. But, this being refuſed, they ſent hoſtages to both attacks, who were conducted to the Duke of *Marlborough*'s quarters; where being again told, that no capitulation could be granted to the town without including *Fort-Scarpe*; on the 26th in the morning, Monſieur *Albergotti* ſignified, that he was willing to ſurrender that fort with the town, provided he might have liberty to remove all their proviſions and ammunition. This pretenſion occaſioned a Conference in Prince *Eugene*'s quarters, where it was agreed, that the garriſon of *Fort-Scarpe* ſhould be allowed to march out with two cannon, two covered waggons, twenty others, and two days proviſions; but they were to leave their muſkets in the magazine. So the capitulation for the town and *Fort-Scarpe* were ſigned on the 26th, after fifty-two days open trenches. Purſuant to this capitulation, on the 29th, about ten in the morning, *Albergotti* marched out of *Doway* (1) with his garriſon (which amounted to no more than four thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven men) and Lieutenant-General *Hompeſch* took poſſeſſion of the town as Governor. Brigadier *Des Roques*, Engineer-General of the *States*, was likewiſe made Governor of *Fort-Scarpe* at the ſame time. The Allies found in the place forty pieces of braſs cannon, two hundred of iron, and eight mortars, with ammunition and ſmall arms, but a very ſmall ſtock of proviſions (2). As ſoon as the trenches and other works before the place were levelled, and the breaches repaired, the Confederate Armies, being joined by ſeveral detachments, advanced to *Vitri*, and from thence to the camp at *Villars-Brulin*. *Villars* being likewiſe reinforced with ſeveral detachments, and having drained the garriſons of *Condé*, *Queſnoy*, *Valenciennes*, and *Cambray*, inſtead of attacking the Confederates, incamped within his new lines from *Arras*, towards *Miramont*. The Confederate Generals finding it impracticable, either to attack the enemy, or beſiege *Arras*, turned their army againſt *Bethune* (3), which was inveſted the 15th of *July*, *N. S.* and on the 29th of *Auguſt* the place was ſurrendered by Monſieur *du Puy Vauban*, who commanded there, and was nephew to the famous Engineer of that name.

1710. July 19, N. S. Bethune taken.

During the ſiege of *Bethune*, *Villars*, with his army, marched out of their intrenchments, and poſitively declared, that he would attack the Confederates, and endeavour to raiſe the ſiege. Upon this the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* formed their armies in order of battle, and the Duke advanced with a detachment to obſerve the *French* army, who, inſtead of preparing for a battle, were caſting up a new line and intrenchments for the better ſecurity of their troops. On the 24th of *Auguſt*, the right wing of Prince *Eugene*'s army foraged in the front towards *St. Pol* near the enemy's camp, under a guard of five hundred horſe, and one thouſand *Daniſh* and *Heſſian* foot. *Villars*, having notice of it the night before, detached thirty ſqua-

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not laſt one month longer, which would have put the *French* under a neceſſity of keeping their word, or in the moſt infamous manner breaking it, to ſupport a cauſe they had ſo often, and with ſo much ſeeming earneſtneſs, promiſed to renounce. As it is, there is but one excuſe for them,—which thoſe, I am arguing againſt, had rather ſhould not be made; and that is, to plead, that the caſe is altered: Affairs are not in the ſame condition they were in, when they made thoſe promiſes. They have a political obſervatory at *Paris*, where the Marquiſs *de Torcy* and the *French* Miniſters frequently examine what appearances there are in the heavens of all the countries in war with them; and according to theſe they take their meaſures of War and Peace; and it is by this they juſtify their aſſiſting the Duke of *Anjou*. What paſſed in *Spain*, the 20th of *Auguſt*, they thought ſufficiently balanced by what happened to the North-weſt of them the 19th. What preceded that phænomenon, and has ſince followed it, has determined the *French* not only to ſupport the Duke of *Anjou*, but to deſiſt for the preſent from all further offers of Peace, by which we are as much plunged into the War, as we were ſeven years ago; and there ſeems no remedy for it, but what is worſe than the diſeaſe, an ill Peace.'

(1) *Doway*, or *Douay*, a ſtrong City of the *Low-Countries*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*, the Marquiſate of the territory of *Doway*. An Univerſity, ſubject to the *French*, and taken by them in 1667. It ſtands on the river *Scarpe*, between *Artois* and *Hainault*, thirteen miles almoſt North of *Cambray*, fifteen almoſt Eaſt of *Arras*, and thirty-five Weſt of *Mons*.

(2) The *French*, according to their cuſtom, very much magnified the loſs ſuſtained by the Allies in the ſiege of *Doway*. And it is certain, the reduction of ſo ſtrong and important a place muſt be attended with no ſmall danger and difficulty; and according to the computation, which was made by the Allies of their killed and wounded, there were three Lieutenant-Colonels, three Majors, twenty-three Captains, thirty-five Subalterns, one hundred Serjeants, and one thouſand eight hundred and ninety-nine private men killed: Two Lieutenant-Colonels, four Majors, fifty Captains, one hundred and fifty-two Subalterns, two hundred and forty-two Serjeants, and five thouſand two hundred and ſixty-ſeven private men wounded. Of the Artillery fifty-four killed, and ninety-ſix wounded: Engineers, thirteen killed, and thirty-three wounded: Miners twelve killed, and twelve wounded. Total at both attacks, two thouſand one hundred and forty-two men killed, and five thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-five wounded.

(3) *Bethune* is a town of the *Low-Countries*, in the Earldom of *Artois*, vaſtly ſtrong, and in extraordinary repair. A Nobleman, in his travels, was ſo extremely pleaſed with it, that he declared, it gave him ſuch ſurprizing ideas of the great loſs of *France*, in the death of Monſieur *Vauban* (who drew the plan of it) that he could not but paſs away a melancholy thought upon mortality, and regret the ſhort duration of inventors of arts and ſciences, when the works, that are done by them, are of ſo long continuance. It ſtands on the river *Biette*, eighteen miles North-weſt of *Arras*, and eighteen South-eaſt of *Aire*.

(1) *St.*

1710. ſquadrons under the command of the Count *de Broglio*, to attack the foragers; and, in order to be an eye-witneſs of that enterprize, he followed in perſon, and arrived on the mount of *St. Pol*, where he ordered four ſquadrons of Carabineers to attack the foragers on that ſide, while ſome other ſquadrons were advancing to attack them another way. They fell upon three ſquadrons of the Allies, which gave way; but the foragers, joining with their guard, beat the enemy back with great ſlaughter. However, the *French* growing too numerous, the Allies retired in very good order to an adjacent village, from whence the *Daniſh* and *Heſſian* infantry made ſuch a fire upon the enemy, that they loſt a great many men. *Villars* advanced in perſon, and, having ſurrounded that poſt, ſummoned the infantry to ſurrender, and, upon their refuſal, ordered part of his horſe to diſmount and attack them; but they were ſo warmly received, that they retired in diſorder. In the mean time the picquet guard of the army advancing, and Prince *Eugene* marching with part of his cavalry, *Villars* thought fit to retreat, leſt this ſkirmiſh ſhould occaſion a general engagement, having loſt a great many men in this fruitleſs attempt, beſides a Colonel, twenty other officers, with three hundred private men, who were made priſoners, and a booty of one hundred and fifty horſes.

Aire and St. Venant beſieged and taken.

As *Villars* ſtill declined an engagement, the Confederate General, in order to ſecure the head of the *Lys*, reſolved to beſiege *St. Venant* (1) and *Aire* (2) at the ſame time. Both theſe places were inveſted on the 6th of *September*, and both ſurrendered on honourable terms. *St. Venant* the 30th of *September*, and *Aire* the 9th of *November*.

Notwithſtanding the great precaution of the Allies, for the ſecurity of their artillery and ammunition, which were to be uſed in theſe ſieges, the enemy formed a deſign of ſurpriſing a convoy of ſeveral boats coming up the *Lys* from *Ghent*, under a guard of twelve hundred men, who were to be reinforced by another detachment. But Monſieur *de Ravignan* with four thouſand men from *Ypres*, not far from *Courtray*, beat the guard; killed about two hundred men; took ſix hundred ſoldiers; blew up ſome boats laden with ammunition, ſunk others laden with cannon-ball and bomb-ſhells, to interrupt the navigation of the *Lys*, and then retired with ſo much precaution, that a detachment of the Allies, ſent out to cut off his retreat, could not effect it. There was no time loſt in repairing the damages occaſioned by this misfortune; and the country people were immediately ſummoned to weigh up the boats, which the enemy ſunk in the *Lys*, and clear the paſſage of that river.

On the 26th of *September*, the Chevalier *de Luxemburg* having formed a deſign to ſurpriſe *Fort-Scarpe*, marched from *Bouchain* with a ſtrong detachment to *Pont-a-Rache*, ſent two hundred men in the night into the wood of *Bellifonties* near the Fort, and had two waggons loaded with hay, in which ſeveral grenadiers were concealed. Theſe waggons were driven by ſome other ſoldiers diſguiſed as Boors, who were to ſeize the Barrier, and, upon a ſignal, to be ſupported by others, and then by the Chevalier himſelf. But Major-General *Amama* coming at the ſame time to viſit General *Hompeſch*, who, having ſome ſuſpicion of the deſign of the enemy, was gone into the Fort to give the neceſſary orders for its ſecurity, left his guard without the Barrier, who walking their horſes, and following the waggons by mere chance, the enemy believed they were diſcovered, and ſo ran away, leaving their Captain and one of their men priſoners. 1710.

Six days after the ſurrender of *Aire*, the Confederate armies broke up and marched into winter-quarters.

Thus ended the campaign in *Flanders*, which, though not of ſuch luſtre as the former, becauſe no battle was fought, yet was, by military men, eſteemed very extraordinary in this reſpect, that our men were about a hundred and fifty days in open trenches, a thing ſaid to be without example.

Campaign on the Rhine *inconſiderable*;

Nothing conſiderable paſſed on the *Rhine*, they being equally unable to enter upon action on both ſides. The *French*, who, in the winter, had threatened the Empire with a new invaſion, were obliged to weaken their forces, in order to cover their frontiers, and ſtrengthen their armies in the *Netherlands*; and the *Germans* were not in a condition to improve ſo fair an opportunity of invading *France*. The Elector of *Brunſwick*, who commanded the Imperial army, diſſatisfied with theſe proceedings, deſired leave to reſign a command, from which, as he ſaid, he could not promiſe himſelf any honour, nor the public expect any advantage. As he could not be prevailed with to deſiſt from his purpoſe, the command of the army of the Empire was given to Count *Gronsfelt*.

and likewiſe that in Piedmont.

Nor was the campaign on the ſide of *Piedmont* more conſiderable than on the *Rhine*. The march of the Confederate troops met with ſuch difficulties and delays, that the army was not formed till about the middle of *July*; and the Duke of *Savoy*, beſides his former pretences for not putting himſelf at the head of the army, was now indiſpoſed, as well as the Prince of *Piedmont*, his eldeſt ſon, and his brother, the Duke of *Aoſta*. In this ſituation, Count *de Thaun*, Veldt-Marſhal of the Imperial forces, took upon him the command of the Confederate army, the *Piedmonteſe* Generals being directed to comply in every thing with his orders. But, notwithſtanding the preparations made to paſs the *Alps*, and penetrate into *Dauphiné*, they found it impoſſible to force their way through the mountains; ſo that, after having diſlodged the *French* from *Arches*, and ſome other poſts at the entrance of the valley of *Barcelonette*, they gave over that deſign, and the army marched to *Suza*, where they continued, as long as the ſeaſon permitted, to hinder the Duke of *Berwick*, who commanded the enemy's forces, from making any detachments into *Spain*. The *French* were ſo apprehenſive of an invaſion on the ſide of

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(1) *St. Venant* is a town of the *Low-Countries*, in the Earldom of *Artois*. It ſtands by the borders of *Flanders*, about four miles Eaſt of *Aire*, twenty-ſix South of *Dunkirk*, and as many North of *Arras*.

(2) *Aire* is a large and handſome City of *France*. It ſtands upon the *Lys*, twenty-five miles ſouth of *Dunkirk*, twenty-eight North-weſt of *Arras*, and twenty-ſix Eaſt of *Boulogne*.

1710. of *Dauphiné*, that, beſides the intrenchments they caſt up in the mountains with great labour and expence, they were obliged to keep there ſeventy-two battalions, and a good number of horſe.

Affairs in Spain. M. S.

The campaign this year in *Spain* was very remarkable, where both parties were conquerors and conquered by turns. In *April* a great Council of war was held (ſays our Author *) in which it was reſolved to take the field on the firſt of *May*, and that the fleet (lately arrived at *Barcelona*, under the command of Sir *John Norris*) ſhould immediately ſail for *Cagliari*, to ſecure the Iſland of *Sardinia*, which was performed in a ſhort time. Purſuant to this reſolution, our army aſſembled near *Agramont*. The enemy, under the command of the Marquiſs *de Villadarias*, had already taken the field, and were incamped at *Balaguer*. Upon our approach they marched to *Lerida*, and we took poſſeſſion of their camp. Here King *Charles*, with General *Stanhope* (who was come from *Italy* with money and a thouſand recruits) came and reviewed the whole army. On the other hand, King *Philip*, who was likewiſe come to head his army, gave it out, that he was reſolved to put all to a deciſive battle; and, accordingly, the enemy, conſiſting of forty-two battalions and ſixty ſquadrons, marched along the plain in our full view, in nine columns, to attack us. Marſhal *Staremberg* immediately prepared to receive them, but they did not think fit to come within cannon-ſhot that day, and only drew up in battle on the hills on our left, from whence they could eaſily diſcern every thing in our camp. In the evening they retired to *Belcaire*, in the way to *Balaguer*, about four miles diſtant. The next day they came again, and, forcing in our grand guard, halted an hour or two; after which they marched towards our front, raiſed a battery, and began to fire. This was anſwered by one of ours, which did ſome execution on their foot. Having halted ſome time, they retired a ſecond time to the ſame place, and were purſued by General *Stanhope* with ſome ſquadrons, who fell upon their rear, and killed ſeveral hundreds. A few days after, the enemy ſent a large detachment, with ſix pieces of cannon, to take the town of *Calaf*, where we had ſome men, but they met with ſo warm a reception, that they were glad to return to their camp.

On the 15th of *July*, it was reſolved in a Council of war, to march down the plain in our turn, and attack the enemy before they had paſſed the river at *Lerida*: But that evening, news being brought that all had paſſed, or would have paſſed before we could come up with them, that deſign was laid aſide, and another was put in execution. The next morning ſome ſquadrons of dragoons, and twenty companies of grenadiers, with cannon and pontons, marched very early to make a bridge over the *Noguera* at *Alfaras*, and the whole army followed. When our horſe came upon the hills, they ſaw forty-two ſquadrons drawn up, with nine battalions, upon ſome high grounds near *Almanara*, who were followed by their whole army, which was in the valley, on the other ſide the hills. General *Stanhope*, rightly judging that we had a fair opportunity of falling upon theſe ſquadrons before their whole army was joined, went with General *Belcaſtel* to King *Charles* (who was near with Marſhal *Staremberg* and Count *Attalaia*) and preſſed his Majeſty very warmly to attack the enemy with the horſe, ſuſtained by the whole army; but, perceiving the King and the Marſhal did not ſo readily come into his propoſal as he expected, he ſaid aloud, that, if they let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity, General *Belcaſtel* and he had orders to withdraw his troops, which he would inſtantly obey and leave the country. Upon theſe words he went away to a great number of General Officers and Colonels, who were got together about fifty paces from the King, viewing the enemy, and expecting what news the General would bring them. In a few minutes, Count *Attalaia* came to *Stanhope* from the King, to inform him that he complied with his deſire and advice, but wanted to know, Who was to command? Who but myſelf, anſwered the General, being the Lieutenant-General of the day. He immediately ſends his Aid de Camps to the regiments he intended to take with him, with orders to mount and follow him. Theſe were all the horſe and dragoons of our left, in all ſixteen ſquadrons. The reſt of the horſe were commanded by the Marſhal to follow, and all the foot to form and be ready to march. Orders were alſo ſent to the Commander of the train to fix a battery of ſix guns upon a riſing ground on our left. The ſun was not above half an hour high, when General *Stanhope* marched up to the enemy, who were in two lines, twenty-two ſquadrons in the firſt, and in the ſecond, twenty, beſides the nine battalions who were a little behind them on their right. *Stanhope* put himſelf at the head of the firſt ſquadron of *Harvey*'s horſe, and *Carpenter* at the head of the other. He made a very ſhort ſpeech to the men, and deſired them to keep very cloſe, and not break themſelves, for he was ſure they would be as firm as a rock, and all the enemy's ſquadrons could not break them. Then he marched and attacked the Guards commanded by General *Ameſſaga*, who, as their horſes cloſed, ſpoke ſome words to him, which *Stanhope* anſwered with a ſtroke of his ſword, that killed the *Spaniard*. The whole ſquadron, as indeed all the reſt, animated with the example of their General, performed wonders, puſhed the firſt line upon the ſecond, and entirely routed the *Spaniſh* horſe. The nine battalions ran away, and all were purſued till dark. We lay upon our arms all night, and the next day incamped on the field of battle. In this ſhort action we took Lieutenant-General *Verboon*, and loſt the Earl of *Rochfort* and Count *Francis Naſſau*, both killed at the head of their regiments of dragoons, and both Officers of great merit and diſtinction. About four hundred men were killed and wounded on our ſide; but the enemy's loſs was conſiderable, the number of their ſlain and wounded not being leſs than fifteen hundred. Many more would have been made priſoners, if our men, in the heat of the action, could have charged themſelves with them. The enemy

1710.

The battle of Almanara. July 17. O. S.

* Namely, of the Manuſcript account of the campaigns in *Spain*. This Manuſcript uſes the *Old Style*.

1710. enemy retired that night in ſuch haſte to *Lerida*, that they left behind a great deal of their baggage (amongſt which was ſome of King *Philip*'s plate) and in two days marched on towards *Saragoza*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Arragon*.

We left our camp of *Almanara* to purſue them, and took the caſtle of *Monſon*, and fortified the head of the bridge. From hence a thouſand horſe were detached to ſeize the town of *Albaſtro*, and the day after a thouſand foot, with four pieces of cannon, were ſent to the town of *Stadilla*, which was defended by above five hundred men, and where the enemy had ſome magazines, which were all taken. *Stanhope* marched all that night for *Sarimana*, where he found two regiments of horſe, which he ſoon put to flight. A party of four hundred horſe marched to *Candaſmos*, and ſurprized a convoy of forty waggons with ſtores, ſixty laden mules, and two thouſand ſheep, guarded by two troops of horſe, which they routed, and brought away the whole convoy. This ſupply was very acceptable in a country, where proviſions for man and beaſt began to grow very ſcarce, being at ſo great a diſtance from *Barcelona*, where our magazines were.

On the 2d of *Auguſt* General *Stanhope*, after having been away ſeveral days with two thouſand horſe, joined the army, and all marched to *Cajadin*. Here we ſaw the enemy plant their camp near *Fraga* on the other ſide the river *Cinca*, which it was reſolved we ſhould paſs that evening to attack them the next morning: But they marched all night towards *Saragoza*, ſo that inſtead of fighting we were put to a long and tedious march after them, in which we overtook part of their rear, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes enſued, which might have drawn us into a general battle, very much to our diſadvantage; becauſe the main of our army was ſtill at a diſtance over a very long heath, where no water was to be found, and the weather exceſſively hot; whilſt the enemy's were all together behind a brook and ſuch high eminences as were almoſt inacceſſible, and the ford, through which they had paſſed the brook, very narrow. When General *Stanhope* came up to the advanced guard, and to ſome ſquadrons ſent to ſuſtain it, he immediately formed all the horſe of the left, and ſent with all ſpeed to the Generals *Belcaſtel* and *Wills* to march up the foot as faſt as they could. Preſently after Marſhal *Staremberg* came up with the right of our horſe and formed immediately; for the enemy was not then half a mile from us. Freſh orders were ſent to the foot and artillery to make all poſſible haſte. The enemy ſent ſeveral ſmall parties to the riſing grounds to obſerve us. Some of their horſe came through the narrow ford, but, when they ſaw ours drawn up, they quickly retired. At laſt the foot and train being arrived, diſpoſitions were made to receive the enemy, if they thought fit to come from behind their ſtrong natural intrenchment and attack us; but they ſuffered our army to refreſh themſelves after ſo great a fatigue, and marched away in the night, leaving at a ſmall town on this ſide of the ford ſome of their baggage, which was ſecured the next morning. Here we reſted ourſelves that night without pitching our tents, and early in the morning marched after the enemy to the large town of *Candaſmos*, where we were in danger of periſhing with thirſt, there being neither pump, nor well, nor ciſtern in the place, but only one large pond of water, which the troopers, as they came up, marched their horſes into, and by that means the water was ſo ſpoiled, that it could not be uſed. The pond was ſupplied by two ſprings, which the foot-ſoldiers entirely ruined by their great eagerneſs to come at the water. Wine was as ſcarce as water, none being to be found in the Town, not even in the Convent, and what the ſutlers had was all turned ſour (1). We were glad to march out of this place the next morning, but found ourſelves in as great diſtreſs for want of water as the day before, till we came to *Bucarolos*, where we incamped, the enemy ſtill retiring before us. At break of day the army marched on in four columns, in expectation of overtaking the enemy, but were diſappointed, and inſtead of them had to encounter, on our march to *Uſera* on the *Ebro*, with violent thirſt and heat, without a drop of water; and, to incommode us the more, the enemy had ſet fire to a very long heath, we were to paſs over. It is not to be conceived what we ſuffered upon ſuch a march, ſmothered all that day with clouds of aſhes, eſpecially the foot. About five in the evening, and not before, the horſe of both lines got to the river *Ebro*, whoſe waters did not a little refreſh us. Some Generals rid up by the river-ſide, and diſcovered at a ſmall diſtance the tops of the enemy's colours behind a riſing-ground. A party of *Huſſars* being ordered to advance, brought word in a quarter of an hour, that their army was there in a marching poſture. *Staremberg* inſtantly made a diſpoſition, in caſe they ſhould come back, and the foot formed as they came up. We ſtayed upon our arms till night, when we could hear the enemy's drums, who then began to march to *Saragoza*. 1710.

General *Stanhope*, perceiving no great inclination in the Marſhal to paſs the river that night, prevailed ſo far as to have *Carpenter* detached with two thouſand horſe to ford it over, and went with him as a volunteer. We expected to hear every moment, that the pontons were ordered to be laid over the river for the whole army to paſs; but no ſuch thing, till at laſt the Generals *Belcaſtel*, *Wills*, *Fraucomberg*, and *Lepel* went to *Staremberg*, and, after a long conſultation, gained the point, in which, it was ſaid, the Marſhal was determined by the King, as well as convinced by the reaſons of the Generals. The pontons, after this, were laid with all expedition, and the army began to paſs the river between one and two in the morning, on the 8th of *Auguſt*. *Carpenter*, finding the enemy were gone to *Saragoza*, marched with his detachment of horſe by the ſide of the *Ebro* over-againſt *Villa Franca*, and having notice, that the army had paſſed the river, he marched as an advanced guard towards that city, where he found the enemy's horſe drawn up. We marched with great ſpeed, and came in the evening

(1) A General Officer gave fifteen piſtoles for a cheſt of *Florence*, and had but three flaſks out of it that could be drunk. *M. S.*

1710. ning before the town, where we ſaw the enemy's whole army in order of battle (being within leſs than cannon-ſhot of them) on a riſing ground on the right of the city. Here we continued all night on our arms, and ſome of their horſe moved towards us, as if they intended to ſurprize us, but we were too well upon our guard for them to attempt any thing that night.

When General *Stanhope* viewed the enemy's diſpoſition that evening, he obſerved their right line was extended far beyond our left, theirs conſiſting of thirty-two ſquadrons, and ours of twenty. Whereupon he formed a deſign, which he communicated at ſupper to ſome Officers, and which proved of great ſervice the next day. He commanded the left of the army, and the body of reſerve under Brigadier *Hamilton* was by the Marſhal ordered to obey his directions. This body conſiſted of eight ſquadrons of *Portugueſe* horſe, who were cloathed in red. The General rightly judged the enemy would take them for *Engliſh* (as they did) and ſo reſolved to have them drawn up before the battle at a diſtance from his left, and to flank it, all which ſucceeded to his wiſh.

Battle of Saragoza. M. S.

The next morning very early the cannon began to fire on both ſides. The moſt part of the morning was ſpent in viewing the lines and making alterations. King *Charles* with Marſhal *Staremberg* rid from the right to the left, notwithſtanding the danger, which animated the troops. The convoy of bread was expected every moment, and was much wanted, conſidering the laſt three days march, but it came not before the ſignal for the attack was given; ſo that the ſoldiers, as well as many officers, fought with empty bellies. General *Stanhope* was obliged to march the horſe more to the left, by reaſon of a very large dry ditch made by the torrents, that come down from the hills, and which is very famous in the hiſtory of *Arragon*; for here it was, that King *Ferdinand* overthrew the *Moors*, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of them, that the ditch is from thence called, *the Ditch of the Slain* *. We loſt many men this morning, who, preſſed by hunger and thirſt, ventured to go and gather grapes in the vale between the two armies, and were ſhot by the enemy's advanced guard. Major-General *Wade* came to the left ſome time before the attack, and adviſed General *Stanhope*, beſides his other project (which he much liked) to have three or four battalions ſent for, to interline with his ſquadrons, which was done, and they performed very great ſervice. About noon the ſignal for battle was given; the body of reſerve immediately marched up and flanked our left, which had the deſired effect; for the enemy, obſerving this body of red coats beyond our line, ordered ten or twelve ſquadrons of their right to march and attack them. General *Stanhope* ſoon came up with the enemy's horſe, which he did not find much ſuperior to his, by reaſon of the detachment juſt made, but ſtill they were ſuperior. He received their fire, which killed and wounded ſome men, and put two ſquadrons into diſorder, but they rallied in an inſtant. Then the whole left fell upon the enemy ſword in hand with ſuch order and courage, that, notwithſtanding an obſtinate reſiſtance, the firſt line was entirely broke. The ſecond made but a ſhort ſtand, and ran away with the firſt. They were purſued very far, and in the flight many were taken and killed. Our right and center were no leſs ſucceſsful. For their left wing of horſe was overpowered and put to flight in a ſhort time by our right. The foot indeed made a longer defence, which laſted above two hours, but with ſuch ſlaughter of their men, that the field of battle was covered with the dead. The enemy's horſe of the left wing being gone, and our right being come up to the walls of the City, our horſe had time to breathe, for the ground would not permit them to be in the lines, and the right of our foot was cloſe to the walls. Here the Marſhal was at the head of his own regiment, making it fire by platoons, as regularly as any of ours do at their exerciſe. The detachment, the enemy had made againſt the body of reſerve, put them to flight as was expected, and purſued them a great way, till they found their miſtake. Then returning towards the field of battle, and finding their right was gone off, they fell very furiouſly upon our battery, cut to pieces all the guard, and killed or wounded all the Officers and Men belonging to it. Our Author (a Chaplain in the army) was upon the battery, and firſt diſcovered theſe ſquadrons advancing towards it; upon which he thought it high time to ſecure himſelf by galloping away to our right. When he came there, through the field of battle (which, ſays he, was a terrible ſight) he met cloſe by the walls with General *Wetzel*, whom he informed of the ſucceſs of our left, and of what the enemy's detachment of horſe was doing in our rear. *Wetzel* deſired him to go to the Marſhal, and ſent his Aid de Camp with him. He found the Marſhal (as was ſaid before) exerciſing his men againſt a brigade, that had turned their backs upon us. When he told him, that General *Stanhope* had defeated the enemy's right, and was purſuing them, but that ten or twelve ſquadrons were in our rear and falling upon our batteries: That is no great matter (ſays the Marſhal) if General *Stanhope* has beat the right, we are ſure of a compleat victory. And ſo indeed it proved, for quickly after all the foot threw down their arms and ran away, or were taken priſoners. However, upon the intelligence given the Marſhal, he ordered *Wetzel* to be upon his guard, and prevent any ſurprize from thoſe ſquadrons, who, in a few minutes, came in ſight of our rear; but upon our firſt motion galloped away and were ſeen no more. A great ſlaughter was made of the enemy's foot, to the number of five or ſix thouſand, and above ſeven thouſand were taken priſoners. We took all their colours and cannon, and ſhould have made more priſoners, had the horſe of our right had room to purſue them; but the ſituation was ſuch, that they could not paſs by or through the foot. However the victory was entire and glorious, conſidering the great diſproportion of numbers, the enemy having ſixty ſquadrons to our forty-ſeven, and forty-two battalions to our thirty-three. The army incamped that night in a very commodious and pleaſant ground near the City.

King *Charles*, in the evening, entered *Saragoza*, attended by moſt of the General Officers, and was received with loud acclamations by the people, who looked upon him as their deliverer from the yoke they had ſo long groaned under, and as come to reſtore them to the form and privileges of their antient Government, which had been taken from them. And in this he

* La Barranque de los Muertos.

1710. anſwered their expectations; for the King's firſt care, that very night, was to aboliſh the *Caſtilian* Government (which had been introduced by King *Philip*, and conſiſted of Chancellors, Syndics, *&c.* in every City, of his appointment) and gave them their old Magiſtrates or *Jurats*, as well in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, as in *Valencia* and *Catalonia*, who are choſen by the people. During the public rejoicings, the populace fell upon the houſes of King *Philip*'s Magiſtrates in a very riotous manner, and committed great outrages, as they did alſo upon all the perſons of diſtinction, that were reputed to be better affected to the Houſe of *Bourbon* than to that of *Auſtria*. Nor would this tumult have been ſo ſoon appeaſed, if parties of ſoldiers had not been ſent to diſperſe them.

A deſcription of Saragoza. M. S.

In this large City we found very conſiderable ſtores of all ſorts of proviſion, ammunition, and entire cloathings of regiments. The ſituation of *Saragoza* is extremely pleaſant, being ſeated on the river *Ebro*, in a very plentiful country, abounding with every thing neceſſary for the ſupport and convenience of life. The ſtreets are broad and long, adorned on both ſides with ſtately palaces, belonging to the Grandees of the Kingdom of *Arragon*. This City was the delight of *Julius Cæſar*, who erected here a very magnificent palace for himſelf (inhabited now by the Archbiſhop) and built a large ſtone-bridge over the *Ebro*, oppoſite to the middle of the town, with a great number of arches, which is now as firm and ſtrong as if it was a modern ſtructure. To perpetuate the memory of his benefactions to this City, he called it after his own name, *Cæſaris Auguſta*. Here the army refreſhed themſelves, after their fatigues, a whole week, which time was employed by King *Charles*, in ſettling the civil Government of this Kingdom upon the old eſtabliſhment, and not in diverſions.

The Generals were daily conſulting among themſelves what was proper to be done to improve their late ſucceſs, in order to put an end to the war, and fix King *Charles* on the Throne of *Spain*. A great Council of war was held, in which it was reſolved to march to *Madrid*. General *Stanhope* did not think fit to lay before this Council a project of his own (which he had communicated only to one or two friends, particularly to General *Wade*) becauſe the march towards *Madrid* was, for ſome days, in the way to the place he intended to propoſe. On the 16th of *Auguſt*, we broke up our camp at *Saragoza*, and were ſeven days before we reached *Calatayud*, where we halted three days. At this place a Council of war was held, in which General *Stanhope* opened his project, namely, That, ſince there was no bodies of the enemy able to oppoſe our march to *Madrid*, a ſtrong detachment ſhould be ſent to *Pampeluna* (which was not very far from *Calatayud*) the only paſs by which the *French* could ſend any forces into *Spain*: That all we had to fear was from the *French* reinforcements; and, if that paſs was well ſecured, they could not penetrate into *Spain* but by *Gironne*, on the other ſide of the Kingdom: That, if our forces once took poſt at *Pampeluna*, they could not be diſlodged by all the troops the *French* King could ſend to the aſſiſtance of his Grandſon: That there we might have freſh troops ſent us from *England* and *Holland*, and not only troops, but all manner of neceſſaries, it being a much ſhorter voyage to the Bay of *Biſcay*, than to any Port in the *Mediterranean*: That, if they could prevent any ſuccours from joining the enemy the latter end of this year, ſuch meaſures might be taken in the winter, as would ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. Theſe, with many other reaſons, were urged by General *Stanhope*, and heard with ſurprize. He anſwered, in a very plain and ſatisfactory manner, all the objections that were made againſt his propoſal, but his anſwers did not content all the Members of the Council, who perhaps had their private views (1). However, Marſhal *Staremberg* approved of this well-concerted project; but, as his ſingle approbation was not ſufficient to bring over the reſt, it was reſolved the whole army ſhould march to *Madrid*, which gave General *Stanhope* a very great concern, and very juſtly; for, had his project been put in execution, it would very probably have ſoon brought the war to a happy concluſion, and prevented the ſhocking turn of affairs, which happened in leſs than three months (2).

On the firſt of *September*, we got to *Seguença*, a City of *Caſtile*. Here another Council of war was held, and it was again reſolved to continue our march towards *Madrid*. On the 9th, the army arrived at *Alcala*; and, the next day, General *Stanhope* went with a thouſand horſe to *Madrid*, followed by all the troops. King *Charles* came thither the 17th, but made no ſtay. He found none of the Grandees there, and it appeared, that the *Caſtilians* were firmly united to King *Philip*, and reſolved to adhere to him at all hazards. A detachment was ſent to take and fortify *Toledo*; and about that City, and the neighbouring Country, the army continued in ſeveral incampments till the latter end of *October*, when they began to march into cantons. The King of *France* now ſhewed he was reſolved to maintain his Grandſon, ſince, if it had ever been his intention, it was now very eaſy to oblige him to evacuate *Spain*. But he had no ſuch deſign, but the contrary, as appeared by his proceedings *. For after the battle of *Saragoza*, which had cauſed a great conſternation in the Court of *France*, it was reſolved in a Council at *Verſailles*, that the Duke of *Vendoſme* ſhould immediately ſet out for *Navarre*, and put himſelf at the head of the remains of the *Spaniſh* troops, which were to be reinforced with detachments from ſeveral parts of *France*. King *Philip*, after the battle, got off with a very ſmall body to *Madrid*. But he ſoon left it, and retired with all the tribunals following him to *Valladolid*, and ſent his Queen and ſon to *Victoria*. Some of his troops got off in ſmall bodies, and theſe

1710.

* *See note,* p. 121.

(1) Of which views the plunder of *Caſtile* is ſaid to be none of the leaſt.

(2) Contrary to this account of our Author, who was on the ſpot, a letter from the *Condé d'Aſſumar*, the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador in *Spain*, is quoted by *Boyer* and others, aſſerting, That a certain *foreign General* (meaning *Stanhope*) with ſome *Spaniſh* General Officers, prevailed with King *Charles* to march into *Caſtile*, in oppoſition to the opinion of *Staremberg* and *Belcaſtel*.

(1) Our

1710. theſe were in a little time brought together to the number of ten thouſand men; the troops, they had on the frontier of *Portugal*, were brought to join them, with which they ſoon made up the face of an army. The Duke of *Vendoſme*, in the beginning of *September*, arrived at *Bayonne*, and orders being given for the garriſons of *Pampeluna*, *Jaca*, and other towns in *Nivarri*, to march and join the *Spaniſh* army, he and the Duke *de Noailles* purſued their journey to *Spain*. When they came to *Valladolid*, where King *Philip* kept his Court, it was reſolved in a Council of war, that the Duke *de Noailles* ſhould return to *Paris*, and from thence proceed with the utmoſt diligence to *Rouſſillon*, in order to act offenſively in *Catalonia*, and that, as ſoon as the *Spaniſh* army was recruited, the Duke of *Vendoſme* ſhould repair thither.

In the mean time, though the *French* were preparing to ſupport King *Philip*'s broken affairs, no care was taken by the Allies to ſupply or ſupport King *Charles*. We were ſo engaged in our party-matters at home, that we ſeemed to take no thought of things abroad, and without us nothing could be done. The Court of *Vienna* was ſo apprehenſive of the danger of a war, like to break out between the Grand Seignor and the Czar, that they would not diminiſh their army in *Hungary*. But to return to the army in *Spain*.

On the 5th of *November* a Council was held, in which it was reſolved, that *Toledo* ſhould be abandoned, and King *Charles* ſhould move towards *Saragoza*, and the army follow in a few days. Accordingly, on the 22d, the Generals of the ſeveral Nations began to march ſeparately at the head of their reſpective troops, and all were ordered into cantons in the neighbourhood of *Cifuentes*, where Marſhal *Staremberg* with the *Germans* was to canton. Colonel *Du Bourgay*, with his regiment, was detached two days before to guard the train, and march to the ſame place. Count *Attalaya* came, on the 25th, to *Aſignan* with all the *Portugueſe* going to his cantons. Brigadier *Lepel* marched out by order with his own and *Richards*'s regiment to *Gargules*, within a few miles of *Cifuentes*, where, on the 27th, *Staremberg*, who was then getting into that town with the *Germans*, ſent him word by his Aid de Camp, Major *Nugent*, to make all poſſible haſte to join him, leſt he ſhould be ſurprized by the active *French* Partiſan *Vaillejo*, who was at the head of a thouſand horſe (1). *Lepel* with the two regiments got into *Cifuentes*, in the cloſe of the evening, without being attacked. The Brigadier (in company with our Author) waited preſently after upon *Staremberg*, whom he had not ſeen ſince the beginning of *September*, having been upon a ſeparate command. In above an hour's converſation the Marſhal told the Brigadier, he hoped he thought him very kind to receive him that night into his head-quarters among his *Germans*, for that he ſhould have marched on to *Brihuega*, the canton of the *Engliſh*, where, he had received a letter, General *Stanhope* was arrived with his troops; but he hoped Colonel *Du Bourgay* would come up that night with the train, and the three regiments might march together the next day to *Brihuega* without any great riſque. And ſo Brigadier *Lepel* took his leave. 1710.

The Generals *Stanhope*, *Carpenter*, *Wills*, *Pepper*, and *Gore*, with the *Engliſh* forces, marched along the *Tajuna*, and, on the 26th of *November*, came to their canton at *Brihuega*, a town of about a thouſand houſes, ſituated on the ſide of a hill near that river. The next day a body of the enemy appeared about three on the hills above the town, to the great ſurprize of the *Engliſh*, who had ſeen no troops in their march from *Chincon* to *Brihuega*, except ſome ſmall ſtragling parties of horſe: Nor had they any intelligence of an army being aſſembled, though all poſſible care had been uſed, and great rewards promiſed to get early notice of it; ſo well affected were the *Caſtilians* to their King *Philip*. The Duke of *Vendoſme*, having joined the *Spaniſh* army with freſh ſuccours, had marched three days and three nights with incredible expedition; and the foot, which appeared on the hills over *Brihuega*, were brought thither behind the troopers; but the whole army and train did not come up till late that night. This army conſiſted of thirty-two battalions (which had been reduced from forty-five to that number) and eight thouſand horſe, with thirty-two pieces of cannon, ſome whereof were twenty-four pounders. That very night *Vendoſme* ſent a ſummons to General *Stanhope*, which was anſwered as uſual in ſuch caſes. *Stanhope* diſpatched Captain *Coſby*, his Aid de Camp, to *Staremberg*, to inform him of his unexpected and unhappy ſituation, which, it was ſaid, might have been prevented, if an advanced guard had been kept on the high grounds; for they might have given notice of the enemy's approach time enough for our troops to retire to *Cifuentes*. This, it is aſſured, was the advice of one of our Generals *, which unfortunately was not followed. In the night the enemy marched ſome of their foot, and took poſſeſſion of the bridge over the *Tajuna*. *The Engliſh ſurprized at Brihuega.* M. S.

* *Supposed to be Carpenter.*

The next day about noon many regiments, with their colours flying, came and ſurrounded the town within cannon-ſhot. We had no artillery, and ſo little ammunition (which was reſerved for the attack) that we could not moleſt them. Their whole army joined, and made four different attacks at once, which were ſoon turned into breaches in the ruinous wall. Our troops were diſpoſed in excellent order for a vigorous defence, every attack being defended by a General Officer. The enemies opened one of the gates with their cannon, made a large breach, and gave a general aſſault, but were repulſed. At laſt about eight hundred men got into the town and into houſes, from whence they made a terrible fire, which we could not anſwer, our ammunition being quite ſpent; ſo that about ſunſet it was thought adviſeable to beat a parley, and thoſe brave troops, that had behaved ſo gallantly all the campaign, were forced to ſurrender priſoners of war, and to march out the next day towards *Valladolid* and the neighbouring towns, where they were to remain (2).

Captain

(1) Our Author ſays here, I am obliged to relate more minute particulars than I ſhould do, in order to do juſtice to a great man (General *Stanhope*) who has been much aſperſed, upon the account of one misfortune, both before and after his death.

(2) There were taken in *Brihuega* three Lieutenant-Colonels,

1710. Captain *Cosby*, who was ſent to Marſhal *Staremberg* with an account of General *Stanhope*'s being ſurprized, did not come to *Cifuentes* till late at night. The Marſhal immediately ſent to the Generals of the three Nations, the *Portugueſe*, *Dutch*, and *Palatines*, to march their troops with all poſſible expedition to *Cifuentes*. They were indeed cantoned in towns very near, and got ready ſo quickly, that at break of day they were all aſſembled before one of the gates of the town. The Marſhal had ordered the *Germans* to beat to arms, which much alarmed us (ſays our Author, who was then with *Lepel* at *Cifuentes*) and we were not a little ſurprized to ſee, upon opening one of Brigadier *Lepel*'s windows, great bodies of troops cloſe to the walls; but it was ſo dark we could not diſtinguiſh what they were. An Officer ſent by the Brigadier to the Marſhal brought word, that the *Engliſh* were ſurrounded in *Bribuega* by the enemy; that the troops about the town were our own; and that he muſt not loſe a moment to get ready to march. This order was immediately obeyed, and we were out before we could well ſee. The *Germans* came out ſoon after, and the Marſhal himſelf about eight o'clock, when we expected to march every minute; but he was reſolved to ſtay for *Du Bourgay*'s regiment and the train. At laſt, after waiting three hours in vain, about eleven, orders were given to march, and Brigadier *Lepel* was ſent back with his regiment to meet *Du Bourgay*. We paſſed the *Tajuna* at *Olmeda*, and marched through ſuch very narrow and difficult roads, that it was quite dark before we were clear of the defiles, and got to the high-grounds in the way to *Bribuega*. As ſoon as our field-train (which had much retarded our march) came up to the ground, where we lay that night on our arms, the Marſhal ordered ſeveral pieces of cannon to be fired, as a ſignal to General *Stanhope*, that we were marching to his relief; but it was too late and to no purpoſe; for they were not heard, it being juſt at the time the enemy got into the town, when they made their laſt and greateſt fire before the capitulation began. So it may truly be ſaid, that the ſaving one regiment was the cauſe of our loſing ſuch a conſiderable body of *Engliſh*. For, had we marched to the relief of *Bribuega*, as ſoon as all the troops were ready about *Cifuentes*, we ſhould have been there between two and three in the afternoon, and very probably ſaved that valuable part of our army; for the enemy muſt have either retired or fought between two fires. About eight, Brigadier *Lepel* joined us, with *Du Bourgay*'s regiment and the train, having ſkirmiſhed above three hours with *Vaillejo*, who had purſued them till they came to the army.

On the 29th, early in the morning, we marched upon four columns towards *Bribuega*, though it was believed *Stanhope* had ſurrendered, the firing of ſmall arms having been heard by the advanced guard, from the time we came to that ground. About eleven, the Marſhal, with his Adjutant-General, and ſome Aids de Camp, went about half a mile before the army, to try whether he could get a ſight of the town from the riſing ground. After ſome minutes, ſome ſmoke was diſcovered to riſe from the bottom between the hills, and he was ſoon ſatisfied there was the place, by hearing the enemy's horſe marching up the high grounds before he could ſee them; but it was not long before he ſaw them plain enough, upon which he galloped back, and ordered his army to form. The enemy was alſo forming; but their lines extended as far again as ours, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand men to our thirteen thouſand. Between twelve and one, the armies began to cannonade one another; but, as the enemy ſaw how weak we were ſince the loſs of the *Britiſh* troops, they ſoon began the attack on their right, flanking and almoſt ſurrounding our left, which had no more than thirteen weak ſquadrons, who behaved very ill, and ran away as ſoon as the enemy charged them (1). By that means our foot were left to mercy, and two *Engliſh* battalions, two *Dutch*, four *Palatines*, two *Spaniſh*, and one *Neapolitan*, were cut in pieces, or taken priſoners. Here the Generals *Belcaſtel* and *St. Amand* were killed, beſides many Field-officers and others. By good fortune, the victorious right, inſtead of purſuing their blow, fell to plundering the baggage of the whole army, which was very conſiderable, and could not ſtir from the place, *Vaillejo* being in the rear of it with his party. Beſides the baggage, they met with another great booty. Many perſons of quality and diſtinction (chiefly Ladies and Eccleſiaſtics) having left *Madrid* to follow King *Charles* to *Saragoza* or *Barcelona*, fell into their hands, with a great number of coaches, and all the riches they could bring away. Unfortunately for them, they came into the field of battle, which was on the high-road, juſt before the action began, and could not proceed, for fear of falling into the hands of the Partiſan *Vaillejo*.

1710. *The battle of Villaviciosa.* M. S.

The enemy's right being thus employed, the Marſhal fought the left with great ſlaughter and ſucceſs till night, when both horſe and foot retired in diſorder. The Duke of *Vendoſme*, with King *Philip* (who was preſent during the whole action) galloped away in ſuch haſte, that they paſſed by the *Engliſh* priſoners, before they got to *Guadalaxara*. Thus the Marſhal remained maſter of the field, took all their cannon, and retook ours, but was forced to nail it all up, for want

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Colonels, *Stanhope*, *Carpenter* and *Wills*; Major-General *Pepper*; Brigadier *Gore*; Colonel *Dormer*; fifteen Lieutenant-Colonels, *Moyſer*, *Otway*, *Montague*, *Benſon*, *Hawker*, *Parrier* (died), *Dalzel*, *Faulkland*, *Richardſon*, *Ramſey*, *Howard*, *Whitmore*, *Strickland*, *Nevil*, *Pearſon*; nine Majors, *Bland*, *Cotton*, *Wyvel*, *Erle*, *Keitley*, *Wheeler*, *Douglas*, *Pinfold*, *Savage*; ſixty Captains, ſeventy-ſix Lieutenants, ſixty-four Enſigns, three Adjutants and Quarter-Maſters, three Secretaries of General *Stanhope*, and one of General *Carpenter*'s; *Laroon*, Quarter-Maſter General, and about two thouſand men belonging to the following regiments: *Harvey*'s horſe; the Royal dragoons; *Pepper*'s dragoons; *Stanhope*'s dragoons; battalion of foot-guards; the foot regiments of *Harriſon*, *Wade*, *Dormer*, *Bowles*, *Gore*, *Munden*, *Dalzel*.

By this means Brigadier *Lepel* became the Commander in chief of the Queen's troops, conſiſting of his own regiment of dragoons, with the two regiments of foot of *Richards* and *Du Bourgay*. M. S.

(1) *Lepel*'s regiment is ſaid to behave very ill.

1710. want of mules to draw it away. The *Germans* made uſe of their *Cheveux de Friſe*, which were of ſingular ſervice, and the *Portugueſe* horſe behaved very well. Some of their ſquadrons were mixed with the foot, and fell upon the enemy's infantry ſword in hand, as ſoon as ours had put them in diſorder, and made a very great ſlaughter. It was computed the next day, that no leſs than ſeven thouſand were killed on the ſpot, beſides the wounded. General *Frankenberg* and Brigadier *Lepel* had rallied the horſe of the left, within half a mile of the field, and would have marched them to Count *Staremberg*; but they were ſeized with ſuch a panic at the ſight of ſome ſtraggling ſquadrons, that they galloped away the ſecond time, and did not ſtop in three or four miles, when we overtook them in ſmall parties, and made up at laſt a body of about ſix hundred horſe, with which we made haſte to *Siguenca*, leſt *Vaillejo* ſhould overtake us, who followed us ſo cloſe, that we did not halt above three hours in that City, but continued on long marches, till we got to *Saragoza* (1).

Staremberg, who had ſuffered ſo much in the action, that he was not in a condition to purſue the enemy, left the field of *Villa Vicioſa*, and marched with his army to *Saragoza*, the enemy not thinking it convenient to give him any diſturbance. As he did not judge it ſafe to ſtay long in *Arragon*, he marched into *Catalonia*, and the Duke of *Vendoſme*, with his army, came and took poſſeſſion of *Saragoza*, two days after, to the inexpreſſible grief and great loſs of the *Arragoneſe*.

The Marſhal, though cloſely purſued by ſeveral parties of the enemy, paſſed the *Cinca* and *Noguera*, and, leaving a ſmall garriſon in *Balaguer*, came, in the beginning of *February*, to *Barcelona* with the remains of his army. Some days before his arrival, Count *Tattenbach*, Governor of *Gironne*, was obliged to capitulate. The *French*, under the Command of the Duke of *Noailles*, had inveſted that place in *December*, the very day King *Charles* came to *Barcelona*, and had carried on the ſiege with great reſolution, notwithſtanding the difficulties they met with, both from the badneſs of the weather, and the vigorous defence of the garriſon, who obtained very honourable terms. Not long after, upon the approach of the Marquiſs *de Valdecannas* with a body of troops, in order to attack *Balaguer*, the garriſon, which Count *Staremberg* in his march had left there, conſiſting of two battalions and one hundred horſe, thought fit to abandon the place; ſo that King *Charles*'s affairs had now a very ill aſpect, being confined within the narrow bounds of the Principality of *Catalonia*, which, by the loſs of *Gironne*, was open to the enemies on all ſides. On the other hand, King *Philip* gained this ſummer a very material advantage, by having unqueſtionable demonſtrations of the affection of the *Caſtilians*, which neither his defeats at *Almanara* and *Saragoza*, nor his retreat from *Madrid*, nor the preſence of King *Charles* with a veteran victorious army, were able to ſhake. 1710.

The *Spaniſh* Grandees ſeemed indeed to be in ſome apprehenſion of their being given up by *Diſgrace of the Duke of Medina Celi.* Burnet.

(1) The affair of *Brihuega* has been variouſly related, and General *Stanhope* much cenſured, but, by this account of an eye-witneſs, he was by no means to be blamed. Our Author undertakes to anſwer the falſities publiſhed in a pamphlet called the *Romance*, (wherein General *Stanhope* is introduced under the name of *Celſus*) particularly thoſe relating to this affair.

The *Romance* ſays, *Celſus* was left at *Brihuega* by Count *Staremberg*, with the *Engliſh* troops and ſome battalions of the *Dutch*, to cover his march, as well as the cannon and heavy bagage, being himſelf to incamp about three leagues further, and that he gave him orders to come and join him the next day.

To this our Author anſwers: That *Celſus* was not left at *Brihuega* to cover the Count's march, is very plain from the diſpoſition that was made ſome days before, when it was reſolved in a Council of war, that the army ſhould canton upon the borders of *Arragon*, to ſecure that Kingdom. *Brihuega* then fell to the *Engliſh* for their canton, as *Cifuentes* did to the *Germans* for theirs; and the towns and villages near *Cifuentes*, to the troops of the other nations.

That there were no battalions of the *Dutch* in *Brihuega*, is evident from this, that none of them were taken in that town with the *Engliſh*: Neither was the cannon or heavy baggage there, both being with Count *Staremberg*'s army at the battle of *Villa*, *Vicioſa*; and one may eaſily conclude, that, had *Celſus* had the *Engliſh* train with him, he would not have ſurrendered with ſuch a conſiderable body of *Engliſh* officers and ſoldiers, who had ſignalized themſelves all that campaign, and were fluſhed with victory and ſucceſs; but would have given time to Count *Staremberg* to have come to his relief.

But the moſt malicious falſhood of all is, that *Celſus* had orders to join Count *Staremberg* the next day.

Count *Staremberg* could have given no ſuch orders, ſince *Brihuega*, as I have obſerved before, was the canton aſſigned to the whole *Engliſh* body of troops and artillery; and where they were to continue till Count *Staremberg* thought fit to remove the whole army from their ſeveral cantons.

The truth of this will appear from the following narration: the ſame day that the troops marched into their cantons, Brigadier *Lepel*'s regiment of dragoons, which was within four or five miles of *Cifuentes*, and where it was left to ſecure *Du Bourgay*'s regiment from falling into the hands of *Vaillejo* the Partiſan, received orders from Count *Staremberg* to march with all haſte into *Cifuentes*. The regiment loſt no time, and narrowly eſcaped the Partiſan with his thouſand horſe, who fell upon ſome part of the rear of the *Germans*, as they were marching into that town.

About ſeven that evening, Brigadier *Lepel* waited on Count *Staremberg*, who told him, that he was reſolved to cover the Kingdom of *Arragon*, and ſecure it from the inſults of the enemy: That he had ordered the troops into ſeveral cantons, each nation by itſelf: That the *Engliſh* had *Brihuega*, and he wiſhed all the regiments were there together. But, till *Du Bourgay*'s was come up, he would ſuffer *Lepel*'s dragoons to continue with him in *Cifuentes*, and that, as ſoon as it had joined, the three regiments of *Lepel*, *Richards*, and *Du Bourgay*, with the train, would be able to make their way to *Brihuega*, without any danger from *Vaillejo*'s party. Now let it be judged, whether this is conſiſtent with what the *Romance* tells us, That *Celſus* had orders to join Count *Staremberg* the next day? Neither is there more truth in what it relates, That *Celſus* diſpatched one of his Aid de Camps to Count *Staremberg*, to let him know, that he thought proper to reſt his troops one day more at *Brihuega*, but that he would certainly join him the day after, ſince no other Aid de Camp was ſent from *Brihuega* to Count *Staremberg*, but Mr. *Cosby*, who came to acquaint him late in the evening, that the enemy's troops had ſurrounded that town.

It appears alſo from our Author's account, why *Staremberg*

1710. by the *French*; and there was a ſuſpicion of ſome caballing among them: Upon which the Duke of *Medina Celi*, King *Philip*'s chief Miniſter, was ſent a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of *Segovia*, and was kept there very ſtrictly, none being admitted to ſpeak with him. He was not brought to any examination; but, after he had been ſome months in priſon, being often removed from one place to another, it was at laſt given out, that he died in priſon, not without the ſuſpicion of ill practices *.

* *See ante*, p. 171.

Campaign in Portugal. Hiſt. of Eur.

Nothing material happened this year in *Portugal*, except only, that, about the beginning of *July*, the Marquiſs *de Bay*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* forces in *Eſtremadura*, made himſelf maſter of the town of *Miranda de Duero*, by ſurprize; took in it four hundred men of regular troops and militia; and then formed the blockade of *Bragança*, which was raiſed by the Marquiſs *de Riſbourg*, upon the news of the battle of *Saragoza*; and, ſoon after, the *Portugueſe* took from the *Spaniards Xeres-de los Cavalcros*, *Barcarota*, *Alcanza*, and *Puebla*, places of no great conſideration. Some time before, the Earl of *Galway*, who found himſelf uſeleſs in *Portugal*, had deſired and readily obtained leave to return to *England*.

The Earl of Galway returns home.

Affairs in the North. Hiſt of Eur.

The Czar of *Muſcovy* made a very conſiderable improvement of his great victory at *Pultowa*; for in this year's campaign he reduced to his obedience *Elbing*, in *Poliſh Pruſſia*; *Wyburgh*, the Capital of *Carelia*; *Kenholm*, in *Finland*; *Arembergh*, in the iſland of *Oezel*; *Pernau*, *Revel*, *Riga*, the *Dunamunder*-fort, and, in a word, all *Livonia*, the moſt valuable province in the *Swediſh* dominions. It is very probable, the united forces of the Czar and King *Auguſtus* would have made a greater progreſs; but, the Allies having, with great wiſdom, taken early meaſures, and interpoſed their good offices and power, to prevent the northern war from ſpreading into the Empire, the province of *Pomerania*, where General *Craſſau* had retired out of *Poland*, enjoyed a perfect tranquillity. The treaty, or project of neutrality, which was made for that purpoſe, was accepted by the Czar and King *Auguſtus*, and by the King of *Denmark*, with ſome exceptions; as it was by the Regency of *Stockholm* for the *Swedes*; though the laſt did it only to ſerve a turn. For their Czariſh and *Poliſh* Majeſties demanding, that the troops under General *Craſſau* ſhould be either diſbanded, or put into the ſervice of the Allies; this laſt was not agreed to by the *Swedes*, though a treaty was ſet on foot for that purpoſe. At the ſame time the *Swediſh* Miniſters at *Vienna*, *Ratiſbon*, and other places, notified, that their maſter, who ſtill continued at *Bender*, was diſſatisfied with that neutrality: And, on the other hand, notwithſtanding the earneſt endeavours of the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters at the *Ottoman* Port to baffle the artifices of the *French* and *Swedes*, the Grand Signior, by the advice of the Cham of *Tartary*, reſolved, at laſt, openly to eſpouſe the quarrel 1710.

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remberg delayed his marching to *Stanhope*'s relief ſo many hours; namely, his waiting for *Du Bourgay*'s regiment and the train, though he marched without them at laſt. Biſhop *Burnet* indeed ſays, *Staremberg* might have come time enough to have ſaved *Stanhope*, but he moved ſo ſlowly, that it was conjectured, he envied the glory that General had got, and was not ſorry to ſee it eclipſed, and therefore made not that haſte he might and ought to have done. But this, as the Biſhop obſerves, is only conjecture.

The following letter was writ by Brigadier *Lepel*, to the Lord *Dartmouth*, then Secretary of State, concerning the *Brihuega* affair, and the battle of *Villa Viciosa*:

My Lord,

Saragoſſa, *Dec.* 10. 1710. *O. S.*

I think myſelf obliged to inform your Lordſhip of the misfortune that has befallen her Majeſty's troops, in our retreat from *Caſtile* towards the borders of *Arragon*. The army marched upon three columns, the Generals of each nation at the head of their own people: General *Stanhope* led the left and the rear of all, and had with him the regiments of *Harvey*, *Raby*, *Pepper*, and his own; of the foot-guards, and *Harriſon*'s, *Wade*'s, *Dormer*'s, *Bowles*'s, *Munden*'s, *Gore*'s, and *Dalzeel*'s regiments. The enemy had detached ſome ſquadrons to obſerve him. On *Sunday* the 26th of *November*, *O. S.* he got into a little walled town in the mountains of *Caſtile*, called *Brihuega*, where he reſolved to halt a day and refreſh his men and horſes, who were much fatigued by their long marches, eſpecially the laſt, which was of ſeven leagues. But, being among enemies, from whom no intelligence could be had, though he had offered large ſums to encourage the peaſants, he was inveſted that very night by the enemy's whole army. The 27th, they erected three batteries againſt the town, which in a ſhort time made very conſiderable breaches. That night Mr. *Stanhope* ſent out with much difficulty Captain *Cosby*, his Aid de Camp, to inform the Marſhal of his condition. The Marſhal, who was at *Cifuentes*, four leagues from *Brihuega* with the *German* troops, gathered immediately all the reſt of his army, and marched the 28th to endeavour to relieve Mr. *Stanhope*; but the road was ſo difficult by reaſon of the defiles through the mountains, that the army could not advance that day above two leagues. The 29th we began to march at break of day, and got by noon to the riſing grounds above *Brihuega*, within half a league of the town; where having halted a ſhort time, and perceiving no ſignals from Mr. *Stanhope*, the Marſhal concluded he was taken, and reſolved to attack the enemy, who ſoon after marched to us in order of battle.

The cannonading began about one on both ſides; and, between three and four, their right attacked our left with much vigour, which was ſoon over-powered by their great numbers, they having, by the beſt accounts we can get, eighty ſquadrons, and about forty battalions, and we in the whole not above ten thouſand men, and on our left, not ſeven hundred horſe; thus was our horſe forced to retire, and our foot was almoſt cut to pieces. The right of their horſe, in the purſuit of ours, fell in with the bagagge, and betook themſelves to plunder. The Marſhal improved that opportunity, and with his right fell upon the enemy with ſuch bravery and conduct, that he put them to the route, retook our cannon, took theirs, and remained maſter of the field, where he continued till eight of the clock the next day; and, for want of mules to carry away the cannon, was obliged to nail them up; and then began his march towards *Arragon*, to get bread and proviſions for his army; where he is now at a place called *Daroca*, gathering his people from all parts, in order to ſecure this country.

As to Mr. *Stanhope*, what I can learn, which comes from ſome ſoldiers that have made their eſcape, and ſome of the enemy's officers that were taken in the battle, is this: That he was attacked ſeveral times at three different breaches the day before the battle, and always repulſed the enemy; but at laſt, for want of ammunition, was forced to ſurrender priſoners of war; that he began to capitulate about ſeven in the evening, and marched out the 29th about noon; that beſides Lieute-

1710. quarrel of the King of *Sweden*. The *Muſcovite* Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople* was ſeized and confined; and not long after the Grand Signior declared war againſt the Czar, having, for that purpoſe, ſent circular letters by way of manifeſto to the Baſha's and Governors in his dominions.

About the beginning of *April* the *Swedes* publiſhed likewiſe a manifeſto, in anſwer to one put out ſome months before by the King of *Denmark*, upon his landing in *Schonen*, and pretending to ſhew, that the reaſons, alledged by the *Danes* to juſtify that invaſion, were ſo far from being a ſufficient cauſe of war, that they did not amount even to a plauſible pretence. Not long after, both the *Swedes* and *Danes* ſent out their fleets to ſea; and the *Daniſh* fleet having, on the 14th and 15th of *September*, *N. S.* met with a violent ſtorm, by which they were ſeparated, and ſeveral of their ſhips damaged in their rigging, they were obliged to return to the *Kioger-Bogt*. The *Swedes*, imagining their loſs to have been much greater, went in queſt of them; and, on the 4th of *October*, attacked them with twenty-one ſhips of the line of battle, and ten frigates. Upon this ſurprize, the *Danes* immediately cut their cables, and endeavoured to gain the wind, ſo as to get between *Copenhagen* and the *Swediſh* fleet, whilſt the *Swedes* endeavoured to intercept them. This occaſioned a cannonading between the foremoſt ſhips; during which, a *Daniſh* ſhip of ninety guns, called the *Danebrag*, blew up. But, tho' the *Swedes* gained their point, yet, advancing too far towards the *Daniſh* coaſt, two of their flag-ſhips, an Admiral and a Rear-Admiral, ſtruck upon a ſand-bank near the iſland of *Amack*, where the whole *Swediſh* fleet came to an anchor, to endeavour to recover them. This being impracticable, they ſaved the men, and ſet fire to their two ſhips, as they did to a *Daniſh* tranſport. In the mean time, the *Daniſh* fleet returned to their former poſts before *Koeg*; and, the wind bearing hard on the coaſt, the *Swedes* were unwilling to attack them a ſecond time; and, on the 7th of *October* in the morning, weighed anchor, and ſailed towards the Eaſt ſea. The *Danes* purſued them, but at ſuch a diſtance, as ſhewed they had no mind to another engagement. 1710.

Campaign in Hungary.

The Imperial arms were this year attended with great ſucceſſes in *Hungary*, where they reduced ſeveral important towns. Some of the chief of the malecontents conſidering, that their affairs were deſperate, inclined to conſult their ſafety, by making their ſubmiſſion to the Emperor. But, upon the *Turks* declaring war againſt the *Muſcovites*, Prince *Ragotſki* encouraged them to ſtand out to the laſt, by giving them hopes, that the *Turks* would aſſiſt them with men, and the *French* with Engineers and Money.

The Imperial Court perſiſting in their reſolution not to grant the exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion in *Sileſia*, upon pretence, that they were not included either in the treaty of *Weſtphalia*, or in the convention of *Alt-Ranſtadt*; the Queen of *Great-Britain* ordered Lieutenant-General *Palmes*, her Envoy Extraordinary to the Emperor, to make new inſtances in their favour. And the *States-General* ordered the Sieur *Bruyninx*, their Envoy, to uſe his good offices, in

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Lieutenant-General *Carpenter*, who was killed at one of the breaches, we have loſt above three hundred men killed, and as many wounded; among the killed are ſome Field-officers, whoſe names and ranks I do not know.

In the battle, my Lord, our greateſt loſs has been ſuſtained on the left, where Colonel *Richards* and Col. *Du Bourgay*'s regiments have been entirely cut off; and of my regiment above one hundred private men are ſtill miſſing, and ſeven officers. Of the other nations the regiments of *St. Amand*, *Dutch*, *Lucini*, *Neapolitan*, *Albuquerque*, *Portugueſe*, and *Umadas*, *Spaniſh*, are totally deſtroyed: Lieutenant-General *Belcaſtle* and Major-General *St. Amand* killed. The enemy's loſs is modeſtly computed to amount to above ſix thouſand men killed on the ſpot.

By this great turn of affairs, my Lord, the command of the remnant of her Majeſty's troops is devolved on me. I am endeavouring, by the Marſhal's directions and deſire, to make up the regiments of *Richards*'s and *Du Bourgay*, out of the few people that are come off, and thoſe that were left in the hoſpitals. The greateſt difficulty attends my own, which is reduced to betwixt eighty and a hundred men, and as many horſes, and no fund to go upon; but, if I can get money from Mr. *Mead*, or credit, I ſhall uſe my beſt endeavours to get men and horſes to repair my regiment, and put it in a condition to ſerve next campaign, if my deſigns are approved of. This I humbly pray your Lordſhip to lay before her Majeſty, that ſpeedy ſupplies may be ſent to us, to keep up the few bodies that are left, if it be thought fit for the ſervice; for Mr. *Mead* complains very much for want of money and credit, by which we are already reduced to great ſtreights here, where our credit is very indifferent, and our wants extremely great, having loſt all our equipages in the battle, and ſaved nothing but what we had on our backs; and, as my loſs in particular is very conſiderable, I hope your Lordſhip will be ſo kind as to repreſent it as ſuch, that her Majeſty will be pleaſed to conſider me in it, and grant me ſome compenſation, which may enable me to ſerve next campaign with ſome ſatisfaction.

To this letter, our Author has added the Memorial ſent to the Queen by the Officers of the two regiments commanded by the Colonels *Richards* and *Du Bourgay*, which begins thus:

That the ſaid two regiments were the only *Engliſh* battalions, that were at the battle of *Villa Viciоſa*: That, being poſted on the left of the two lines, the horſe, who were on our flanks, gave way, and left us naked, and expoſed to the weight and ſhock of the whole right wing of the enemy; who, like a torrent not to be reſiſted, ſoon over-bore us. Many of your Majeſty's faithful Officers loſt their lives upon the ſpot; many more were wounded, and all were at laſt made priſoners: Tho' ſome few of us were fortunate enough to be retaken. Fortunate indeed we eſteem it; becauſe we hope to be able to ſerve your Majeſty again this campaign, and to revenge the wrongs our Country ſuffered in the laſt. With regard to every thing elſe, our miſery is equal to that of the poor captives.—For never certainly in any nation, or in any age, where Chriſtianity, or the civil arts have been planted, have ſuch barbarities been practiſed, as by this ungenerous enemy, of whom it may be truly ſaid, Their very tender mercies were cruel. For, after their Officers had taken from us what money, or whatever elſe of value we had about us, and had promiſed us their protection, they ſuffered, nay, encouraged their ſoldiers to ſtrip us of our cloaths, to inſult, and to wound us. In this miſerable condition were we found, when ſome of us were reſtored to our liberty; and in this condition we retreated with the body of the army, having loſt the entire baggage of the two regiments.

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1710. in concert with the *Britiſh* Miniſters. They preſented a joint-memorial to the Emperor, which, however, had but little effect; though, at this time, the Imperial Court had more reaſon than ever to keep meaſures with the Proteſtant powers. Theſe were the tranſactions abroad this campaign, during which great changes had happened in *England*.

Addreſſes of different ſtile. Burnet.

The trial of Dr. *Sacheverel* had given, as was obſerved, great advantages to the Tory party, who ſet on foot addreſſes from all parts of the Nation, in which the abſolute power of our Princes was aſſerted, and all reſiſtance was condemned, under the deſignation of Anti-Monarchical and Republican principles; the Queen's hereditary right was acknowledged; and yet a zeal for the Proteſtant Succeſſion was likewiſe pretended, to make thoſe addreſſes paſs the more eaſily with the unthinking multitude. Moſt of theſe concluded with an intimation of their hopes, that the Queen would diſſolve the preſent Parliament, giving aſſurances, that in a new election they would chuſe none, but ſuch as ſhould be faithful to the Crown, and zealous for the Church. Theſe were at firſt more coldly received; for the Queen either made no anſwer at all, or made them in very general words. Addreſſes were brought up on the other hand, magnifying the conduct of the Parliament, and expreſſing a zeal for maintaining the Revolution and the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

The Queen ſends to the Duke of Marlborough to give a regiment to Mr. Hill Cond. of D. of Marl.

But the Queen's reſolution of changing her Miniſtry had begun to appear very early this year; for in the beginning of *January* 1709-10, upon the death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, ſhe writ to the Duke of *Marlborough* to give his regiment to Mr. *Hill*, a man, who had been extremely ungrateful to the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, and whoſe ſiſter, Mrs. *Maſham*, the Duke well knew, was at this time undermining the intereſt of himſelf, his family and friends. The ſcheme of the Queen's new Counſellors to make her Miniſters quit her ſervice, or engage her to diſcard them, now ſhewed itſelf without diſguiſe. They durſt not tell her at once all they deſigned; but, propoſing to her only one thing at a time, led her, by inſenſible degrees, to the accompliſhment of the whole. They began, as has been related, with engaging her to nominate perſons to Biſhopricks, without conſulting her Miniſters. And now they prevailed with her to appoint military officers, without adviſing with her General. And nothing could be more to their purpoſe, than this choice of Mr. *Hill* for Lord *Eſſex*'s regiment, becauſe they knew, that nothing could be more diſagreeable to the Duke of *Marlborough*, or would tend more to leſſen his weight and authority in the army, and conſequently at home too. The new Counſellors ſaw, that, if the Duke readily yielded in this matter, it would ſow diſcontent among the Officers; and that a door would be opened for his enemies to come into the army, and inſult him. And, on the other hand, if the Duke ſhould not comply, or ſhould ſhew any reluctance in complying, this would furniſh an excellent pretence for grievous complaints, that the Queen was but a cypher, and could do nothing. Upon the Queen's letter, the Duke waited on her, and with all humility repreſented to her, what a prejudice it would be to her ſervice, to have ſo young an Officer preferred before ſo many others of higher rank and longer ſervice; beſides, that the ſhewing ſo extraordinary and partial favour to Mrs. *Maſham*'s brother could be interpreted no otherwiſe, than as a declaring againſt all thoſe, who had ſo much reaſon to be uneaſy with her; and that, indeed, it would be ſetting up a banner for all the diſcontented perſons in the army to repair to. In ſhort, the Duke ſaid every thing he could think of, and with all the moving concern, that the nature of the affair created in him, to engage her to change her reſolution. But all ſeemed to no purpoſe. He could not draw one kind expreſſion from her, nor obtain any anſwer, but "that "he would do well to adviſe with his friends."

1710

The Duke of Marlborough retires to Windſor.

The Earl of *Godolphin* ſpoke often to her upon the ſame ſubject, repreſenting to her the Duke's long, great, and faithful ſervices, and the very bad influence, which her intended favour to Mr. *Hill* muſt neceſſarily have in the army. But neither had this ſo much effect as to engage her to ſay one favourable word about the Duke. Wherefore, on the 15th of *January*, he left the town, and went to *Windſor* in great diſcontent. It was Council-day. The Queen did not aſk where he was, nor take the leaſt notice of his abſence. His withdrawing himſelf made a great deal of noiſe in the town. Many of the Nobility ſpoke with earneſtneſs to the Queen of the very ill conſequences of mortifying a man, who had done her ſo long and important ſervices. She anſwered, that his ſervices were ſtill freſh in her memory, and that ſhe had as much kindneſs for him as ever ſhe had. The noiſe, however, ſtill continued and increaſed, and there was great diſcourſe, not without probability, that ſome notice would be taken of the matter in the Houſe of Commons, and ſome votes paſſed diſagreeable to the Queen and her new Counſellors. This deſign was laid to the Ducheſs of *Marlborough*'s charge; but ſhe ſaid enough to the Queen to vindicate herſelf. And indeed it was owing to the Duke's particular friends in the Houſe, that no ſuch notice was taken.

The Queen deſiſts from her recommendation.

The new Counſellors being alarmed with apprehenſions of what the Parliament might do, and believing, that they ſhould be able, at a proper ſeaſon, to make better uſe of the Queen's yielding up the point, than of her inſiſting upon it, gave her advice accordingly; ſo that, on the 20th of *January*, ſhe ordered the Earl of *Godolphin* to write to the Duke, "that he might "diſpoſe of the regiment, as he himſelf thought "fit;" and to deſire him to come to town. But, before this reached the Duke, he had written the following letter to the Queen:

MADAM,

"By what I hear from *London*, I find your "Majeſty is pleaſed to think, that, when I have "reflected, I muſt be of opinion, that you are "in the right in giving Mr. *Hill* the Earl of "*Eſſex*'s regiment. I beg your Majeſty will be "ſo juſt to me, as not to think I can be ſo un-"reaſonable, as to be mortified to the degree, "that I am, if it proceeded only from this one "thing; for I ſhall always be ready and glad to "do every thing that is agreeable to you, after "I have repreſented what may be a prejudice to "your ſervice. But this is only one of a great "many mortifications that I have met with. "And, as I may not have many opportunities of

1710. " writing to you, let me beg of your Majeſty " to reflect what your own people, and the reſt " of the world, muſt think, who have been " witneſſes of the love, zeal, and duty, with " which I have ſerved you, when they ſhall ſee, " that, after all I have done, it has not been able " to protect me againſt the malice of a bed- " chamber woman. Your Majeſty will allow " me on this occaſion to remind you of what I " writ to you the laſt campaign of the certain " knowledge I had of Mrs. *Maſham*'s having " aſſured Mr. *Harley*, that I ſhould receive " ſuch conſtant mortifications, as ſhould make " it impoſſible for me to continue in your ſer- " vice. God Almighty and the whole world " are my witneſſes, with what care and pains I " have ſerved you for more than twenty years; " and I was reſolved, if poſſible, to have ſtrug- " gled with the difficulties to the end of this " war. But the many inſtances I have had of " your Majeſty's great change to me has ſo " broke my ſpirits, that I muſt beg, as the " greateſt and laſt favour, that you will approve " of my retiring, ſo that I may employ the lit- " tle time I have to live, in making my juſt " acknowledgments to God, for the protection " he has been pleaſed to give me. And your " Majeſty may be aſſured, that my zeal for you " and my country is ſo great, that in my retire- " ment I ſhall daily pray for your proſperity, " and that thoſe, who ſhall ſerve you as faith- " fully as I have done, may never feel the hard " return, that I have met with."

The Queen wrote the Duke an anſwer, expreſſing ſome concern at ſeveral parts of his letter, aſſuring him, without entering into particulars, that he had no ground for ſuſpicions, and deſiring him to come to town. But fearing, at the ſame time, that ſome motion might be made in Parliament againſt Mrs. *Maſham*, which might be attended with very diſagreeable conſequences, ſhe ſent about in much concern to many perſons to ſtand by her, as if ſome great attack was going to be made upon her. This application, and the cloſeting ſome perſons, who were known enemies to the Revolution, gave encouragement to the Jacobites; ſeveral of whom were now obſerved running to Court with faces full of buſineſs and ſatisfaction, as if they were going to get the Government into their hands. And this being repreſented to the Queen, as a kind of victory gained by her over the *Marlborough* family, was doubtleſs one means of hindering all thoughts of a real accommodation. 1710.

In about a month after this it was, that both Houſes of Parliament addreſſed the Queen, to order the Duke of *Marlborough* over into *Holland*, to attend to the great affair of a peace, and, in caſe that project did not take effect, to prepare for an early opening the campaign. In her anſwer to this addreſs (as hath been ſaid) ſhe uſed theſe words: " I am very glad to find, " that you concur with me in a juſt ſenſe of the " Duke of *Marlborough*'s eminent ſervices." But, notwithſtanding this, he had not been long gone, before ſhe gave a ſignal proof, how much his declared enemies were in her favour, by granting Mr. *Hill* a penſion of one thouſand pounds a year; and, in ſome time, ſhe made both him and Mr. *Maſham*, men of little or no ſervice, general Officers over the heads of many brave men, who had frequently hazarded their lives in her ſervice, and had gone through the toils and hardſhips of a tedious war.

In the mean time the Ducheſs of *Marlborough* learnt, that the Queen was made to believe, that ſhe often ſpoke of her in company diſreſpectfully; upon which ſhe deſired an audience, in order to juſtify herſelf, which ſhe obtained on the 6th of *April*; but could make no impreſſion upon the Queen, whom ſhe never ſaw afterwards, nor ever had any correſpondence with her Majeſty, except on two occaſions relating to the public (1). However, notwithſtanding

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(1) The Ducheſs of *Marlborough*, in the account of her Conduct, ſays: As I knew myſelf wholly free from the guilt of this charge, and indeed incapable of it, I waited on her Majeſty the 3d of *April* 1710, and begged of her that ſhe would be pleaſed to give me a private hour, becauſe I had ſomething which I was deſirous of ſaying to her Majeſty, before I went out of town. I named three ſeveral hours, in which I knew the Queen uſed to be alone, but ſhe refuſed them all in a very unuſual and ſurprizing manner; and at laſt ſhe herſelf appointed ſix o'clock the next day, the hour for prayers, when ſhe could leaſt of all expect to be at leiſure for any particular converſation. But even this ſmall favour, though promiſed, was not thought adviſeable to be granted by her new Counſellors. For that night ſhe wrote a letter to me, in which ſhe deſired me *to lay before her in writing what ever I had to ſay, and to gratify myſelf in going into the country as ſoon as I could.* I took the firſt opportunity of waiting upon the Queen again, and uſed all the arguments I could to obtain a private hour; alledging, that, when her Majeſty ſhould hear what I had to ſay, ſhe would herſelf perceive it impoſſible to put things of that nature into writing: That I was now going out of town for a great while, and perhaps ſhould never have occaſion to give her a like trouble as long as I lived. The Queen refuſed it ſeveral times in a manner hard to be deſcribed; but at laſt appointed the next day after dinner. Yet upon further conſideration it was thought adviſeable to break this appointment; for the next morning ſhe wrote to me, to let me know, that *ſhe ſhould dine at* Kenſington, *and that ſhe once more deſired me to put my thoughts into writing.* To this, I wrote an anſwer, begging, that her Majeſty would give me leave to follow her to *Kenſington*; and, that ſhe might not apprehend a greater trouble than ſhe would receive, I aſſured her Majeſty, that what I had to ſay, would not create any diſpute or uneaſineſs (it relating only to the clearing myſelf from ſome things, which I had heard had very wrongfully been laid to my charge) and could have no conſequence, either in obliging her Majeſty to anſwer, or to ſee me oftener than would be eaſy to her: Adding, that, if it that afternoon were not convenient, I would come every day, and wait till her Majeſty would pleaſe to allow me to ſpeak to her. Upon the 6th of *April*, I followed this letter to *Kenſington*, and by that means prevented the Queen's writing again to me, as ſhe was preparing to do. The Page, who went in to acquaint the Queen, that I was come to wait upon her, ſtaid longer than uſual; long enough, it is to be ſuppoſed, to give time to deliberate, whether the favour of admiſſion ſhould be granted, and to ſettle the meaſures of behaviour, if I were admitted. But at laſt he came out, and told me, I might go in. As I was entering, the Queen ſaid, ſhe was juſt going to write to me. And, when I began to ſpeak, ſhe interrupted me four or five times with theſe repeated words, *Whatever you have to ſay, you may put it into writing.* I ſaid, her Majeſty never did ſo hard a thing

BRITISH MUSEUM

SARAH DUTCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

G. Kneller pinxit. In the Collection of the Hon.ble John Spencer. Impensis I. & P. Knapton. London.

1710. ing this thorough alienation of the Queen's affections from the Ducheſs, ſhe was not yet diveſted of her employments; it being, perhaps, not yet determined, who ſhould ſucceed her, nor whether it were proper, that the Duke of *Marlborough* ſhould have that mortification, before the ſeaſon was fully ripe for the execution of the new ſcheme; though it now was greatly advanced, ſince the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, who had voted for the acquittal of Dr. *Sacheverel*, was ſoon after appointed Lord-Chamberlain, in the room of the Marquiſs of *Kent*, who was made a Duke. The Duke of *Shrewſbury* had gone out of *England*, towards the end of the Reign of King *William*, thinking, as he gave out, that a warmer climate was neceſſary for his health. He ſtaid ſeveral years at *Rome*, where he became acquainted with a *Roman* Lady; who, upon his leaving *Rome* to return to *England*, went after him to *Augſburg*, where ſhe overtook him, and declared herſelf a Proteſtant; upon which he married her there, and came with her back to *England* in 1706. Upon his return, the Whigs lived in civilities with him; but they thought his leaving *England*, and his living ſo long out of it, while the Nation was in ſo much danger, and his ſtrange marriage, gave juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion. The Duke of *Marlborough* and the Lord *Godolphin* lived ſtill in friendſhip with him, and ſtudied to overcome the jealouſies, that the Whigs had of him; for they generally believed, that he had adviſed King *William* to the change, which he made in his Miniſtry towards the end of his Reign. He ſeemed not to be concerned at the diſtance, in which he was kept from buſineſs; but, as was obſerved above, in the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, he left the Whigs in every vote; and the change of his principles, which he had diſcovered by this, was imputed to a ſecret management between him and Mr. *Harley* with the new Favourite. But, before the Queen declared her intention for giving him the Lord-Chamberlain's Staff, ſhe thought fit, for form ſake, and perhaps to cover her further deſigns, to communicate her reſolution to the Earl of *Godolphin*, who, being then at *Newmarket*, ſent a letter to the Queen; to which her Majeſty wrote, with her own hand, on the 13th of *April*, the following anſwer:

The Duke of Shrewſbury made Lord-Chamberlain Burnet.

1710.

The Queen's letter about it to the Earl of Godolphin.

" I am ſorry to find by your letter, you are " ſo very much in the ſpleen, as to think you " cannot, for the future, contribute any thing " towards my quiet but your wiſhes. However, I will ſtill hope you will uſe your endea- " vours. Never was there more occaſion than " now; for, by all one hears and ſees every " day, as things are at preſent, I think one can " expect nothing but confuſion. I am ſure, " for my part, I ſhall be ready to join with all " my friends in every thing, that is reaſonable, " to allay the heat and ferment, that is in this " poor Nation. Since you went to *Newmarket*, " I have received ſeveral aſſurances from the " Duke of *Shrewſbury* of his readineſs to ſerve " me upon all occaſions, and his willingneſs to " come into my ſervice; which offer I was very " glad to accept of, having a very good opinion " of him, and believing he may be of great uſe " in theſe troubleſome times. For theſe rea- " ſons I have reſolved to part with the Duke of " *Kent*, who, I hope, will be eaſy in this mat- " ter, by being made a Duke; and, I hope, " that this change will meet with your appro- " bation, which I wiſh I may ever have in all " my actions. I have not yet declared my in- " tentions of giving the Staff and the Key to " the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, becauſe I would be " the firſt, that ſhould acquaint you with it."

The Earl's anſwer.

The Lord-Treaſurer, who well underſtood the meaning, and foreſaw the conſequences of ſuch a change, wrote to the Queen the following letter:

Newmarket, April 15, 1710.

" I have the honour of your Majeſty's letter " of the 13th, by which I have the grief to " find,

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thing to any, as to refuſe to hear them ſpeak, and aſſured her, that I was not going to trouble her upon the ſubject, which I knew to be ſo ungrateful to her; but that I could not poſſibly reſt, till I had cleared myſelf from ſome particular calumnies, with which I had been loaded. I then went on to ſpeak (though the Queen turned away her face from me) and to repreſent my hard caſe: That there were thoſe about her Majeſty, who had made her believe, that I had ſaid things of her, which I was no more capable of ſaying, than of killing my own children: That I ſeldom named her Majeſty in company, and never without reſpect, and the like: The Queen ſaid, *Without doubt there had been many lyes told.* I then begged, in order to make this trouble the ſhorter, and my own innocence the plainer, that I might know the particulars, of which I had been accuſed; becauſe, if I were guilty, that would quickly appear; and, if I were innocent, this method only would clear me. The Queen replied, that *ſhe would give me no anſwer*; laying hold on a word in my letter, that what I had to ſay, in my own vindication, *would have no conſequence in obliging her Majeſty to anſwer*, &c. which ſurely did not at all imply, that I did not deſire to know the particular things laid to my charge, without which it was impoſſible for me to clear myſelf. This I aſſured her Majeſty was all I deſired, and that *I did not ask the names of the authors or the relators of thoſe calumnies*; ſaying all that I could think reaſonable to inforce my juſt requeſt. But the Queen repeated again and again the words ſhe had uſed, without ever receeding. And it is probable, that this converſation had never been conſented to, but that her Majeſty had been carefully provided with thoſe words, as a ſhield to defend her againſt every reaſon I could offer. I proteſted to her Majeſty, that I had no deſign, in giving her this trouble, to ſollicit the return of her favour; but that my ſole view was to clear myſelf, which was too juſt a deſign, to be wholly diſappointed by her Majeſty. Upon this the Queen offered to go out of the room, I following her, and begging leave to clear myſelf; and the Queen repeating over and over again, *You deſired no anſwer, and ſhall have none.* When ſhe came to the door, I fell into great diſorder; ſtreams of tears flowed down againſt my will, and prevented my ſpeaking for ſome time. At length I recovered myſelf, and appealed to the Queen in the vehemence of my concern, whether I might not ſtill have been happy in her Majeſty's favour, if I could have contradicted or diſſembled my real opinion of men or things? Whether I had offended in any thing, unleſs in a very zealous preſſing upon her that, which I thought neceſſary for her ſervice and ſecurity? I then ſaid, I was informed by a very reaſonable and credible perſon about the court, that things were laid to my charge, of which I was wholly uncapable: That this perſon knew, that ſuch ſtories were perpetually told to her Majeſty to incenſe her, and had begged of me to come

1710. " find, that what you are pleaſed to call *ſpleen* " in my former letter, was only a true im- " pulſe and conviction of mind, that your Ma- " jeſty is ſuffering yourſelf to be guided to " your own ruin and deſtruction, as faſt as it is " poſſible for them to compaſs it, to whom you " ſeem ſo much to hearken.

" I am not therefore ſo much ſurprized, as " concerned at the reſolution, which your Ma- " jeſty ſays you have taken, of bringing in the " Duke of *Shrewſbury*. For when people began " to be ſenſible, it would be difficult to per- " ſuade your Majeſty to diſſolve a Parliament, " which, for two winters together, had given " you above ſix millions a year for the ſupport " of a war, upon which your Crown depends; " even while that war is ſtill ſubſiſting, they " have had the cunning to contrive this pro- " poſal to your Majeſty, which, in its conſe- " quence, will certainly put you under a neceſ- " ſity of breaking the Parliament, though con- " trary (I yet believe) to your mind and intention.

" I beg your Majeſty to be perſuaded, I do " not ſay this out of the leaſt prejudice to the " Duke of *Shrewſbury*. There is no man, of " whoſe capacity I have had a better impreſſion; " nor with whom I have lived more eaſily and " freely for above twenty years. Your Majeſty " may pleaſe to remember, that, at your firſt " coming to the Crown, I was deſirous he " ſhould have had one of the chief poſts in " your ſervice; and it would have been happy " for your Majeſty and the Kingdom, if he had " accepted that offer. But he thought fit to de- " cline it; and the reaſons, generally given at " that time for his doing ſo, do not much re- " commend him to your Majeſty's ſervice. But " I muſt endeavour to let your Majeſty ſee " things as they really are. And to bring him " into your ſervice and into your buſineſs at " this time, juſt after his being in a public open " conjunction in every vote with the whole bo- " dy of the Tories, and in a private conſtant " correſpondence and caballing with Mr. *Harley* " in every thing, what conſequence can this " poſſibly have, but to make every man, that " is now in your Cabinet-Council, except —— " to run from it as they would from the 1710. " plague? And I leave it to your Majeſty to " judge, what effect this intire change of your " Miniſters will have among your Allies abroad; " and how well this war is like to be carried on, " in their opinion, by thoſe, who have all along " oppoſed and obſtructed it, and who will like " any peace the better, the more it leaves *France* " at liberty to take their time of impoſing the " Pretender upon this Country.

" Theſe conſiderations muſt certainly make " *Holland* run immediately into a ſeparate peace " with *France*, and make your Majeſty loſe all " the honour and all the reputation your arms " had acquired by the war; and make the " Kingdom loſe all the fruits of that vaſt ex- " pence, which they have been at in this war, " as well as all the advantage and ſafety, which " they had ſo much need of, and had ſo fair a " proſpect of obtaining by it. And can any " body imagine, that, after ſo great a diſap- " pointment to the Kingdom, there will not be " an inquiry into the cauſes of it; and who have " been the occaſion of ſo great a change in your " Majeſty's Meaſures and Counſels, which had " been ſo long ſucceſsful, and gotten you ſo " great a name in the world? I am very much " afraid your Majeſty will find, when it is too " late, that it will be a pretty difficult taſk for " any body to ſtand againſt ſuch an inquiry. I " am ſure, if I did not think all theſe conſe- " quences inevitable, I would never give your " Majeſty the trouble and uneaſineſs of laying " them before you. But perſuaded as I am, " that your Majeſty will find them ſo, it is my " indiſpenſable duty to do it out of pure faith- " fulneſs and zeal for your Majeſty's ſervice and " honour. Your Majeſty's having taken a reſo- " lution of ſo much conſequence to all your " affairs both at home and abroad, without ac- " quainting the Duke of *Marlborough* or me " with it, till after you had taken it, is the leaſt " part of my mortification in this whole affair, " though perhaps the world may think the long " and faithful ſervices, we have conſtantly and " zealouſly endeavoured to do your Majeſty, " might have deſerved a little more conſidera- " tion.

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and vindicate myſelf: That the ſame perſon had thought me of late guilty of ſome omiſſions towards her Majeſty, being intirely ignorant how uneaſy to her my frequent attendance muſt be, after what had happened between us. I explained ſome things, which I had heard her Majeſty had taken amiſs of me; and then with a freſh flood of tears, and a concern ſufficient to move compaſſion even where all love was abſent, I begged to know what other particulars ſhe had heard of me, that I might not be denied all power of juſtiſying myſelf. But ſtill the only return was, *You deſired, no anſwer, and you ſhall have none.* I then begged to know if her Majeſty would tell me ſome other time? — *You deſired no anſwer, and you ſhall have none.* I then appealed to her Majeſty again, if ſhe did not herſelf know, that I had often deſpiſed intereſt in compariſon of ſerving her faithfully, and doing right: And whether ſhe did not know me to be of a temper uncapable of diſowning any thing, which I know to be true?—*You deſired no anſwer, and you ſhall have none.* This uſage was ſo ſevere, and theſe words ſo often repeated, were ſo ſhocking (being an utter denial of common juſtice to one, who had been a moſt faithful ſervant, and now aſked nothing more) that I could not conquer myſelf, but ſaid the moſt diſreſpectful thing I ever ſpoke to the Queen in my life, and yet, what ſuch an occaſion, and ſuch circumſtances might well excuſe, if not juſtify; and that was, *I was confident her Majeſty would ſuffer for ſuch an Inſtance of inhumanity.* The Queen anſwered, *That will be to myſelf.* Thus ended this remarkable converſation, the laſt I ever had with her Majeſty. I ſhall make no comment upon it. The Queen always meant well, how much ſoever ſhe might be blinded or miſguided. But in a letter, which I had from the Duke of *Marlborough* about eight months before, there is ſomething ſo pertinent to the preſent occaſion, that I cannot forbear tranſcribing the paſſage:

Aug. 26, 1709.

" It has always been my obſervation in diſputes, " eſpecially in that of kindneſs and friendſhip, that " all reproaches, though ever ſo juſt, ſerve to no " end but making the breach wider. I cannot help " being of opinion, that, however inſignificant we " may be, there is a power above, that puts a period " to our happineſs or unhappineſs. If any body had " told me eight years ago, that after ſuch great " ſucceſs, and after you had been a faithful ſervant " twenty-ſeven years, that even in the Queen's life- " time we ſhould be obliged to ſeek happineſs in a " retired life, I could not have believed that poſſible."

1710. " tion. However, for my own part, I moſt " humbly beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty, I " will never give the leaſt obſtruction to your " meaſures, or to any Miniſters you ſhall pleaſe " to employ. And I muſt beg further, to " make two humble requeſts to your Majeſty; " the one, that you will allow me to paſs the " remainder of my life always out of *London*, " where I may find moſt eaſe and quiet. The " other, that you would keep this letter, and " read it again about next *Chriſtmas*, and then " be pleaſed to make your own judgment, who " hath given you the beſt and moſt faithful ad- " vice."

This letter made no impreſſion upon the Queen, who, two days before ſhe received it, being already fixed in her choice, delivered, on the 14th of *April*, the Staff and Key to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, who gave the Miniſters very poſitive aſſurances, that his principles were the ſame they had been during the laſt Reign, and were in no reſpect altered. Upon which he deſired to enter into confidences with them; but there was now too much ground given for ſuſpicion.

The Earl of Sunderland diſmiſſed Cond. of D. of Marl.

About the beginning of *June*, the deſign of turning out the Earl of *Sunderland* from the poſt of Secretary of State began to be talked of. As ſoon as this deſign reached the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was then abroad at the head of the army, he wrote a very moving letter to the Queen, repreſenting the very ill conſequences, it would neceſſarily have upon all affairs abroad, to have his ſon-in-law, againſt whoſe fidelity nothing could be objected, and in whom the Allies had ſo intire a confidence, turned out of her ſervice in the middle of a campaign; and begging it as a reward of all his paſt ſervices, that ſhe would at leaſt delay her reſolution till the campaign was ended. The Ducheſs of *Marlborough* was likewiſe urged by ſome friends to try to ſay ſomething, to divert, if poſſible, ſuch a ſtroke; becauſe it was given out, that the Queen would do this chiefly on the Ducheſs's account, that ſhe might feel the effects of her diſpleaſure in ſo ſenſible and tender a point. No conſideration proper to herſelf could have induced the Ducheſs to trouble the Queen again after that laſt converſation: But ſhe was overcome by the conſideration of the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the public intereſt, and wrote to the Queen, on the 7th of *June* 1710, begging, for the Duke of *Marlborough*'s ſake, that her Majeſty would not give him ſuch a blow, of which ſhe dreaded the conſequence; putting her Majeſty in mind of her letter about the Duke upon the victory at *Blenheim*; and adding the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, that ſhe had not ſo much as a wiſh to remove Mrs. *Maſham*; and that all the noiſe, which had been about an addreſs for that purpoſe, had been occaſioned by the Duke of *Marlborough*'s diſcontents at that time. To this the Queen wrote a very ſhort and harſh anſwer, complaining, that the Ducheſs had broke her promiſe of not ſaying any thing of Politics or of Mrs. *Maſham*, and concluding, that it was plain from this ill uſage, what ſhe was to expect for the future. The Ducheſs upon this wrote a ſecond letter, in which ſhe aſſured her Majeſty, that ſhe ſhould not have troubled her with the firſt, but that ſhe had heard it reported, that the perſecution, begun againſt the Duke of *Marlborough* and his Family, was chiefly occaſioned by her Majeſty's diſpleaſure and averſion to her, as having promoted an addreſs againſt Mrs. *Maſham*: That it was only to vindicate herſelf from that aſperſion, that ſhe had preſumed to trouble her Majeſty: That ſhe could not imagine it could be interpreted as an offence, to vindicate herſelf from what was now made the pretence for turning out the Earl of *Sunderland*, and puſhing the Duke of *Marlborough* to extremities: That ſhe had no reaſon to think, that the aſſuring her Majeſty, that ſhe would never have any hand in any thing againſt Mrs. *Maſham*, could have been conſtrued as an ungrateful ſpeaking about her, or called a continuation of ill uſage: That ſhe thought this was rather a complying with her Majeſty's inclination, and ſaying what ſhe could not but approve: That all the politics in her letter was her concern for the Duke; making it her laſt requeſt, that her Majeſty would only defer the blow till the end of the campaign. This (ſhe added) ſhe begged upon her knees, and left her Majeſty to judge, whether, after ſuch an expreſſion, it was likely, that ſhe ſhould ever enter into any thing, that could diſpleaſe her. 1710.

The Lord Dartmouth made Secretary of State.

Whether the Ducheſs's interfering in this matter haſtened the execution of the deſign, is not known; but it is certain, that it did not retard it, for Lord *Sunderland* was, on the 14th of *June*, diſmiſſed the office, and the Seals given, the next day, to the Lord *Dartmouth*, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of trade and plantations, and ſon-in-law to the Earl of *Nottingham*. On this occaſion ſeveral great men, who wiſhed well to their country, and who feared, that the Duke of *Marlborough* might, in diſguſt, quit the ſervice, immediately wrote him a joint-letter in the following terms:

My Lord, *June* 14, 1710.

" We ſhould not have given your Grace the " trouble of this joint-letter, but for the great " concern and uneaſineſs in which we find you, " on account of my Lord *Sunderland*, by your " letter of the 20th to my Lord-Treaſurer, " which he has communicated to us. That " letter, as moving and reaſonable as it was, " has not hindered the Seals from being taken " this morning from my Lord *Sunderland*. No " wonder then, if the utmoſt endeavours, which " could be uſed to prevent it, and the ſtrong " arguments, which have been made of the ill " conſequences, that muſt attend ſuch ſteps both " at home and abroad, have met with ſo little " ſucceſs. We find ourſelves ſo much afflicted " with this misfortune, that we cannot but be " extremely ſenſible of the great mortification " this muſt give you at this critical juncture, " when you are every moment hazarding your " life in the ſervice of your country, and whilſt " the fate of *Europe* depends, in ſo great a de- " gree, on your conduct and good ſucceſs: But " we are alſo as fully convinced, that it is im- " poſſible for your Grace to quit the ſervice at " this time, without the utmoſt hazard to the " whole Alliance. And we muſt therefore " conjure you, by the glory you have already " obtained, by the many ſervices you have done " your Queen and Country, by the expectation " you have juſtly raiſed in all *Europe*, and by " all that is dear and tender to you at home,

1710. " whoſe chief dependence is upon your ſucceſs, " that you would not leave this great work un- " finiſhed, but continue at the head of the " army. This we look upon as the moſt ne- " ceſſary ſtep, that can be taken to prevent the " diſſolution of this Parliament. Your Grace's " compliance with this our earneſt requeſt would " be the greateſt obligation to us, and all that " wiſh well to our country. And, you may de- " pend upon it, that the contrary will be the " greateſt ſatisfaction to your enemies." (1)

The Tories elated at this change. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

The High-Church party were much pleaſed and elated upon this alteration, which they looked upon as a ſure forerunner of greater changes; " extolling the Queen for aſſerting her juſt pre- " rogative, and ſetting herſelf free from an arbi- " trary junto, who kept her in an inglorious de- " pendance on their will and caprice." And it was ſaid, the Duke of *Beaufort* being, about this time, come to Court to pay his reſpects to her Majeſty, told her, " That he was extremely " glad he could now ſalute her *Queen*." On the other hand, the Whigs were the more alarmed, as the beſt part of their wealth was lodged in the *Exchequer* and public funds; and, as they rightly conſidered, that the removal of the Earl of *Sunderland* was but a ſtep to come at the Lord-Treaſurer, in whoſe capacity, punctuality, and integrity, the monied men repoſed an intire confidence; and they foreſaw, that his being laid aſide would very much affect the public credit, as it immediately did. Whereupon, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, Governor of the Bank of *England*; *Nathaniel Gould*, Deputy-Governor; *Francis Eyles* and Sir *William Scawen*, two of the Directors, made their application to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, Lord Privy-Seal, to whom, having repreſented the dangers likely to attend the change of the Miniſtry, the Duke introduced them to the Queen, who told them, " That ſhe, for ſome time before, had reſolved " to remove the Earl of *Sunderland* for particu- " lar reaſons of State; but that ſhe had not yet " determined to make any other changes; and, " whenever ſhe ſhould, ſhe would take care, that " the public credit might not be injured there- " by." Upon this it was reported, the Queen had declared, ſhe deſigned to make no more alterations in the Miniſtry, which immediately reſtored the public funds to their former value; but they ſoon began to fall again, and many foreigners withdrew their effects from *England*, upon a ſtrong report, that not only the Lord-Treaſurer would be laid aſide, but even the Parliament diſſolved.

The Whigs alarmed at it.

The Bank interpoſe in favour of the Miniſtry.

The Emperor and the States *interpoſe likewiſe.*

The Queen's Allies, and particularly the Emperor and the *States*, were very attentive to what paſſed in *Great-Britain*; and being apprehenſive, that the Duke of *Marlborough* would either be removed, or ſo far diſguſted, as to lay down his command, which might bring a great prejudice to the common cauſe, Count *Gallas*, the Imperial Miniſter, and Monſieur *de Vryberg*, the *Dutch* Envoy, were directed, in a moſt reſpectful manner, to repreſent to the Queen, what ill influence the changing of the Miniſtry might have on affairs abroad. In anſwer to their memorials, Count *Gallas* was told, that he might aſſure the Emperor, " whatever changes " the Queen deſigned to make, ſhe had re- " ſolved to continue the Duke of *Marlbo-* " *rough* in his employments; and deſired, " Prince *Eugene* and the other Imperial Gene- " rals and Plenipotentiaries might act with him, " with the ſame confidence as before." The anſwer, which was given to *Vryberg*, was kept a ſecret; however, it was ſaid, the Queen put a favourable conſtruction on the interpoſition of the *States*, in favour of the Miniſtry, looking upon it as the effect of their zeal for the common cauſe, and the confidence they repoſed in the Duke of *Marlborough*'s conduct. Theſe interpoſitions were repreſented by thoſe, who had never been verſed in the Negotiations of Princes in an Alliance, as a bold intruding into the Queen's Councils; though nothing is more common, than for Princes to offer mutual advices (2).

1710.

The French inſert the Earl of Sunderland's removal in their Gazette.

The Queen had no ſooner begun to change her Miniſtry by diſplacing the Earl of *Sunderland*, than the *French* were attentive how to turn it to their advantage. The Earl's removal was quickly inſerted in the *Paris Gazette*, with the particular notice, that he was ſon-in-law to the Duke of *Marlborough*. Their other newspapers were likewiſe filled with all the domeſtic feuds and conteſts of the parties in *Great-Britain*; which were related with an air of triumph, and helped very much to raiſe the ſpirits of the *French*.

The Earl of Godolphin diſmiſſed. Cond of D. of Marl.

On the 8th of *Auguſt*, the very day after the Queen had expreſſed her deſire to the Earl of *Godolphin* himſelf, that he would continue in her ſervice, ſhe diſmiſſed him; and her letter of order to him to break his Staff was ſent by no worthier a meſſenger than a man in a livery, to be left with his Lordſhip's porter (3). The Queen indeed confeſſed to thoſe, who expoſtulated with her upon this occaſion, " That ſhe " was ſorry for it, but could not help it." The next day it was declared, that the Queen had appointed Earl *Paulet*, Mr. *Robert Harley*, Mr. *Henry Paget*, Sir *Thomas Manſel*, and Mr. *Robert Benſon*, Commiſſioners of the Treaſury. Though Lord *Paulet* was the firſt in form, Mr. *Harley* was the perſon with whom the ſecret was lodged; and it was viſible, he was the chief Miniſter, being at the ſame time made Chancellor

(1) This letter was ſubſcribed by,

Cowper,	*Devonſhire*,
Godolphin,	*Orford*,
Sommers,	*Halifax*,
Newcaſtle,	*H. Boyle.*

(2) The *Dutch*, as well as the Bank, were ſeverely reflected upon by the Tories, for intermeddling in an affair of this nature; and, at the ſame time, they handed about a harſh anſwer, which they pretended the Queen gave to *Vryberg*'s memorial: " I am ſur- " prized, a matter of this kind ſhould come from the " *States*. It is the greateſt inſult that ever was of- " fered to the Crown of *England*. However, it ſhall " not leſſen my eſteem of my Allies, nor alter my " reſolution in my own affairs." Thoſe, who framed this anſwer, had forgot that the Queen had interpoſed at the Court of *Vienna*, in favour of the Emperor's Proteſtant ſubjects, and that the Parliament had deſired her to apply to the Emperor, for ſending Prince *Eugene* to command in *Spain*.

(3) *Boyer* and others ſay, the Duke of *Somerſet* was ſent to demand the Treaſurer's Staff.

(1) The

1710. lor and Under-Treaſurer of the *Exchequer* in the room of Mr. *Smith*, who was afterwards made a Teller of the *Exchequer*. And now it appeared, that a total change of the Miniſtry, and the diſſolution of the Parliament, were reſolved on.

Sacheverel's progreſs into Wales.

In the mean while Dr. *Sacheverel*, being preſented to a benefice in *North-Wales*, went down to take poſſeſſion of it; as he paſſed through the counties, both going and coming, he was received and followed by ſuch numbers, and entertained with ſuch magnificence, that our Princes in their progreſſes have not been more run after than he was: Great fury and violence appeared on many occaſions, though care was taken to give his followers no ſort of provocation; he was looked on as the Champion of the Church; and he ſhewed as much inſolence on that occaſion, as his party did folly (1). No notice was taken by the Government of all theſe tumultuous proceedings; they were rather encouraged than checked. All this was like a prelude to a greater ſcene, which was to be acted at Court.

The Parliament diſſolved, and other changes in the Miniſtry. Burnet.

The Queen in *September* came to Council, and called for a proclamation to diſſolve the Parliament, which Sir *Simon Harcourt* (made Attorney-General in the room of Sir *James Montague*, who had quitted that poſt) had prepared. When it was read, the Lord-Chancellor *Cowper* offered to ſpeak; but the Queen riſing up would admit of no debate, and ordered the writs for a new Parliament to be got ready. About the ſame time ſhe diſmiſſed the Lord *Sommers*, and, in his room, made the Earl of *Rocheſter* Lord-Preſident of the Council. She ſent to the Duke of *Devonſhire* for the Lord-Steward's Staff, and gave it to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Mr. *Boyle* was removed from the poſt of Secretary of State, and Mr. *Henry St. John* had the Seals. The Earl of *Derby* was diſmiſſed from being Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*, and was ſucceeded by the Lord *Berkley*. Upon all theſe removes, the Lord-Chancellor came, on the 23d of *September*, and delivered up the Great-Seal. The Queen did not expect this, and was ſurprized at it; and, not knowing how to diſpoſe of it, ſhe, with unuſual earneſtneſs, preſſed him to keep it one day longer. The day following, having conſidered the matter with her favourites Mrs. *Maſham* and Mr. *Harley*, ſhe received it very readily. At firſt ſhe committed it to the cuſtody of three Lords-Commiſſioners, Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; Mr. *Robert Tracy*, Judge of the ſame Court; and Mr. *Scroop*, Baron of the *Exchequer* in *Scotland*; but it was ſoon after given to Sir *Simon Harcourt*. The Earl of *Wharton* delivered up his Commiſſion of Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which was given to the Duke of *Ormond* (2). The Earl of *Orford*, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, withdrew from that board; 1710.

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(1) The particulars of this progreſs more at large were as follows: He went from *London* about the middle of *May* to *Oxford*, with a numerous attendance, and was welcomed and magnificently entertained by the Earl of *Abingdon*, Mr. *Charles Bertie*, Fellow of *All-Souls* College, Mr. *Rowney*, one of the Members of Parliament for that City, the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Houſes, and moſt perſons of diſtinction in the Univerſity. Here he continued the remainder of that month; and, on *Thurſday* the firſt of *June*, ſet out, and came that night to *Banbury*, where the Mayor, Recorder, and Corporation, in their robes and formalities, with their mace before them, attended him at his inn, congratulated him upon his deliverance, making him a preſent of wine; and, in the evening, there were bonefires, ringing of bells, and all public expreſſions of joy. The next day, the Doctor dined at the Lord *Willoughby*'s, and from thence went forward to *Warwick*, being met at a diſtance from the town by a body of horſe, who conducted him in. The Mayor and Aldermen, with a great number of the Gentry and Inhabitants of that place, paid their reſpects to him at his inn, preſented him with wine, and would have entertained him the day following; which he declined, and went that night to the Lord *Craven*'s, and continued ſome days in that County. On the 12th of *June*, he was entertained at dinner by Sir *William Boughton*, together with the Lord *Willoughby*, Lord *Craven*, and divers other Gentlemen and Clergymen, who came to expreſs their great joy and ſatisfaction to ſee the Doctor. Some days after he continued his progreſs, and, on the 23d, went thro' *Wrexham*, in the way to his living at *Salatin*, being met within a mile of the town by moſt of the Gentlemen in the County, and others, to the number of about two thouſand. He lay that night at the Houſe of *George Shakerley*, Eſq; and, next day, the Chancellor of the Dioceſe gave orders for his inſtitution and induction, which was performed ſome days after. The Doctor having been invited to *Shrewsbury*, he went thither the 3d of *July*, being met at *Momford-bridge*, three miles from the town, by *Corbet Kinaſton*, Eſq; Mr. *Owen*, Mr. *Creſſet*, Mr. *Creſwell*, Mr. *Mitton*, and all the neighbouring Gentlemen and others, and was conducted to *Shrewsbury* by about five thouſand horſe. After he had been nobly entertained there, he went to Mr. *Owen*'s at *Condover*, where he was alſo magnificently treated; and then proceeded to *Bridgenorth*, in which place he could not fail making a pompous entry, Mr. *R. Creſwell*, junr. a profeſſed Jacobite, who deſigned to ſtand for Member of Parliament for that place, having ſent a circular letter to the Clergy round about, and others who were well-wiſhers to the Doctor's doctrine, deſiring them to accompany him into town, and favour him with their company at dinner. According to this invitation, moſt of the neighbouring Clergy and Gentlemen repaired to *Bridgenorth* on the 5th of *July*; ſo that, when Dr. *Sacheverel* came near the town, he was met by Mr. *Creſwell*, at the head of about four thouſand horſe, and near three thouſand foot, moſt of them with white knots, edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats; the hedges, two miles from the town, being dreſſed with flowers, and lined with people, and the two ſteeples adorned with fifty pounds worth of flags and colours. The Doctor being likewiſe invited to *Ludlow*, he repaired thither the 7th of *July*, being met by great numbers of men on horſeback, and a vaſt multitude on foot, with drums beating, trumpets ſounding, and colours flying; and, being conducted to the apartment prepared for him, was moſt magnificently entertained. But this was the laſt ſtage of the Doctor's triumph; for, expecting to be received at *Worceſter* with the ſame honours and reſpects, which had been paid him in other places, he ſet out from *Ludlow*, in order to repair thither, but met with ſome ſlights and affronts in ſome towns through which he had paſſed. His diſappointment and mortification were ſtill more remarkable at *Worceſter*, Dr. *Lloyd*, Biſhop of that See, having given expreſs orders to the Clergy of his Dioceſe againſt paying any reſpect to the Doctor; which were punctually obeyed.

(2) The Lord *Wharton* had held a Parliament at *Dublin* before he reſigned, which he had opened the 19th of *May* with a ſpeech, recommending *Union* among themſelves, and a zeal for the *Proteſtant Intereſt*

1710. board; but the other four Commiſſioners, Sir *John Leake*, Sir *George Byng*, Mr. *Dodington*, and Mr. *Methuen*, were continued; to whom were added Sir *William Drake* and Mr. *Aiſlaby*. Mr. *George Granville*, a near relation of the Earl of *Bath*, was appointed Secretary at war, in the room of Mr. *Robert Walpole*; and Mr. *Manley* was made Surveyor-General, in the room of Mr. *Samuel Travers*; and Mr. *Arthur Moore* was made one of the Lords-Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations. Mr. *Robert Raymond*, an eminent Lawyer of *Gray's-Inn*, was appointed Sollicitor-General, in the room of Mr. *Eyre*, who, on the 5th of *May*, had kiſſed the Queen's hand, and been knighted, in order to be made one of the Judges of the *Queen's-Bench*, in the room of Sir *Henry Gould* deceaſed; and Sir *Edward Northey* was made Attorney-General. Dr. *Robinſon*, Dean of *Windſor*, who, of late, had grown into great confidence with Mr. *Harley*, was nominated to ſucceed Dr. *Hall* deceaſed, in the Biſhoprick of *Briſtol*; and Dr. *Byſſe* to ſucceed Dr. *Bull* deceaſed, in the See of *St. David's*. The Duke of *Hamilton* was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the County Palatine of *Lancaſter*; the Earl of *Portmore* was made Commander in chief of her Majeſty's forces in *Portugal* in the room of the Earl of *Galway*; the Lord *Windſor* advanced to the poſt of Lieutenant-General; and General *Webb* made Governor of the *Iſle of Wight*.

So ſudden and ſo intire a change in the Miniſtry is ſcarce to be found in our hiſtory, eſpecially where men of great abilities had ſerved with ſuch zeal and ſucceſs, that the adminiſtration of all affairs, both at home and abroad, in their hands, was not only without exception, but had raiſed the admiration of all *Europe*. All this roſe purely from the great credit of the new favourites, and the Queen's perſonal diſtaſte to the old ones. The Queen was much delighted with all theſe changes, and ſeemed to think ſhe was freed from the chains, which the old Miniſtry held her in. She ſpoke of it to ſeveral perſons as a captivity, which ſhe had been long under. The Duke of *Somerſet* had very much alienated the Queen's mind from the old Miniſtry; but he was ſo diſpleaſed with the diſſolution of the Parliament, and the new model of the Miniſtry, that, though he continued ſome time Maſter of the Horſe, he refuſed to ſit any more in Council, and complained openly of the artifices, which had been uſed to make him inſtrumental to other people's deſigns. 1710.

On the 28th of *September* the Queen went to *Hampton-Court*, having the ſame day ordered the Seals to be put to a Commiſſion for renewing the Lieutenancy of the City of *London*; in which ſeveral Whigs, who were in the former, were left out, and Tories put in their places. This new Commiſſion was chiefly deſigned, both to prevent Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, an Alderman near the chair, and Governor of the Bank (who had given offence to the Court by his application to the Queen in favour of the late Miniſtry) from being choſen Lord-Mayor, and to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the High-Church party in the election of Parliament-men for the Capital City, which generally has a great influence upon other elections. But that Commiſſion was opened too late to have the intended effect; for, the election for a Lord-Mayor coming on the 29th of *September*, according to cuſtom, the majority appeared for Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* and Sir *Robert Beachcroft*; and though a poll was demanded, and great intereſt made by the Tory-party for Sir *Richard Hoare*, yet the two firſt had the majority of voices; and, being, on the 5th of *October*, returned by the Common-Hall, the Court of Aldermen, on the 11th, choſe Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* Lord-Mayor for the year enſuing; but in this point he had but common juſtice done him, there having been an agreement, made ſome years before between the Aldermen of *London*, to chuſe him, who was next the chair, to prevent animoſities and diſputes. On the 10th of *October* the Queen's Commiſſion for a new Lieutenancy was opened at *Guild-Hall*, when Sir *Samuel Garrard*, then Lord-Mayor, Sir *Francis Child*, Sir *John Parſons*, Sir *Robert Bedingfield*, Sir *William Withers*, and Sir *Richard Hoare*, were choſen Colonels of the ſix City-regiments. About a fortnight after the new Lieutenancy of *London* preſented an addreſs to the Queen, who took that opportunity to deſire them, "as they had great "fortunes of their own, that they would uſe "their endeavours to ſupport the public credit." It was expected, that this recommendation would have had a good effect, and engaged the Tory-party

The Lieutenancy of London changed.

Oct. 25

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reſt and *Proteſtant Succeſſion*. But this did not hinder the enemies to both from defacing the ſtatue of King *William*, on the 25th of *June*, which had been erected by the City of *Dublin*, after the battle of the *Boyne*. They twiſted the ſword that was in one hand, wreſted the truncheon out of the other, daubed the face with dirt, and offered it other indignities. The addreſs, on this occaſion, of the Commons of *Ireland*, deſerves to be remembered; after taking notice of the Lord *Wharton*'s concern for their preſervation from the enemies of their happy Eſtabliſhment, who envied their late glorious Sovereign the honour of a ſtatue, erected as a teſtimony how much was owing to their Deliverer from *Popery* and *Slavery*: They added, 'His memory muſt ever be dear to all men, except thoſe who deſire to bring our religion, lives, and properties into the ſame dangers from which his courage and conduct ſo bravely and ſeaſonably reſcued us. And ſuch we unanimouſly declare all thoſe to be, who, on any pretence whatſoever, endeavoured to reflect on the juſtice of the late happy Revolution, the memory of God's great inſtrument in effecting it, or the neceſſary means made uſe of in bringing it about. Had their impotent rancour and malice fully accompliſhed their deſign, by entirely demoliſhing and deſtroying that monument of our gratitude; yet, are we perſuaded, his glorious name would always be diſtinguiſhed with honour, and continued dear to a People delivered, by him, from *Popiſh* ſuperſtition, and *French* ſlavery; and to whoſe Reign we are indebted for thoſe ineſtimable laws, which exclude all Popiſh Succeſſors, and ſettle the Crown upon our moſt gracious Queen, and the Heirs of her body, being Proteſtants; and, for want of ſuch iſſue, on the moſt illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*: So that if we have any true regard for her Majeſty's Title, for our moſt holy Religion, or for our civil Liberties, we cannot ſufficiently acknowledge your Excellency's moſt generous care, to detect ſo baſe and barbarous a fact; nor omit any opportunity of expreſſing our deteſtation of thoſe, whoſe repeated indignities, offered to the memory of our great Deliverer, are ſufficient indications of their being enemies to our happy Conſtitution in Church and State, and of their affection to the Pretender.' The City of *Dublin* cauſed the ſtatue to be repaired, for which they had the thanks of the Houſe of Commons.

1710. party in the City, either to advance money to the Government, or to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport the public funds. But neither of theſe happened; and ſo the Bank, *Eaſt-India*, Annuities, and other Stocks continued ſinking, which gave the Miniſtry no ſmall uneaſineſs; the rather, becauſe ſome bills of Exchange, drawn from *Genoa* for remittances into *Spain*, happened at this juncture to be proteſted. Mr. *Harley*, the new Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, ſent his Agents into the City, who found means to engage ſeveral rich Merchants and Bankers, particularly Mr. *John Lambert*, a *French* Refugee, to ſupply the urgent neceſſities of the Government.

The elections of Parliament-men

By this time the elections for Parliament-men were over in ſeveral places; and by the firſt returns it appeared, that, amongſt the new Members, the number of the Whigs was near equal with that of the Tories; which, as was then given out, anſwered the expectation and deſires of the new Managers. For having gained their chief aim, which was to remove the late Lord-Treaſurer and his friends, it was by many believed, that they deſigned to carry things even between both parties; and therefore wiſhed only for ſuch a majority of the High-Church in the Houſe of Commons, as might countenance the new ſcheme; and whom, on the other hand, they might eaſily check by means of their own creatures, if an unſeaſonable zeal for the Church ſhould prompt them to make any motions againſt the *Toleration*. If this was the real intention of the new Miniſtry, or of Mr. *Harley* in particular, the chief Author of the late changes; it ſoon appeared, that they were either miſtaken in their computation, or diſappointed in their wiſhes; and that the new Members of the High-Church party far out-numbered thoſe of the contrary ſide; which, beſides the influence of the Court, was owing to ſeveral other cauſes. For, in the firſt place, many of the Whig Gentlemen, who either could not be induced to believe, that the laſt Parliament would be diſſolved, till the blow was given; or who, in caſe of a diſſolution, thought themſelves ſecure of being re-choſen, had neglected making an intereſt; whilſt thoſe, who deſigned to oppoſe them, had early taken all the neceſſary meaſures to carry their point. Secondly, the ferment, raiſed by Dr. *Sacheverel*'s trial, was now rather increaſed than abated, being induſtriouſly fomented and propagated throughout the Kingdom, in order to influence elections; which it did effectually, and in a more viſible manner, in the Cities and Boroughs, through which that Divine had made his triumphant progreſs in the ſummer. Thirdly, all the inferior Clergy, a few excepted, thinking themſelves attacked through the ſides of Dr. *Sacheverel*, were more than ordinarily zealous and diligent in promoting the intereſt of ſuch, as they thought beſt affected to the Church; not only without any regard to the neceſſary qualifications of perſonal merit or eſtate in the Candidates, but in ſeveral inſtances, in breach of the common duties of gratitude, ſtrenuouſly oppoſing their very Patrons and Benefactors. Beſides a courſe, for ſome months, of very inflaming ſermons, they went about from houſe to houſe, preſſing their people to ſhew, on this great occaſion, their zeal for the Church, and now or never to ſave it. They alſo told them, in what ill hands the Queen had been kept, as in captivity; and that it was a charity, 1710. as well as their duty, to free her from the power, which the late Miniſtry exerciſed over her. In the laſt place, there was a vaſt concourſe of rude multitudes brought together, who behaved themſelves in ſo boiſterous a manner, that it was not ſafe, and in many places not poſſible, for thoſe, who had a right to vote, to come and give their votes for a Whig. Open violence was uſed in ſeveral places. This was ſo general through the whole Kingdom, all at the ſame time, that it was viſible, that the thing had been concerted for ſome time, and the proper methods and tools had been prepared for it. The influence of the mob was, in a particular manner, remarkable in the election for the City of *Weſtminſter*; where Mr. *Medlicot* and Mr. *Croſs* being ſet up by the High-Church party, ſome of thoſe, who offered to give their voices for their Competitors, General *Stanhope* and Sir *Henry Dutton Colt*, were knocked down and wounded, which obliged many of their party to return home without polling; ſo the two firſt Candidates had a vaſt majority. The Whigs expected, that the election of the City of *London* would balance that of *Weſtminſter*; and indeed, the firſt day of the poll, their Candidates had a conſiderable advantage; but ſuch induſtry was uſed by the then Lord-Mayor and the Aldermen of the High-Church party, in bringing many Citizens upon the livery, and engaging their votes, that, upon cloſing the books, Sir *William Withers*, Sir *Richard Hoare*, Sir *George Newland*, and Mr. *John Caſs*, all four of that party, having the majority of votes, were declared duly elected. After the poll was ended, there were extraordinary rejoicings throughout the City, by illuminations, bonefires, ringing of bells, *&c.* and the tumultuous mob were ſo exalted and enraged againſt thoſe, who ſeemed not to partake in the public joy, that they broke all the windows they ſaw unlighted, without diſtinction; ſo that many houſes of the Church-party were damaged, as well as thoſe of the Whigs, and in particular that of Sir *Richard Hoare*, one of the four, for whoſe ſakes theſe rejoicings were made. Some days before, the mob was guilty of a ſtill greater inſtance of outrage; for, as Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, one of the Whig Candidates, and Lord-Mayor elect, was going out of *Guild-Hall*, they not only inſulted him with reproachful language, but one of them ſpit in his face.

Though the Tories had boaſted, that none of the Managers againſt Dr. *Sacheverel* would be rechoſen Members of Parliament; yet, notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours, that were uſed to prevent it, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Sir *Peter King*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and Mr. *Walpole*, were returned; as was alſo General *Stanhope* for *Cockermouth*, though he loſt his election at *Weſtminſter*: However, there were few Whigs returned, againſt whom petitions were not offered; there were in all about a hundred, and, by the firſt ſteps after the meeting of the Parliament, the majority made it appear, that they intended to clear the Houſe of all who were ſuſpected to be of that party. As for the elections in *Scotland*, the ſixteen Peers returned were the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Athol*; the Marquiſs of *Annandale*; the Earls of *Mareſchal*, *Eglington*, *Mar*, *Loudoun*, *Hume*, *Kinoule*, *Northeſke*, *Orkney*, *Roſeberry*, *Ilay*; the Lord Viſcount *Kelſythe*; and the Lords *Balmerino*

1710. *rino* and *Blantyre*. And the elections of the Commons were much upon an equal foot between Whigs and Tories.

On the 30th of *October*, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, Lord-Mayor of *London*, was, according to cuſtom, ſworn at the *Exchequer* in *Weſtminſter*; but the pageantry, and ſome other parts of the uſual ſolemnity, were omitted, as he well knew, he was not acceptable to the common people, ſome of whom were ſo bold as to inſult him in the cavalcade. On the 6th of *November*, the Queen came from *Hampton-Court* to *St. James*'s Palace, where, the next day, ſhe kept the general Thankſgiving, for the ſucceſſes of the laſt campaign, in her Royal Chapel.

A remarkable advertiſement.

Two days after, a remarkable advertiſement, ſigned *Henry St. John*, was publiſhed in the *London Gazette*, importing, "That, ſome evil-"deſigning perſons having unſcrewed and taken "away ſeveral iron bolts out of the great tim-"bers of the Weſt roof of the Cathedral Church "of *St. Paul*'s, her Majeſty, for the better diſ-"covery of the offenders, was pleaſed to pro-"miſe her moſt gracious pardon, and a reward "of fifty pounds, to any perſon concerned "therein, who ſhould diſcover his accomplices." This advertiſement occaſioned the report of a plot to deſtroy the Queen and the Court, by the fall of the roof of *St. Paul*'s, on the Thankſgiving-day, when it was ſuppoſed her Majeſty would have gone thither; which pretended ſcrew-plot (as it was afterwards called) many of the Tories and Emiſſaries of the new Miniſtry were ready enough to charge upon the Whigs. But upon enquiry it appeared, that the miſſing of the iron pins was owing to the neglect of ſome workmen, who thought the timbers ſufficiently faſtened without them.

Third Parliament of Great-Britain. Pr. H. C

Mr. Bromley choſen Speaker.

The Parliament being met on the 25th of *November*, the Commons, by direction from the Throne, proceeded to the choice of a Speaker, which, as it was generally expected, fell, without any oppoſition, on Mr. *Bromley*. He had, for many years paſt, been choſen Member for the Univerſity of *Oxford*; was ſure of all the votes of the Church-party, of which he had been one of the moſt conſtant and reſolute leaders, particularly in the two firſt Parliament of this Reign, when he brought in, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported *the Occaſional Conformity bill*. Sir *Thomas Hanmer* and Mr. *Smith*, formerly Speaker, and another Member, were at firſt propoſed; but this was only to try the temper of the Houſe; for, as ſoon as Mr. *Bromley* was named, the general voice was for him. The Queen, being, on the 27th of *November*, come to the Houſe of Peers, made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech.

"I Have, by calling this Parliament, made "appear the confidence I place in the duty "and affections of my ſubjects; and I meet "you here with the greateſt ſatisfaction, having "no reaſon to doubt, but that I ſhall find ſuch "returns, as will add new life to our friends, "and intirely diſappoint the hopes of our ene-"mies.

"To this end I ſhall recommend to you what "is abſolutely neceſſary for our common ſafety.

"The carrying on the War in all its parts, "but particularly in *Spain*, with the utmoſt "vigour, is the likelieſt means, with God's 1710. "bleſſing, to procure a ſafe and honourable "Peace for Us and all our Allies, whoſe ſupport "and intereſt I have truly at heart.

"For this purpoſe I muſt aſk from you, "Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, the "neceſſary Supplies for the next year's ſervice: "And let me put you in mind, that nothing "will add ſo much to their efficacy, as unani-"mity and diſpatch.

"I cannot, without great concern, mention "to you, that the Navy, and other Offices, are "burthened with heavy debts, which ſo far af-"fect the public ſervice, that I moſt earneſtly "deſire you to find ſome way to anſwer thoſe "demands, and to prevent the like for the "time to come: The juſtice of Parliament, in "ſatisfying former engagements, being the cer-"tain way for preſerving and eſtabliſhing na-"tional credit.

"I am ſenſibly touched with what my peo-"ple ſuffer by this long and expenſive war, to "which, when it ſhall pleaſe God to put an end, "the flouriſhing condition of my ſubjects ſhall "be as much my care, as their ſafety is at "preſent.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The eyes both of friends and enemies are "upon you. The way to give ſpirit to the "one, and to defeat the reſtleſs malice of the "other, is to proceed in ſuch manner, as be-"comes a *Britiſh* Parliament.

"I ſhall, in the plaineſt words, tell you my "intention; and I do this with the greateſt ſa-"tisfaction, becauſe I depend upon their being "agreeable to you.

"I am reſolved to ſupport and encourage the "Church of *England*, as by law eſtabliſhed:

"To preſerve the *Britiſh* Conſtitution, ac-"cording to the Union: And to maintain the "*Indulgence* by law allowed to ſcrupulous con-"ſciences.

"And, that all theſe may be tranſmitted to "poſterity, I ſhall employ none but ſuch, as "are heartily for the Proteſtant Succeſſion in "the Houſe of *Hanover*, the intereſt of which "Family no perſon can be more truly concerned "for than myſelf.

"Theſe are my reſolutions; and your con-"currence with me in a ſteady purſuit of them, "will beſt manifeſt your zeal for our Religion, "for the intereſt of our Country, for your own "Safety, and for my Honour."

The Queen, in this ſpeech (the ſentiments whereof were ſuppoſed to come from Mr. *Harley*) took no notice of the ſucceſſes of the laſt campaign, as ſhe had always done in her former ſpeeches; and it was much obſerved, that, inſtead of promiſing to maintain the *Toleration*, ſhe had, in *Sacheverel*'s language, ſaid, ſhe would maintain the *Indulgence*, granted by law, to ſcrupulous conſciences. The Lords preſented an addreſs of an odd compoſition to the Queen, which ſhewed, it was not drawn by thoſe who had penned their former addreſſes. Inſtead of promiſing, they would do all that was *poſſible* towards a vigorous proſecution of the war, in order to an honourable peace, they only promiſed to concur in all *reaſonable* meaſures to that end, which ſeemed to import a limitation, as if they had apprehended, that unreaſonable things might

The Lords address. Pr. H. Vol. II. Burnet.

be

1710. be aſked of them. The concluſion alſo was in a very cold ſtrain of rhetoric: For they ended with ſaying, *They had no more to add.* The Commons were more hearty in their addreſs, and, in the end of it, reflected on ſome late practices againſt the Church and State, in theſe words:

The addreſs of the Commons Pr. H. C. Vol. IV.

"Theſe are the ends (namely, proſecution of "the War, ſafety of the Church, indulgence "to ſcrupulous Conſciences, preſervation of the "Union, adherence to the Proteſtant Succeſ- "ſion) truly worthy your Majeſty's purſuit; "and we do, with all humility, repreſent to "your Majeſty, that the moſt effectual way to "give ſpirit to your friends, and defeat the "reſtleſs malice of your enemies, will be, by "diſcountenancing all perſons of ſuch princi- "ples, and avoiding all meaſures of ſuch ten- "dency, as may weaken your Majeſty's Title "and Government, the ſettlement of the Crown "in the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, and ad- "vance the hopes of the Pretender; and all "other principles and meaſures, that have late- "ly threatened your Royal Crown and Dignity, "which, whenever they prevail, will prove fa- "tal to our whole Conſtitution, both in Church "and State."

But this addreſs had but little or no effect in relation to the public funds; moſt of the Whigs and Monied Men, being ſtill uneaſy, whilſt the Doctrine of *Abſolute Paſſive Obedience* and of *Hereditary Right*, wholly inconſiſtent with the late *Revolution* and the *Hanover Succeſſion*, were countenanced; not to mention their juſt apprehenſions, that the Duke of *Marlborough* would be either laid aſide, or made ſo uneaſy, as to be obliged to reſign his command. This jealouſy was increaſed upon what happened, on the 28th of *November*, in the Houſe of Peers, where the Earl of *Scarborough* having made a motion, that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be returned to the Duke, ſome objections were raiſed againſt it by the Duke of *Argyle*; and the Duke of *Marlborough*'s friends, being apprehenſive, if the queſtion were put, it would be carried in the negative, ſaid, it would be time enough to ſpeak to that matter, when the Duke was come home. The next day a complaint was made by the Earl of *Rocheſter* againſt the Lord-Keeper *Harcourt*, for taking upon him to introduce the *Scots* Lords to the Queen, being himſelf no Peer by Patent. But, the late Lord-Chancellor *Cowper* maintaining, he had a right to act as he had done, no further notice was taken of it. The Commons readily granted the ſupplies for the next year's ſervice, and gave ſuch diſpatch to the Land-tax bill, that it received the Royal Aſſent before the ſhort receſs at *Chriſtmas*.

Motion to thank the Duke of Marlborough dropped Pr. H. L.

The Supplies granted.

Earl of Peterborough appointed to go to Vienna.

About the beginning of *December* the Queen appointed the Earl of *Peterborough* to go to *Vienna*, to concert meaſures with the Imperial Court for the vigorous proſecution of the war, particularly in *Spain*, which, at this juncture, ſeemed to be the Court's favourite project, though not generally approved. For many obſerved, that this was the very thing, which the *French* King had been aiming at in the late negotiations, namely, to make a ſeparate peace, excluſive of *Spain*, in order to carry the ſtreſs of the war into that country, where, whatever engagement he entered into, he might underhand aſſiſt his Grandſon, who, having the affections of the people, might proſecute the war with great advantage over the Allies, whereby the *French* King would eaſe himſelf of the war in *Flanders*, which diſtreſſed him moſt, and threatened the very heart of his Dominions. About the ſame time Earl *Rivers* was ſent to the Court of *Hanover*, from whence he was lately returned. It was alſo declared, that the Queen had, on the 12th of *December*, named Mr. *Richard Hill* to be her Envoy-Extraordinary to the *United Provinces*, and to the Council of State appointed for the Government of the *Spaniſh Low-Countries*, in the room of Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, who was recalled. The military men were not ſo ſurprized at this change, as when they heard, that the Commiſſions of Lieutenant-General *Meredith*, Major General *Maccartney*, and Brigadier *Honeywood* were ſuperſeded, upon an information laid before the Queen, that theſe three Gentlemen had, in their cups, drank *Damnation and Confuſion to the New Miniſtry, and to thoſe, who had any hand in turning out of the Old* (1). Some perſons, who, about this time, came over from *Flanders*, extenuated the crime of thoſe three Gentlemen, averring, "they only drank "a health to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and "confuſion to all his enemies;" which is uſual in all armies, out of reſpect to the Commander in chief. But, whether this excuſe was well-grounded or not, the new Miniſters thought it neceſſary to make an example, in order to keep within bounds the Generals, and other Officers of the army, ſome of whom, it was ſaid, dropped doubtful expreſſions of *ſtanding by their General*. And this might adminiſter the greater cauſe of ſuſpicion at this juncture, becauſe the deſign of making a *General for life* was laid to the charge of the Old Miniſtry in a pamphlet, called *Faults on both ſides*, written by Mr. *Clements*, and countenanced by ſome Great Men, and particularly the Earl of *Peterborough*. Not many days after the Earl of *Hertford*, ſon to the Duke of *Somerſet*, was made Governor of *Tinmouth-fort*, in the room of General *Meredith*, who, about this time, had a further mortification put upon him, his place of Gentleman of the horſe to the Queen being given to Mr. *Conyers Darcy*, brother to the Earl of *Holderneſs*. On the 13th of *December* the Dukes of *Beaufort* and *Hamilton* were ſworn of her Majeſty's Privy-Council; and, about the ſame time, Sir *James Wiſhart* and Mr. *George Clarke* were made Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, in the room of Mr. *Methuen* and Mr. *Doddington*; and Mr. *Whitworth*, who was Envoy to the Czar of *Muſcovy*, was appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the ſame Court. The Queen likewiſe appointed the Earl of *Abingdon* Juſtice in *Eyre*, in the room of the Earl of *Wharton*, and his Counteſs one of the Ladies of the Bed-chamber. Not many days after the Queen knighted Sir *Conſtantine*

and Earl Rivers *to* Hanover.

(1) *Meredith*'s regiment was given to the Earl of *Orrery*; *Maccartney*'s to Colonel *Kane*; and *Honeywood*'s to Colonel *Clayton*. Major-General *Syburg* had the Lord *Orrery*'s. The Duke of *Schomberg* reſigned his regiment of horſe to his ſon the Marquiſs of *Harwich*, who had ſerved two campaigns in *Flanders* as Volunteer and Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Marlborough*.

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1710. *ſtantine Phipps*, one of Dr. *Sacheverel*'s Council in his late trial, and made him Lord-Chancellor of *Ireland*.

The Duke of Marlborough *returns to* England.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, having imbarked in *Holland*, arrived, the 28th of *December*, at *London*. Upon his entrance into the City about five in the evening, his coach was attended by a great number of people with links and flambeaux, who by their acclamations expreſſed their joy at his return. The Duke thought it prudence, at this juncture, to avoid the leaſt ſhew of popularity, and therefore ordered his coach, inſtead of driving directly to *St. James*'s, to go to *Montague-Houſe*, from whence, after having reſted an hour or two, he went out by a private door. Upon his arrival at *St. James*'s, he immediately waited upon the Queen, who diſcourſed with him about half an hour; after which, he retired to his apartment.

He is viſited by the new Miniſters.

The Duke aſſiſted at a Committee of the Privy-Council the next morning; and, afterwards, received the viſits of the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Preſident of the Council, the Earl *Pawlet*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, the Secretaries of State, and other perſons in the Miniſtry. It was, however, for many days a queſtion with the public, whether he had any interview with Mr. *Harley*, who had now the greateſt ſhare, both in the Queen's confidence, and in the management of affairs. Thoſe, who pretended to know the ſecret of the Court, ſeemed perſuaded, that the Queen had reſolved to remove all coldneſs, that might be between them; and the event juſtified their conjecture.

The Duke acquieſces in the preſent Counſels.

The uncertainty, whether the Duke of *Marlborough* would be continued in his command in *Flanders*, caſt, in the mean time, a freſh damp on the public credit. It was therefore the general wiſh and expectation of the moſt wealthy and ſubſtantial Citizens, that, in order to remove that doubt, the Duke ſhould receive the thanks, if not of both, at leaſt of either of the two Houſes of Parliament. But the Duke's friends in the Houſe of Peers, having already failed in one motion for it, were unwilling to attempt it a ſecond time; eſpecially, as they found the majority of the Houſe inclined to paſs that compliment on the Earl of *Peterborough*. And, as for his friends in the Houſe of Commons, they found their number too ſmall to venture to attempt it at all. For this the Duke had been prepared by the Queen, who, upon his coming over, told him, he was not to expect the thanks of the two Houſes as formerly. She added, that ſhe expected he ſhould live well with her Miniſters, but did not think fit to ſay any thing of the reaſons ſhe had for making thoſe changes in the Miniſtry (1). However, the Duke ſhewed no reſentments for all the ill uſage he met with; and, having been much preſſed by the *States* and the other Allies to continue in the command of the army, he
* H. 568. told the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* *, he reſolved, upon that account, to be patient, and to ſubmit to every thing, in order to the carrying on the war; and, finding the Queen's prepoſſeſſion againſt his Ducheſs was not to be overcome, he carried a ſurrender of all her places to the Queen. She was Groom of the Stole, had the Robes and the Privy-purſe; in all which ſhe had ſerved with great œconomy and fidelity to the Queen, and juſtice to thoſe who dealt with the Crown. The Ducheſs of *Somerſet* had the two firſt places, and Mrs. *Maſham* the laſt. 1710.

The Queen's birth-day, *Feb.* 6, was this year ſolemnized with extraordinary magnificence; but it was obſerved, that the Duke of *Marlborough* did not appear at the feſtival, having, with the Queen's leave, ſet out four days before for *Blenheim-Houſe*, with the Marquiſs *de Paſchal*, Governor of *Bruſſels*, lately come from *Flanders*, and Monſieur *de Seiſſan*, on whom the Queen afterwards conferred a noble gratuity for his gallant, though unſucceſsful attempt the laſt ſummer, againſt *Port de Cette*, in order to aſſiſt the *Cevennois*.

Conduct in Spain cenſured by the Lords. Burnet. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

During the ſhort receſs of the Parliament, the news came of the ill ſucceſs in *Spain*; and, this giving an handle to examine into that part of the conduct of the late Miniſtry, the Queen was adviſed to lay hold of it; and therefore, without ſtaying till ſhe heard from her own Miniſters or her Allies, as was uſual, ſhe laid the matter before the Parliament, as the public news brought it from *Paris*, which was afterwards found to be falſe in many particulars. On the 2d of *January*, Mr. Secretary *St. John* delivered to the Commons a meſſage from the Queen, acquainting them, "That there had "been an action in *Spain*, very much to the diſ- "advantage of King *Charles*'s affairs; which "having fallen, particularly on the *Engliſh* "forces, the Queen had immediately given di- "rections for ſending and procuring troops to "repair this loſs, not doubting but the Parlia- "ment would approve thereof." The like meſſage was ſent to the Lords (2); and both Houſes returned their thanks for it; the Commons aſſuring her at the ſame time, "That "they were perfectly ſatisfied in her great care; "intirely depended upon her wiſdom; and "would effectually ſupport her Majeſty in her "meaſures for retrieving the loſs in *Spain*." And the Lords obſerving, "That, as this miſ- "fortune might have been occaſioned by ſome "preceding miſmanagement, they would uſe "their utmoſt endeavours to diſcover it, ſo as "to prevent the like for the future." And they immediately entered into an inquiry concerning the affairs of *Spain*. They began it with an addreſs to the Queen, to delay, for ſome days, the Earl of *Peterborough*'s journey to *Vienna*, that they might make uſe of ſuch lights and informations, as he was able to give them concerning thoſe affairs. This was readily granted, and the Earl, in anſwer to five queſtions propoſed to him in a Committee of the whole Houſe, gave a long recital of the affairs of *Spain*, loading

(1) The Duke, inſtead of having the thanks of either Houſe, had the mortification to ſee a ſcurrilous letter publiſhed, ſuppoſed to be ſent *to the Mayor of* St. Alban's, and containing, what the Author called, *Reaſons why a certain great General had not the thanks of either of the two Houſes of Parliament*, &c.

(2) Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that, in her meſſage, the Queen ſaid, ſhe *hoped* they would approve of the orders ſhe had given. This (ſays he) was a mean expreſſion from the Sovereign, not uſed in former meſſages, and ſeemed below the dignity of the Crown. II. 558.

1710. loading the Earl of *Galway* with all the miſcarriages in that war (1). And, in particular, he ſaid, that in a Council of war in *Valencia*, in the middle of *January* 1706-7, the Earl of *Galway* had preſſed the puſhing an offenſive war for that year; and that the Lord *Tyrawley* and *Stanhope* had concurred with him in that: Whereas he himſelf was for lying on a defenſive war for that year in *Spain*: He ſaid, this reſolution was carried by thoſe three, againſt the King of *Spain*'s own mind; and he imputed all the misfortunes that followed in *Spain*, to this reſolution ſo taken. *Stanhope* had given an account of the debates in that Council to the Queen; and the Earl of *Sunderland*, in anſwer to his letter, had wrote by the Queen's order, that ſhe approved of their preſſing for an offenſive war; and they were ordered to perſiſt in that. The Earl of *Sunderland* ſaid, in that letter, that the Queen took notice, that they three (meaning the Earl of *Galway*, Lord *Tyrawley*, and *Stanhope*) were the only perſons that were for acting offenſively: And that little regard was to be had to the Earl of *Peterborough*'s oppoſition. Upon the ſtrength of this letter, the Earl of *Peterborough* affirmed, that the whole Council of war was againſt an offenſive war: He laid the blame, not only of the battle of *Almanza*, and all that followed in *Spain*, upon thoſe reſolutions, but likewiſe the miſcarriage of the deſign on *Toulon*; for he told them of a great deſign, he had concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the uſe that might have been made of ſome of the troops in *Spain*, if a defenſive war had been agreed to there. The Earl of *Galway* and the Lord *Tyrawley* were ſent for; and they were aſked an account of that Council at *Valencia*: They ſaid, there were many Councils held there about that time; and that both the *Portugueze* Ambaſſador and General, and the Envoy of the *States*, agreed with them in their opinions, for an offenſive war; and they named ſome *Spaniards*, that were of the ſame mind: They alſo ſaid, that all along, even to the battle of *Almanza*, in all their reſolutions, the majority of the Council of war voted for every thing that was done, and that they were directed to perſiſt in their opinions, by letters wrote to them, in the Queen's name, by the Secretaries of State: That as to the words, in the Earl of *Sunderland*'s letter, that ſpoke of them, as the only perſons that were of that opinion; theſe were underſtood by them, as belonging only to the Queen's ſubjects, and that they related more immediately to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who oppoſed that reſolution, but not to the reſt of the Council of war; for the majority of them was of their mind (2). 1710.

As the Lord *Galway* ſaid, his memory might have failed him in ſome important particulars, he deſired that he might be allowed to give in writing what he had delivered by word of mouth; which being granted, he gave in two papers; the one related to his own conduct from his firſt ſetting out for *Portugal*, till the time he was recalled; the other was an anſwer to the recital given in writing alſo by the Earl of *Peterborough*, with other papers (3).

After ſeveral debates (at which the Queen was preſent) the Houſe of Lords was ſo diſpoſed, that the majority believed every thing ſaid by the Earl of *Peterborough*, and it was carried, 'That he had given a very faithful, juſt, and honourable account of the Councils of war in *Valencia*, and that the Earl of *Galway*, Lord *Tyrawley*, and General *Stanhope*, inſiſting in a Conference held at *Valencia*, ſome time in *January* 1706-7, in the preſence of the King of *Spain*; and the Queen's name being uſed in maintenance of their opinions for an offenſive war, contrary to the King of *Spain*'s opinion, and that of all the General Officers and public Miniſters, except the Marquiſs *das Minas*; and the opinion of the Earl of *Galway*, Lord *Tyrawley*, and General *Stanhope* being purſued in the operations of the following campaign, was the unhappy occaſion of the battle of *Almanza*, and one great cauſe of our misfortunes in *Spain*, and of the diſappointment of the Duke of *Savoy*'s expedition before *Toulon*, concerted with her Majeſty.'

The late Miniſtry cenſured. Burnet. Pr. H. L.

From this cenſure on the Earl of *Galway*, the debate was carried to that, which was chiefly aimed at, to put a cenſure on the Miniſtry here. So it was moved, that an addreſs ſhould be made to the Queen, to free thoſe, who were under an oath of ſecrecy, from that tie, that a full account might be laid before the Houſe of all their conſultations: The Queen granted this readily; and came to the Houſe, which was underſtood to be on deſign to favour that, which was aimed at. Upon this the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earls of *Godolphin* and *Sunderland*, and the Lord *Cowper* ſhewed, that, conſidering the force ſent over to *Spain* under the Lord *Rivers*, they thought an offenſive war was adviſable; that the expence of that war was ſo great, and the proſpect was ſo promiſing, that they could not but

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(1) This recital contained the facts and paſſages, publiſhed ſome years before by Dr. *Friend* (who attended the Earl into *Spain*) in his account of the Earl of *Peterborough*'s conduct. When he gave it in writing, he called it the recapitulation of his anſwers to the five queſtions propoſed to him by the Lords, of which the Reader has ſeen great part in the Notes, Vol. III. p. 707—714, and p. 752—757. Vol. IV. p. 5—7.

(2) The Lord *Sunderland*'s letter here referred to was dated *February* 14, 1706-7, in anſwer to Mr. *Stanhope*'s of *January* 15, *N. S.* The ſubſtance of which was, 'That he was ſorry they three only (meaning the Lords *Galway* and *Tyrawley* and Mr. *Stanhope*) were of that opinion (for an offenſive war); that nothing but intereſt could incline others to the contrary; that the dividing the army would be the ruin of all: That the Queen intirely approved what he (Mr. *Stanhope*) had done in the Council of war, as he would ſee more at large in the incloſed from my Lord-Treaſurer: That this was ſo much the Queen's opinion, that ſhe had written in the moſt preſſing terms to King *Charles* about it: That, as for the Earl of *Peterborough*'s projects in *Italy*, the leſs attention Mr. *Stanhope* gave to them, the better. That he ſent him a letter for the Earl *Rivers*, which he deſired Mr. *Stanhope* to deliver him, if the Earl took upon him the command of the army by the Lord *Galway*'s giving it up, which however he hoped he would not do *. In which laſt caſe Mr. *Stanhope* was deſired to burn that letter: Concluding, that the Lord-Treaſurer had ſettled the remittances of the army, &c.' *Pr. H. L.* II. 320.

* *See* Vol. III. 763. IV. 5, 6.

(3) The Reader has likewiſe ſeen great part of the Lord *Galway*'s two papers. Vol. III. p. 754, &c. Vol. IV. p. 5, &c.

1710. but think an offenſive war neceſſary; and that to adviſe a defenſive one, would have made them liable to a juſt cenſure, as deſigning to protract the war. The deſign on *Toulon* was no way intermixed with the affairs of *Spain*; the Earl of *Peterborough* fancied he was in that ſecret, and had indeed propoſed the bringing over ſome troops from *Spain* on that deſign, and had offered a ſcheme to the Duke of *Savoy*, in which that was mentioned, and had ſent that over to *England*. But though the Duke of *Savoy* ſuffered that Lord to amuſe himſelf with his own project, which he had concerted for the attempt on *Toulon*; that Duke had declared he would not undertake it, if it was not managed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, which was ſacredly kept, and communicated only to thoſe, to whom it muſt be truſted for the execution of it. No troops from *Spain* were to be employed in that ſervice, nor did it miſcarry for want of men. Theſe Lords further ſaid, they gave their opinions in Council, according to the beſt of their judgment; their intentions were very ſincere for the ſervice of the Queen, and to bring the war to a ſpeedy concluſion. However it was voted, after a warm debate, 'That it appeared by the Lord *Sunderland*'s letter, that the carrying on the war offenſively in *Spain* was approved and directed by the Miniſters, notwithſtanding the deſign of attempting *Toulon*, which the Miniſters, at that time, knew was concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*; and therefore were juſtly to be blamed for contributing to all our misfortunes in *Spain*, and to the diſappointment of the expedition againſt *Toulon*. That the Earl of *Peterborough*, during the time he had the honour of commanding the army in *Spain*, did perform many great and eminent ſervices; and, if the opinion he gave in the Council of war at *Valencia* had been followed, it might very probably have prevented the misfortunes, that had happened ſince in *Spain*.' The Lords of the High-Church party having, by the help of the *Scots*, who all voted on that ſide, carried theſe queſtions, the Earl of *Wharton* moved, that ſuch Lords, as were againſt them, might enter their proteſts, which was readily granted (1).

Reflections on it.

Here was a new and ſtrange precedent of cenſuring a reſolution taken in Council; and of deſiring the Queen to order all, that had paſſed in Council, to be laid before the Houſe: In all the hot debates in King *Charles* the Firſt's Reign, in which many reſolutions taken in Council were juſtly cenſurable, yet the paſſing any cenſure on them was never attempted by men, who were no way partial in favour of the prerogative: But they underſtood well what our Conſtitution was in that point: A reſolution in Council is only the Sovereign's act, who, upon hearing his Counſellors deliver their opinions, forms his own reſolution: A Counſellor may indeed be liable to cenſure, for what he may ſay at that board; but the reſolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a ſilent reſpect; but, by this precedent, it will be hereafter ſubject to a Parliamentary enquiry. The Queen was ſo deſirous to have a cenſure fixed on her former Miniſtry, that ſhe did not enough conſider the wound given to the prerogative, by the way in which it was done. 1710.

The Earl of Peterborough thanked by the Lords. Pr. H. L.

After theſe proceedings it was moved by the Duke of *Buckingham*, that the thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to the Earl of *Peterborough*, for his remarkable and eminent ſervices; which being ordered, the Lord-Keeper *Harcourt* addreſſed himſelf to the Earl, in a ſpeech, wherein he obliquely reflected on the rewards that had been received by the Duke of *Marlborough*:

'Such is your Lordſhip's known generoſity and truly noble temper, that I aſſure myſelf, the preſent I am now offering to your Lordſhip is the more acceptable, as it comes pure and unmixed and is unattended with any other reward, which your Lordſhip might juſtly think would be an allay to it.'

The next morning the Earl ſet out for *Vienna*, and the Lords, not content with what had been done, entered, on the laſt day of *January*, into an enquiry about the force we had in *Spain* at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, and it was found not to exceed fourteen thouſand men, though the Parliament had voted twenty-nine thouſand *. This ſeemed to be a crying thing, and tragical declarations were made upon it †. But, in truth, that vote had paſſed only in the *January* before the battle of *Almanza*, which was fought on the 14th of *April* following. Now it was not poſſible to levy and tranſport men in ſo ſhort a time. It was made appear, that all the money, given by the Parliament for that ſervice, was applied to it, and that extraordinary diligence was uſed, both in forwarding the levies and their tranſportation. They

* *See note,* P. 7.
† *See note,* P. 55.

(1) The proteſt to the firſt reſolution was as follows:

Diſſentient'

Becauſe that, concerning the Army of the Allies in *Spain*, was to receive ſo great an addition of troops by the ſupply ſent under the Earl *Rivers*, the general deſire and expectation of the Kingdom to have the war brought to a ſpeedy concluſion, and all other circumſtances of the war, as it then ſtood, we are of opinion, that an offenſive war was then fitteſt for thoſe in her Majeſty's ſervice to adviſe; and we do not find reaſon, by any thing ariſing on the examinations and debates to be of another opinion, the occaſion of fighting the battle of *Almanza* depending, as we conceive, on cauſes ſubſequent to that advice; the ill ſucceſs of it, as we apprehend, being juſtly attributed to other manifeſt reaſons, and the real deſign on *Toulon*, as finally adjuſted with the Duke of *Savoy*, not requiring, as appears to us, the aſſiſtance of any forces from *Spain*.

Devonſhire,
Kent,
Lincoln,
Wharton,
Godolphin,
Gilbert, *Sarum*,
Sommers,
Jo. Litchfield and *Coventry*,
S. Aſaph,
Dorſet.
Jon. Winton,
Sunderland,
Bolton,
Bedford,
Leiceſter,
Stamford,
Rockingham,
Scarborough,
J. Ely,
W. Lincoln,
Jo. Landaff,
Harvey,
Rich. Peterborough,
J. Bangor,
Marlborough,
Dorcheſter,
Oxford,
Herbert,
Mohun,
Cowper,
Aſhburnham,
C. Norwich,
Bridgewater,
Derby,
Carliſle,
Berkeley.

(1) Biſhop

1710. They were ſent from *Ireland*, the paſſage from thence being ſafeſt and moſt ſpeedy. All this and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe was ſaid, but it ſignified nothing (1); for, though no examination had been made, but into that ſingle point of the numbers at *Almanza*, they came to a general vote, That the late Miniſtry had been negligent, in the management of the war in *Spain*, to the great prejudice of the Nation; and they then ordered all their proceedings and votes to be put in an addreſs, and laid before the Queen: And though they had made no inquiry into the expence of that war, nor into the application of the money, given by the Parliament for it, yet in their addreſs they mentioned the great profuſion of money in that ſervice. This they thought would touch the Nation very ſenſibly; and they hoped the thing would be eaſily believed on their word. Proteſts were made againſt every vote in the whole progreſs of this matter: Some of theſe carried ſuch reflections on the votes of the Houſe, that they were expunged.

A ſtrange way of proceeding. Burnet.

Never (ſays a certain Author*) was any thing carried on in the Houſe of Lords ſo little to their honour as this was; ſome, who voted with the reſt, ſeemed aſhamed of it: They ſaid, ſomewhat was to be done to juſtify the Queen's change of the Miniſtry; and every thing elſewhere had been ſo well conducted, as to be above all cenſure: So, the misfortune of *Almanza* being a viſible thing, they reſolved to lay the load there. The management of the public treaſure was exact and unexceptionable; ſo that the ſingle misfortune of the whole war was to be magnified; ſome were more eaſily drawn to concur in theſe votes, becauſe, by the act of Grace, all thoſe, who had been concerned in the adminiſtration, were covered from proſecution and puniſhment: So this was repreſented to ſome, as a compliment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by which no perſon could be hurt. They loaded ſingly the Earl of *Galway*, with the loſs of the battle of *Almanza*, though it was reſolved on in a Council of war, and he had behaved himſelf in it with all the bravery and conduct, that could be expected from a great General, and had made a good retreat, and ſecured *Catalonia* with unexpreſſible diligence.

The Earl of Galway cenſured for giving the precedence to the Portugueſe Burnet. H. L.

The Earl of *Galway* was alſo cenſured for not inſiſting on the point of honour in the precedence to be given to the *Engliſh* troops, as ſoon as the *Portugueſe* army entered into *Spain*. The Earl being indiſpoſed with the gout, the Lords ſent him a queſtion in writing: 'Why, whilſt he commanded the *Britiſh* troops in *Spain*, he gave the right to the *Portugueſe?*' To this he anſwered, 'That, by the treaty with *Portugal*, the troops of that Crown were to have the right in their own country, and that, in order to engage them to march to *Madrid*, he was obliged to allow them the ſame honour, for otherwiſe they would never have ſtirred out of *Portugal*.' It is certain, if he had made the leaſt ſtruggle about it, the *Portugueſe*, who were not eaſily prevailed on to enter into *Spain*, would have gladly enough laid hold of any occaſion, which ſuch a diſpute would have given them, and have turned back upon it: And ſo, by his inſiſting on ſuch a punctilio, the whole deſign would have been loſt. We had likewiſe, in our treaty with them, yielded expreſsly the point of the flag in thoſe ſeas, for which alone, on other occaſions, we have engaged in wars; ſo he had no reaſon to conteſt a leſſer point. However, the Lords thought fit to reſolve, by a majority of ſixty-ſix againſt forty-four, 'That the Earl of *Galway*, in yielding the poſt of her Majeſty's troops to the *Portugueſe* in *Spain*, acted contrary to the honour of the Imperial Crown of *Great-Britain*.' This was the concluſion of the inquiries made by the Houſe of Lords, a repreſentation of which was, in an addreſs, preſented to the Queen on the 10th of *February*. 1710.

In the mean time, the Commons were no leſs intent upon what ſeemed to be the principal buſineſs of this Seſſion, to caſt an odium on the late Miniſtry. To this end, on the 3d of *January*, Mr. *Harley* informed the Houſe, that, in the examinations relating to the Navy, ſome very conſiderable abuſes were diſcovered in the Victualling; and that a Member of the Houſe was named therein. The Commons, after theſe examinations were laid laid before them, voted, on the 15th of *February*, "That there had "been many notorious embezzlements and "ſcandalous abuſes in the management of her "Majeſty's brewhouſe, and in contracts for "furniſhing beer, to the defrauding of the "public, and injury of the ſeamen. That "*Thomas Ridge* (Member of the Houſe) hav-"ing contracted to furniſh five thouſand five "hundred and thirteen tun of beer upon his "own account, and two thouſand ſeven hun-"dred and four tun of beer, in partnerſhip with "Mr. *Dixon*, and having received bills for the "whole, although he had delivered out but "three thouſand two hundred and thirteen tun "on the firſt, and one thouſand two hundred "and ſixty-nine tuns on the latter contract, be "expelled the Houſe: And that an addreſs be "preſented to her Majeſty, to cauſe Mr. *Ridge* "to be proſecuted for the ſame." However, this Gentleman was not proſecuted, but continued to ſerve the Navy as before; for, upon examination, it appeared, that in fact the public ſuffered no wrong. The caſe ſtood thus: The ſervice of the fleet had of late lain for the moſt part in the *Mediterranean*, where the difference of climate rendered the beer ſent from hence uſeleſs; and the ſeamen, being not able to drink it there, required wine and water, which is ordinarily uſed on board the fleet in thoſe parts. But as the Victualling Office can, in their accounts, charge beer only, it was allowed to the ſeamen by the Office to take money of the Brewer, wherewith to buy wine in the *Streights*. Thus, though the beer was not delivered, and the ſeamen drank wine, yet the Nation paid for no more than the allowance of beer. Many other Brewers were complained of on the ſame account, but

1710-11. *Some abuſes cenſured by the Commons.* Pr. H. C.

(1) Biſhop *Burnet* too juſtly obſerves here, When reſolutions are taken up beforehand, the debating concerning them is only a piece of form uſed to come at the queſtion with ſome decency: And there was ſo little of that obſerved at this time, that the Duke of *Buckingham* ſaid in plain words, that they had the majority, and would make uſe of it, as he had obſerved done by others, when they had it on their ſide.

(1) The

1710-11. but it was plain this was only a ſhew of zeal, and a ſeeming diſcovery of fraudulent practices, when in reality there was no ſuch thing, or at leaſt the abuſe was ſuch, that it was ſuffered to go on as avowedly as ever.

Two Lotteries. Burnet. Pr. H. C.

The money did not come into the Treaſury ſo readily as formerly, neither upon the act of four ſhillings in the pound, nor on the duty laid on malt: So, to raiſe a quick Supply, there were two bills paſſed, for raiſing three millions and a half by two lotteries, the firſt of one million five hundred thouſand pounds; and the ſecond of two millions, to be paid back in thirty-two years; and for a fund, to anſwer this, duties were laid on hops, candles, leather, cards and dice, and on the poſtage on letters. In one branch of this, the Houſe of Commons ſeemed to break in upon a rule, that had hitherto paſſed for a ſacred one. When the duty upon leather was firſt propoſed, it was rejected by a majority, and ſo, by their uſual orders, it was not to be offered again during that Seſſion: But, after a little practice upon ſome Members, the ſame duty was propoſed, with this variation, that ſkins and tanned hides ſhould be ſo charged; this was leather in another name. The Lotteries were ſoon filled up; ſo, by this means, money came into the Treaſury; and indeed this method has never yet failed of raiſing a ſpeedy ſupply (1). There was no more aſked, though, in the beginning of the Seſſion, the Houſe had voted a million more than theſe bills amounted to; which made ſome conclude, there was a ſecret negotiation and proſpect of peace.

Inquiry about the Palatines. Burnet. Pr. H. C.

The Commons, finding the encouragement given to the *Palatines* was diſpleaſing to the people, reſolved to inquire into that matter. In order to this, a petition was procured from the inhabitants of *St. Olave* and other pariſhes, "Complaining of the great number of *Palatines* inhabiting in one Houſe, whereby it was "feared ſome contagious diſtemper might happen, and, having not wherewithal to ſubſiſt "themſelves, were likely to become chargeable "to the pariſh": This petition was immediately referred to the conſideration of a Committee, appointed for that purpoſe, with inſtructions to inquire, "Upon what invitation or encouragement the *Palatines* came over, and what monies were expended in bringing them into "*Great-Britain*, and for maintaining them here, "and by whom paid." As the deſign was now formed to load the late Adminiſtration all that was poſſible, it was pretended, that, in the whole affair of the *Palatines*, there was a deſign againſt the Church, and, to increaſe the numbers and ſtrength of the Diſſenters. The Queen was addreſſed for the papers relating to the bringing over and ſubſiſting the *Palatines*; and at laſt the Houſe agreed to the following reſolutions of their Committee, "That the inviting and bringing "over into this Kingdom the poor *Palatines*, "of all Religions, at the public expence, was "an extravagant and unreaſonable charge to the "Kingdom, and a ſcandalous miſapplication of "the public money, tending to the increaſe "and oppreſſion of the Poor of this Kingdom, "and of dangerous conſequence to the Conſtitution in Church and State. 2. That whoever adviſed the bringing over the poor *Palatines* into this Kingdom, was an enemy to the "Queen and Kingdom." And becauſe a letter written by the Earl of *Sunderland*, in the Queen's name, to the Council of Trade, was laid before them, by which they were ordered to conſider of the beſt methods of diſpoſing of the *Palatines*; it was moved to lay the load of that matter on him in ſome ſevere votes. But this was put off for that time, and afterwards, by ſeveral adjournments delayed, till at laſt it was let fall. 1710-

A bill to repeal the Naturalization-act rejected by the Lords. Burnet. P. H. L.

While the heat, raiſed by this inquiry, was kept up, the Commons paſſed a bill to repeal the act for a general Naturalization of all Proteſtants, which had paſſed two years before; pretending that it gave the encouragement to the *Palatines* to come over, though none of them had made uſe of that act, in order to their Naturalization. This was ſent up to the Lords; and the Lord *Guernſey*, and ſome others, entertained them with tragical declamations on the ſubject; yet, upon the firſt reading of the bill, it was rejected, to the great joy of all the foreign Proteſtants. It is remarkable, if the bill was deſigned to prevent the *French* Refugees from enjoying the benefit of the Naturalization, it had in ſome meaſure a contrary effect: For whereas, ſince the paſſing of the act for a general Naturalization, ſcarce fifteen hundred of them took the advantage of it; above two thouſand were naturalized after the motion for repealing it was made, till it was rejected by the Lords. A bill, that was formerly often attempted, for diſabling Members of the Houſe of Commons to hold places, had alſo the ſame fate.

However, another bill for qualifying Members, by having ſix hundred pounds a year for a Knight of the Shire, and three hundred pounds a year for a Burgeſs, ſucceeded better: The deſign of this was to exclude Courtiers, Military Men, and Merchants, from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, in hopes, that, this being ſettled, the land-intereſt would be the prevailing conſideration in all their conſultations. They did not extend theſe qualifications to *Scotland*; it being pretended, that, eſtates there being generally ſmall, it would not be eaſy to find men ſo qualified capable to ſerve. This was thought to ſtrike at an eſſential part of our Conſtitution, touching the freedom of elections: And it had been, as often as it was attempted, oppoſed by the Miniſtry, though it had a fair appearance of ſecuring liberty, when all was lodged with men of eſtates: Yet our Gentry was become ſo ignorant, and ſo corrupt, that many apprehended the ill effects of this; and that the intereſt of trade, which indeed ſupports that of the land, would

(1) The ſcheme of the lottery was drawn by Mr. *John Blount*, Scrivener of *London*, who was employed by the Lords of the Treaſury; which, being approved, was inſerted in the lottery-bill. When it was advertiſed, on the 10th of *March*, that the payments would begin to be taken in at *Mercers-Hall* on the 13th, it was found, that about two hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand pounds had been ſubſcribed at the Bank of *England*, above the firſt payment of the whole ſum of one million and a half.

1710-11. would neither be underſtood nor regarded. But the new Miniſters reſolved to be popular with thoſe who promoted it; ſo it paſſed, and was much magnified, as a main part of our ſecurity for the future.

a act for Another bill paſſed, not much to the honour *ench* of thoſe who promoted it, for the importation *ine.* of *French* wine. The intereſt of the Nation *rmet.* lay againſt this ſo viſibly, that nothing but the luxury of thoſe, who loved that liquor, could have carried ſuch a motion through the two Houſes. But, though the bill paſſed, it was like to have no effect; for it was provided, that the wine ſhould be imported in neutral veſſels; and the King of *France* had forbid it to be exported in any veſſels but his own. It ſeems he reckoned, that our deſire of drinking his wine would carry us to take it on ſuch terms, as he ſhould preſcribe.

n at- In the Houſe of Commons there appeared a *mpt upon* new combination of Tories of the higheſt form, *r.* Har- who thought the Court was yet in ſome manage- *y.* *rmet.* ment with the Whigs, and did not come up to their height, which they imputed to Mr. *Harley*; upon which account they began to form themſelves in oppoſition to him, and expreſſed their jealouſy of him on ſeveral occaſions, ſometimes publickly. But an odd accident, that had almoſt been fatal, proved happy to him. The Marquiſs *de Guiſcard*, of whom a large account *See* III. has been given *, enjoyed his pay as Colonel, *761.* till ſome time after the battle of *Almanza*; when that ceaſed, he ſollicited to have a ſettled penſion in the time of the late Miniſtry; but his intimacy with ſome perſons, who had been removed from their employments, particularly Mr. *St. John*, with whom he entered into a ſtrict confidence and community of pleaſures, did not at all promote his affair. When Mr. *St. John*, by the great change at Court, was advanced to the poſt of Secretary of State, the Marquiſs expected to have found a great ſupport in him. *oyer.* But as all friendſhips, that are not grounded on virtue, are ever ſhort-lived, the Secretary, who had ſome time before quarrelled with the Marquiſs about a miſtreſs, or rather a child, which neither of them would own, was hardly prevailed with to ſpeak in his favour. However, upon his faint recommendation, the Queen ordered him a penſion of five hundred pounds a year; but Mr. *Harley*, who never liked *Guiſcard*, not only reduced his penſion to four hundred pounds, but declined to have it put upon a fixed eſtabliſhment. The Marquiſs endeavoured ſeveral times to apply to the Queen for redreſs; but being denied acceſs, and highly diſguſted with the uſage he received from thoſe very perſons, whom he had looked upon as his intimate friends, he tried to make his peace with the Court of *France*, and, in order to that, wrote to Monſieur *Moreau*, a Banker in *Paris*. His letter being directed to a perſon in *Portugal*, under the cover of the Earl of *Portmore*, his Lordſhip, ſuſpecting ſomething, opened one of the packets, and, finding in it a dangerous correſpondence, ſent it back to his Lady, the Counteſs of *Dorcheſter*, who delivered it to Mr. *Harley*; and by her means another packet, which *Guiſcard* would have tranſmitted to *Portugal*, was intercepted. It was pretended by 1710-11. ſome, that thoſe letters contained only looſe reflections on the weakneſs and mean capacity of the preſent Miniſtry; but, whatever was the purport of them, the Marquiſs was, on the 18th of *March*, apprehended in *St. James's Park* for high-treaſon, by virtue of a warrant from Mr. Secretary *St. John*. He was ſo ſurprized and diſordered, that he deſired the Meſſenger, who diſarmed him, *to kill him:* And, being brought to the *Cockpit* in the height of deſpair, he took the reſolution to make his ruin fatal to thoſe, who occaſioned it; and, ſeeing in the room where he was confined a penknife, which lay among pens in a ſtandiſh, he took it up unperceived by the Meſſengers, who watched him. A Committee of Council being ſummoned on this extraordinary occaſion, and the Lord-Keeper *Harcourt*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Ormond*, Earl *Paulet*, Mr. *Harley*, and the three Secretaries of State, the Duke of *Queenſberry*, the Lord *Dartmouth*, and Mr. *St. John*, being met, the Marquiſs was brought before them to be examined. Mr. *St. John* aſked him ſeveral queſtions about his correſponding with *France*, to which he returned evaſive anſwers, with an aſſured countenance. But when Mr. *St. John* aſked him, Whether he knew Mr. *Moreau*, Banker at *Paris?* producing, at the ſame time, the intercepted letters, the Marquiſs appeared very much ſurprized. Finding himſelf diſcovered, and deſpairing of a pardon, he reſolved to put his black deſign in execution. It was the general opinion, that his deſign was to make his firſt attempt upon Mr. *St. John*; which appears the more probable, becauſe, as ſoon as he thought himſelf in a manner convicted of the crime, for which he was apprehended, he deſired to ſpeak with him in private; but Mr. Secretary told him, That was impracticable and unuſual: That he was before the Committee of the Council, as a criminal; and if he had any thing to offer, it muſt be ſaid to them all. The Marquiſs perſiſting in his deſire to ſpeak only to Mr. *St. John*, they went to ring the bell, to call in the Meſſengers to carry him away; which he obſerving, ſaid, *That's hard; not one word* (1). Being diſappointed in his deſign againſt Mr. *St. John*, who ſat out of his reach, he ſtepped towards the table, as if he intended to ſay ſomething to Mr. *Harley*; and, ſtooping down, ſaid, *Then have at thee* (2); and ſtabbed him about the middle of the breaſt; but the penknife, lighting on the bone, broke about half an inch from the handle; which *Guiſcard* not perceiving, redoubled the blow, and with a great force ſtruck Mr. *Harley* not far from the firſt wound. When Mr. *St. John* ſaw Mr. *Harley* fall, he cried out, *The villain has killed Mr.* Harley; and drawing his ſword immediately, as did alſo the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and ſome others, they gave *Guiſcard* ſeveral wounds. But when they ſaw Mr. *Harley* get up, and heard Earl *Paulet* cry out, not to kill *Guiſcard*, they gave over making paſſes at him. Some of the Privy-Counſellors ſecured themſelves with chairs againſt the rage of the aſſaſſin, who ſeemed to threaten them all. Others ran out of the room to call for help; and the Meſſengers

(1) *Voilà qui eſt dur, pas un mot.*

(2) *J'en veux donc à toi.*

1710-11. Meſſengers and Door-keepers having ruſhed in, and offering to lay hold on *Guiſcard*, he ſtruggled for a while, and overthrew ſome of his aſſailants; but, at laſt, *Wilcox*, one of the Queen's Meſſengers, a very ſtrong man, grappled with him, and gave him ſeveral bruiſes, particularly one in the back, which was afterwards judged to have occaſioned his death.

Mr. *Harley*'s wound was preſently ſearched, and appeared to be a very ſlight one, yet he was long in the ſurgeon's hands. Some imputed this to an ill habit of body; others thought it was an artifice, to make it ſeem more dangerous than indeed it was. *Guiſcard*'s wounds were deeper, and not eaſily managed; for at firſt he was ſullen, and ſeemed reſolved to die; yet after a day he ſubmitted himſelf to the ſurgeons; but did not complain of a wound in his back till it gangrened; and of that he died. It was not known what particulars were in his letters, nor was it known what he confeſſed.

This attempt turns to his advantage. Burnet. Pr. H. C.

This accident was of great uſe to Mr. *Harley*; for the party formed againſt him were aſhamed to puſh a man, who was thus aſſaſſinated by one, that was ſtudying to recommend himſelf to the Court of *France*, and who was believed to have formed a deſign againſt the Queen's perſon (1); whoſe health was at this time much ſhaken, ſhe having had three fits of an ague, and the laſt a ſevere one; but the progreſs of the diſeaſe was ſtopped by the bark.

The day after Mr. *Harley* received his wound, both Houſes of Parliament agreed upon an addreſs to the Queen, wherein they expreſſed their great concern for the moſt barbarous and villainous attempt made upon the perſon of Mr. *Harley*; adding, 'That they had reaſon to believe, that his fidelity to her Majeſty, and zeal for her ſervice, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction; and beſought her Majeſty to take all poſſible care of her ſacred perſon; and, for that purpoſe, to give directions for cauſing Papiſts to be removed from the cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*.' The Queen took this advice very kindly, promiſed to give the proper directions, according to the deſire of both Houſes, and recommended to them to make a law, to puniſh with death ſuch villainous attempts on the lives of Magiſtrates in the lawful execution of their office, though the miſchiefs deſigned ſhould not take effect. Upon which an act was paſſed this Seſſion, 'to make an attempt on the life of a Privy-Counſellor to be felony without benefit of the Clergy.' On the other hand, a proclamation was publiſhed, *ſtrictly to put in excution the laws againſt Papiſts*. And, when Mr. *Harley* came firſt to the Houſe of Commons after his recovery, he was by their order congratulated upon it by Mr. *Bromley*, their Speaker, in a ſet flattering ſpeech, wherein he prayed, 'That the ſame providence, that had wonderfully preſerved him from ſome unparalleled attempts, and had raiſed him up to be an inſtrument of great good at a very critical juncture, when it was much wanted, might continue ſtill to preſerve ſo invaluable a life, for the perfecting of what was ſo happily begun; that they might owe to his counſels, and to his conduct, the maintenance and firm eſtabliſhment of our conſtitution in Church and State.' 1711.

Death of the Earl of Rochester. May 2.

In the beginning of *May*, died ſuddenly the Earl of *Rocheſter*, the Queen's Uncle, and Mr. *Harley*, being rid of the only competitor in her favour, ſoon became the Prime Miniſter. Upon his recovery ſhe created him Baron of *Wigmore*, and Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*, two of the moſt noble titles in the *Engliſh* Heraldry. The *Veres* had been Earls of *Oxford* many ages, and the title of *Mortimer* had been in the Royal Family. Preambles to patents of honour uſually carry in them a ſhort account of the dignity of the family, and of the ſervices of the perſon advanced: But his preamble was very pompous, and ſet him out in the moſt extravagant characters that flatterers could invent; in particular it ſaid, that he had redeemed the nation from robbery, had reſtored credit, and had rendered the public great ſervice in a courſe of many years: All this was ſet out in too fulſome rhetorick, and, being prepared by his own direction, pleaſed him ſo much, that, whereas all other patents had been only read in the Houſe of Lords, this was printed. He was alſo made Lord-Treaſurer, (2) and he had the chief, if not the ſole, direction of every thing. It ſoon appeared that his ſtrength lay principally in managing parties, and in engaging weak people, by rewards and promiſes, to depend upon him; but that he neither

Harley made Earl and Lord-Treaſurer. Burnet.

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(1) For he had tried, by all the ways he could contrive, to be admitted to ſpeak with her in private, which he had attempted that very morning. *Burnet*, II. 566.

(2) When, on the 1ſt of *June*, he came to take the oaths in the Court of *Chancery*, the Lord-Keeper *Harcourt* addreſſed himſelf to him in the following ſpeech, which ſurpaſſed even Mr. *Bromley*'s:

My Lord of Oxford,

"The Queen, who does every thing with the "greateſt wiſdom, has given a proof of it in the ho-"nours ſhe has lately conferred on you, which are "exactly ſuited to your deſerts and qualifications.

"My Lord, The title, which you now bear, "could not have been ſo juſtly placed on any other of "her Majeſty's ſubjects. Some of that ancient blood, "which fills your veins, is derived from the *Veres*; "and you have ſhewed yourſelf as ready to ſacrifice it "for the ſafety of your Prince, and the good of your "Country, and as fearleſs of danger on the moſt try-"ing occaſions, as ever any of that brave and loyal "Houſe were. Nor is that title leſs ſuited to you, as "it carries in it a relation to one of the chief ſeats "of learning; for even your enemies, my Lord (if "any ſuch there ſtill are) muſt own, that the love of "letters, and the encouragement of thoſe, who ex-"cel in them, is one diſtinguiſhing part of your cha-"racter.

"My Lord, The high ſtation of Lord-Treaſurer "of *Great-Britain*, to which her Majeſty has called "you, is the juſt reward of your eminent ſervices. "You have been the great inſtrument of reſtoring "the public credit, and relieving this Nation from the "heavy preſſure and ignominy of an immenſe debt, "under which it languiſhed; and you are now in-"truſted with the power of ſecuring us from a relapſe "into the ſame ill ſtate, out of which you have reſ-"cued us. This great office, my Lord, is every way "worthy of you; particularly on the account of "thoſe many difficulties, with which the faithful diſ-"charge of it muſt be unavoidably attended, and "which require a genius like yours to maſter them. "The only difficulty, which even you, my Lord, "may find inſuperable, is how to deſerve better of the "Crown and Kingdom after this advancement, than "you did before it."

(1) The

1711. neither thoroughly underſtood the buſineſs of the Treaſury, nor the conduct of foreign affairs. But he truſted to his intereſt in the Queen, and her favourite Mrs. *Maſham*.

The Tories ſtill continued to purſue the memory of King *William*; they complained of the grants made by him, though theſe were far ſhort of thoſe, that had been made by King *Charles* the IId; but that they might diſtinguiſh between thoſe, whom they intended to favour, and others, againſt whom they were ſet, they brought in a bill, impowering ſome perſons to examine all the grants made by him, and to report both the value of them, and the conſiderations upon which they were made: This was the method, that had ſucceeded with them before, with relation to *Ireland*; ſo the bringing in this bill was looked on, as a ſure ſtep, for carrying the reſumption of all the grants, that they had a mind to make void. When the bill was ſent up to the Lords, the deſign appeared to be an unjuſt malice, both againſt the memory of King *William*, and againſt thoſe who had beſt ſerved him; and therefore, upon the firſt reading, the bill was rejected (1).

The Commons turned their malice next againſt the Earl of *Godolphin*. A Committee (of which, Mr. *Edward Harley*, Auditor of the Impreſt was Chairman) having been appointed to inquire how far the ſeveral Impreſt Accomptants had paſſed their reſpective accounts; the Commons found by their report, that the Supplies given by Parliament were not all returned, and the accounts of many millions were not yet paſſed in the *Exchequer*; therefore they paſſed a vote, 'That of the monies granted by Parliament, and iſſued for the public ſervice to *Chriſtmas* 1710, there remains unaccounted for, the ſum of above thirty-five millions, for great part of which no account has ſo much as been laid before the Auditors, and the reſt not proſecuted by the Accomptants and finiſhed.'

This was a vaſt ſum; but, to make it up, ſome accounts in King *Charles*'s time were thrown into the heap; the Lord *Ranelagh*'s accounts of the former reign were the greateſt part; and it appeared, that in no time accounts were ſo regularly brought up, as in the Queen's reign. Mr. *Bridges*'s accounts, of fourteen or fifteen millions, were the great *item*, of which, not above half a million was paſſed: But there were accounts of above eleven millions brought in, though not paſſed in form, through the great caution and exactneſs of the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, at whoſe office they were to paſs; and he was very ſlow, and would allow nothing, without hearing counſel on every article. The truth is, the methods of paſſing accounts were ſo ſure, that they were very ſlow; and it was not poſſible, for the proper officers, to find time and leiſure to paſs the accounts that were already in their hands. Upon this, though the Earl of *Godolphin* had managed the Treaſury, with an uncorruptedneſs, fidelity, and diligence, that were ſo unexceptionable, that it was not poſſible to fix any cenſure on his adminiſtration; yet, becauſe many accounts ſtood out, the Commons paſſed ſeveral angry votes on that ſubject: But, however, ſince nothing had appeared in all the examination made by the Committee, that reflected on him, or on any of the Whigs, they would not publiſh the report, though it was ordered to be printed *; for by that it would have appeared who had ſerved well, and who had ſerved ill (2).

1711.

* See Pr. H. C IV. 206.

In the beginning of *April*, the Dauphin of *France* and the Emperor *Joſeph* both died of the ſmall pox. When notice came of the Emperor's death, the Queen ſent, on the 20th of *April*, a meſſage to both Houſes, importing, "That ſhe had come to a reſolution to ſupport "the intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and to "uſe her utmoſt endeavours to get the King of "*Spain* made Emperor: That the *States-Gene-*"*ral* had concurred with her Majeſty; and that "ſhe had taken the moſt proper meaſures to "engage all thoſe, who had a ſhare in this "election, and were in the intereſt of the com-"mon

The Emperor dies. April 6.

The Queen's meſſage to Parliament on that occaſion. Pr. H. C.

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(1) The Commiſſioners to examine the Grants appointed by the Commons, were, Mr. *Hind-Cotton*, Sir *Simeon Stuart*, Mr. *Eversfield*, Mr. *Balteel*, Mr. *Hewetſon*, Mr. *Blackmore*, and Mr. *Wrightſon*. Pr. H. C. Vol. IV.

(2) Mr. *Maynwaring*, the other Auditor of the Impreſt, has given the true ſtate of theſe thirty-five millions, the chief articles of which are as follows:

				l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Earl of *Ranelagh*'s charge is —— ——				21,015,618	19	4½
Diſcharge,	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*			
By accounts actually paſt, —	14,593,665	4	2⅓	21,013,847	10	10½
By accounts rendered or lying before the Auditors,	6,420,182	6	8⅓			
Remains to be accounted for ——				1,771,	8	6
The Hon. *James Brydges*, Eſq; his charge is ——				15,374,689	1	11¾
Diſcharge,						
By accounts actually paſt ——	956,789	6	5¾	9,054,281	15	00¾
By accounts rendered, or lying before the Auditors,	8,097,492	8	7½			
By accounts delivered ſince *Chriſtmas*, 1710, ——				3,227,778	2	6
Remains to be accounted for ——				3,092,629	4	5
Lord *Falkland*'s charge is —— ——				3,094,723	7	11½
Diſcharge,						
By accounts actually paſt, ——	1,122,133	5	11	2,587,501	11	2¾
By accts lying before the Auditors,	1,465,368	5	3¾			
Remains to be accounted for ——				507,221,	16	8¼

Sir

1711. " mon cauſe, to join with her in bringing this " great work to a good iſſue: And ſhe had an " intire confidence in the affection and duty of " her Parliament, that, with their aſſiſtance, ſhe " ſhould be enabled to make a happy concluſion " of the war in a ſafe and honourable peace." This produced a joint addreſs from both Houſes in almoſt the ſame language as the meſſage, both which are the more remarkable, as the meſſage gave ſome intimation of the project, which the new Miniſtry formed upon the death of the Emperor, and which they afterwards publicly avowed, to make a peace by yielding *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to King *Philip*; not only becauſe the regaining of them for King *Charles* was attended with inſuperable difficulties, but alſo becauſe, in their opinion, the ſame, if practicable, would deſtroy the balance of *Europe*, the ſettling of which was the chief aim of the Grand Alliance. And, both Houſes of Parliament having, in that addreſs, ſhewn a diſpoſition to approve any meaſures, which her Majeſty ſhould think proper to procure a peace, the Miniſtry thought themſelves armed with ſufficient authority to purſue their ſcheme.

An act for the South-Sea *trade.* Burnet. Pr. H. C.

The laſt thing ſettled by the Parliament, was the creating a new fund for a trade with *Spain*. The Commons, on the 20th of *January*, had appointed a Committee to examine the debts of the Navy; and, about two months after, they reported, that theſe debts amounted to above five millions. This great debt upon the Navy was occaſioned partly by the deficiency of the funds appointed for the ſervice at ſea, but chiefly by the neceſſity of applying ſuch ſupplies as were given, without appropriating clauſes, to the ſervice abroad, where it was impoſſible to carry it on by credit, without ready money; ſo it was judged neceſſary to let the debt of the Navy run on upon credit; by which means it had riſen up to ſo many millions, and the diſcount on Navy-bills was very high (1). All this debt, with many others, were thrown into one ſtock, amounting in the whole to 9,471,325 *l.* and a fund was formed for paying an intereſt or annuity of 6 *per cent.* till the principal ſhould be paid, which intereſt amounted to the annual ſum of 568,279 *l.* 10 *s.* For the raiſing of this ſum, all the duties upon wines, vinegar, and tobacco, *India* goods, wrought ſilks, whale-fins, *&c.* were, after the year 1716, continued for ever, and till then the Parliament was to make an annual proviſion for the intereſt. With this fund was alſo granted the monopoly of a ſuppoſed trade to the *South-Sea* or coaſt of *Peru* in *America*; the ſeveral proprietors of the Navy-bills, Debentures, and other public ſecurities, being to be incorporated for that purpoſe. This grant may juſtly be called chimerical, ſince the projector knew he was entering upon a negotiation of peace, which, by the ceſſion of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, would for ever exclude the *Engliſh* from the privileges of trading to *Peru* and *Mexico*. Accordingly inſtead of ſuch trade, King *Philip*, upon the concluſion of the peace, gave the precarious

1711.

Sir *Thomas Littleton*'s charge is Diſcharge,	——	——	18,382,750	1	5¼
By accounts actually paſt, or ready for declaration,	7,559,382	5 3¼	18,329,562	4	4
By accounts lying before the Auditors, under the examination of the Navy-Board, and by money paid over to *R. Walpole*, Eſq;	10,770,179	19 0¾			
Remains to be accounted for ——			53,187	17	1¼

In the ſame manner he ſtates the accounts of *Atkinſon*, *Nutting*, *Maſon*, *Povey*, *Micklethwayte*, and *Savery*; by which it appears, that, of the thirty-five millions, above thirty millions were accounted for, though not all paſſed, and that the total to be accounted for amounted only to 4,330,135 *l.* which, as Mr. *Maynwaring* obſerves, was much ſhort of a year's Supply. He ſays further on this ſubject, 'No Accomptant is obliged, by the courſe of the *Exchequer*, to render his account under fifteen months, nor ſome under eighteen; yet this vote takes in all accounts to the firſt meeting of the Committee; but there is no mention made from what period of time they did commence. To have been particular, in every reſpect, was too much for the compaſs of a vote; ſo that there are accounts from King *Charles*, King *James*, and King *William*'s Reign, in the principal branches of the expence in all the revenue brought in, to make up and ſwell the general account; and this is, by many thouſands of people, without doors, imputed to the late Miniſters.' He then expoſes the partiality of the Houſe of Commons, of which he was himſelf a Member, in ordering ſo unjuſt a vote to be printed: Adding, 'And now if I may be allowed to ſuppoſe what I think I have fully proved, that many irregularities, and unavoidable delays, attend the paſſing of ſome accounts, which no care or induſtry can prevent. If it happen, that the nature of the ſervices, and the method of payment in ſome offices, being inconſiſtent with the courſe of the *Exchequer*, require Privy-Seals, and are the work of longer time than is limited for paſſing accounts; if it appears, that theſe irregularities, incident to accounts, are yet neceſſary for the accommodation of the ſervice, and not to be avoided without infinite prejudice to the management; and if it appears, that the ſecurity of the public does not entirely depend upon the actual paſſing of accounts, provided they have been daily rendered, *all which he fully makes out*, I hope people will begin to be ſatisfied, that the Nation has not been cheated of thirty-five millions."

(1) A full account of this matter was ſoon after publiſhed in *a letter about the debts of the Navy*, by which it appeared, that the public money had been managed with the utmoſt fidelity; and it was made evident, that, when there was not money enough to anſwer all the expence of the war, it was neceſſary to apply it to that which preſſed: So this debt was contracted by an inevitable neceſſity, and all reaſonable perſons were fully ſatisfied with this account of it. The Author of *the letter* thus ſhews the reaſonableneſs of including the *Extra-Services* in the accounts of the Navy (beſides which, he makes the charge upon the late Miniſters to amount only to a little above five thouſand pounds) 'I muſt (ſays he) make one obſervation more to you: That as the debts of the Navy have annually increaſed, an annual account of it has been laid before the Houſe of Commons, who were conſtantly informed how far the proviſion, made for the preceding year, had fallen ſhort of anſwering the expence; but being ſenſible, that the more preſſing Supplies were as much as could be well raiſed within the year, they ſtill thought it more adviſeable to leave the extraordinary charges as a growing

1711. carious licence to ſend a ſhip or two thither yearly, limiting them both as to tonnage and value of cargo. This ſcheme produced what is called the *South-Sea Company* (1).

The flatterers of the new Miniſters made great uſe of this to magnify them, and to aſperſe the old Miniſtry. But the Earl of *Godolphin*'s unblemiſhed integrity was ſuch, that no imputation of any ſort could be faſtened on him; and therefore, to keep up a clamour, they reflected on the expence he had run the Nation into, upon the early ſucceſſes in 1706, which were very juſtly acknowledged, and cleared in the ſucceeding Seſſion, as hath been related. But that affair was now revived, and it was ſaid to be an invaſion of the great right of the Commons in giving ſupplies, to enter on deſigns, and to engage the Nation in expence not provided for by Parliament. This was aggravated with many tragical expreſſions as a ſubverſion of the Conſtitution; and at the end of the Seſſions an inflaming repreſentation about this and the thirty-five millions, of which the accounts were not yet paſſed, was preſented by the Commons to the Queen, wherein they tell her, 'That they had not only raiſed the neceſſary ſupplies, but diſcharged the heavy debts ſo long and ſo juſtly complained of, and traced the cauſes thereof: That in ſeveral years the ſervice had been inlarged beyond the bounds preſcribed by Parliament: That the ſurpluſage of ſome funds had not been applied to anſwer the deficiency of others; but other uſes were found out, ſuch as were neither voted nor addreſſed for by Parliament, which therefore we judge a miſapplication of publick money. The debt of the Navy has ariſen from a liberty, that has been taken of transferring money, iſſued for that ſervice, to other uſes, particularly for proviſions for the land-forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*. To this we muſt add, the many notorious embezzlements in your Majeſty's brew-houſe; and that the Commiſſioners for victualling have been guilty of great negligence; that the Receivers of the land-tax were not obliged to make due and punctual payments.' Then they added, 'Thus far have we proceeded in diſcovering ſome of thoſe cauſes, which have brought ſo great a weight of debts upon the Nation; and we might have made a much greater progreſs in our inquiries, if the accounts of the publick money had been regularly paſſed; but, to our great ſurprize and concern, we find, "That they, who of late years have "had the management of your Majeſty's Trea- "ſury, and ought to have compelled the ſeveral "Accomptants duly to paſs their reſpective ac- "counts, have been guilty of ſo notorious a "breach of truſt, and of ſo high an injuſtice "to the Nation, that of the monies granted by "Parliament, and iſſued for the publick ſervice "to *Chriſtmas* 1710, there remains unaccounted "for the ſum of thirty-five millions, three "hundred and two thouſand, one hundred and "ſeven pounds; for a great part of which no "accounts have ſo much as been laid before the "Auditors: And for the reſt, though ſome ac- "counts have been brought in, yet they have "not been proſecuted by the Accomptants and "finiſhed." This has made it impracticable for us to arrive at ſo exact a knowledge of the State of the Nation, with regard to the publick money, as we wiſhed, and might have expected; and your Majeſty will pleaſe to conſider, in ſuch an immenſe ſum unaccounted for, how many embezzlements may be concealed, and how juſtly it is to be ſuſpected, that ſo ſcandalous a remiſneſs has been allowed with no other deſign. We humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will give immediate and effectual directions for the compelling the ſeveral Impreſt Accomptants ſpeedily to paſs their accounts; and, in the mean time, we humbly hope your Majeſty will approve the reſolution of your Commons, "That ſuch of the Accomptants, who have neg-

The repreſentation of the Commons at the end of the Seſſions. Pr. H. C. IV. 217.

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ing debt, than to increaſe the public burden upon the people, by enlarging the uſual proviſions for the Navy. And in the Parliament before the laſt, a full account of the Navy-debt being called for, the late Miniſters were ſo far from being blamed upon this ſubject, that, after a full conſideration, and long debate about the cauſes and methods of contracting that debt, the Houſe came to a reſolution in their favour, and went as far in approving their conduct and management, as any ſubſequent Parliament has gone in cenſuring them: And, when the juſtice of two different Parliaments comes to be the queſtion, I muſt not take upon me to determine between them, but will only make this ſhort remark: That, from ſuch time, at leaſt, as the ſenſe of the Houſe was known upon this occaſion, the late Miniſtry cannot be thought blameable for proceeding in their uſual method, when they were ſupported by authority and approbation of Parliament.'

(1) The particulars of the debts and deficiencies, that were thus incorporated, were as follows:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The debt of the Navy	5,130,539	5	5
The debt of the Ordnance	154,324	15	8¼
For Tranſport-ſervice	424,791	5	4¼
An army and tranſport-debenture, to *Sept.* 29, 1710	1,018,656	17	9¼
Deficient tallies and orders on 9 *Will.* 3, c. 13, and another act, 1 *Ann*, for laying duties on coals	12,025	1	0
Debts between *Sept.* 29, 1710, and *Dec.* 25, 1710, in the Offices of the Navy, Victualling, and Tranſport	378,859	5	8½
On ſubſidies to the E. of *Hanover* and D. of *Zell*	9,375	0	0
The intereſt of the ſaid debts as carry intereſt, from *Dec.* 25, 1710, to *Dec.* 25, 1711	85,000	0	0
For money lent purſuant to an act, 8 *Ann*, c. 13, to raiſe money for the year 1710	1,296,552	9	11¾
For intereſt due on the ſame, *March* 25, 1711	74,875	19	1¼
All theſe amount to	8,585,000	0	0
The intereſt of this ſum from *March* 25, 1711, to *Dec.* 25, 1711, at ſix *per cent.*	386,325	0	0
To be raiſed for the ſervice of the year 1711	500,000	0	0
The whole ſtock	9,471,325	0	0

For payment of the intereſt of this ſtock at ſix *per cent.* the continuation of the general mortgage, from 1716, was granted to raiſe the annual ſum of five hundred and ſixty-eight thouſand, two hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds, ten ſhillings.

1712. " neglected their duty in profecuting their ac-
" counts, ought no longer to be intruſted with
" receiving the publick money." From all theſe evil practices, and worſe deſigns of ſome perſons, who had, by falſe profeſſions of love to their country, inſinuated themſelves into your Royal favour, irreparable miſchief had accrued to the publick, had not your Majeſty, in your great wiſdom, ſeaſonably diſcovered the fatal tendency of ſuch meaſures; and, out of your ſingular goodneſs to your people, removed from the adminiſtration of affairs, thoſe who had ſo ill anſwered the favourable opinion your Majeſty had conceived of them, and in ſo many inſtances groſly abuſed the great truſt repoſed in them. Your people could, with greater patience, have ſuffered the manifold injuries done to themſelves, by the frauds and depredations of ſuch evil Miniſters, had not the ſame men proceeded to treat your ſacred perſon with undutifulneſs and diſregard; but as the intereſts of your Majeſty and your People are inſeparable, and are, by your Majeſty and your good Subjects, inſeparably purſued, the wrong, which thoſe men had done to the publick, drew upon them your Royal diſpleaſure; and their irreverence towards your Majeſty juſtly expoſed them to the indignation of your people.'

This repreſentation was artfully ſpread through the nation, by which weaker minds were ſo poſſeſſed, that it was not eaſy to undeceive them, even by the fulleſt and cleareſt evidences; the Nation ſeemed ſtill infatuated beyond the power of conviction.

The Parliament is prorogued. On the 12th of *June* the Queen came to the Houſe of Peers, and, having given the Royal aſſent to ten publick and ſeven private bills, made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both Houſes. Pr. H. C. " IT is with great pleaſure I tell you, at the
" end of this Seſſion, that you have fully
" made good all the aſſurances you gave me at
" the beginning of it.

" This I look upon as a further pledge of my
" ſubjects duty and affection, which is the firm-
" eſt ſupport of my Throne.

" I thank you Gentlemen of the Houſe of
" Commons, in a particular manner for what
" you have done. You have complied with
" my deſire in granting a ſupply for building
" many new Churches, and you have not only
" inabled me to carry on the war, but have
" made effectual proviſion for paying thoſe
" heavy debts, which were almoſt grown an
" inſupportable burthen to the public; and this
" at a time, when our enemies every where plea-
" ſed themſelves with the hopes, that the ſup-
" plies for the ſervice of the current year could
" not have been found. You have diſappointed
" them in all reſpects; and by the great ſums
" you have raiſed, the greateſt ever granted to
" any Prince in one Seſſion, you have reſtored
" the public credit, which I will take care to
" preſerve by a frugal management.

" The world muſt now be ſatisfied, that
" nothing can be too difficult for a Parliament,
" filled with ſo much zeal for the true intereſt
" of the nation in Church and State.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The ſatisfaction I take in the power, with
" which God has intruſted me, is to employ it 1711.
" for the protection and good of all my people,
" whoſe proſperity I have as much at heart, as
" ever any of my predeceſſors had.

" You ſee the happy effects of a mutual con-
" fidence between me and my ſubjects. I ſhall
" look upon any attempt to leſſen it, as a ſtep
" towards diſſolving my Government.

" The temper you have ſhewn, will, I hope,
" convince thoſe, who have the misfortune to
" differ from our Church, that their Liberty is
" not in danger.

" It is needleſs for me to repeat the aſſu-
" rances of my earneſt concern for the Succeſ-
" ſion of the Houſe of *Hanover*, and of my
" fixed reſolution to ſupport and encourage the
" Church of *England*, as by law eſtabliſhed.

" You are now returning to your ſeveral
" countries; and I expect from you, that you
" will further recommend yourſelves to me,
" by ſtudying to promote the public peace and
" quiet."

At the cloſe of this ſpeech, Lord Keeper *Harcourt* prorogued the Parliament to the 10th of *July*. Thus ended this Seſſion, and all conſidering perſons had a melancholy proſpect, when they ſaw what might be apprehended from the two Seſſions, that were yet to come of the ſame Parliament. Burnet.

Proceedings of the Convocation. The Convocation was opened the 25th of *November*, the ſame day in which the Parliament met; and Dr. *Atterbury*, in preference to Dr. *Kennet*, was choſen Prolocutor by a great majority. The Queen ſent a letter to the Archbiſhop, dated *December* 12, in which ſhe ſignified her hopes, that the conſultations of the Clergy might be of uſe to repreſs the attempts of perſons of looſe and prophane principles, and prevent the like for the future: And promiſed ſhe would give them all fitting encouragement, to proceed in the diſpatch of ſuch buſineſs as properly belonged to them, and grant them ſuch powers as ſhould be thought requiſite for carrying on ſo good a work; confiding in them that her Royal intentions would not be fruſtrated, by unreaſonable diſputes about unneceſſary forms and methods of proceeding. Soon after the Queen ſent a licenſe by the Lord *Dartmouth*, under the Broad-Seal, to ſit and do buſineſs in as ample a manner as was ever granted ſince the Reformation. By this licenſe, the Queen impowered them to enter upon ſuch conſultations as the preſent ſtate of the Church required, and particularly to conſider of ſuch matters as ſhe ſhould lay before them, limiting them to a *Quorum*; that the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of *London*, or the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, ſhould be preſent, and agree to their reſolutions: With this licenſe, there was a letter directed to the Archbiſhop, in which the Convocation was ordered, to lay before the Queen an account of the late exceſſive growth of infidelity and hereſy among us; and to conſider how to redreſs abuſes in excommunications; how rural Deans might be made more effectual; how Terriers might be made and preſerved more exactly; and how the abuſes in licenſes for marriage might be corrected. Calamy. Burnet. *The Queen's licenſe to them.*

Exceptions to the licenſe. In this whole matter, neither the Archbiſhop nor any of the Biſhops were ſo much as conſulted with; and ſome things in the licenſe were new: The Archbiſhop was not named the Preſident

1711. ſident of the Convocation, as was uſual in former licenſes; and, in theſe, the Archbiſhop's preſence and conſent alone was made neceſſary, except in caſe of ſickneſs, and then the Archbiſhop had named ſome Biſhops to preſide, as his Commiſſaries: And, in that caſe, the Convocation was limited to his Commiſſaries, which ſtill lodged the preſidentſhip and the negative with the Archbiſhop: This was according to the primitive pattern, to limit the Clergy of a province to do nothing, without the conſent of the Metropolitan; but it was a thing new and unheard-of, to limit the Convocation to any of their own body, who had no deputation from the Archbiſhop. So a report of this being made, by a Committee that was appointed to ſearch the records, it was laid before the Queen: And ſhe ſent the Biſhops a meſſage to let them know, that ſhe did not intend that thoſe, whom ſhe had named to be of the *Quorum*, ſhould either preſide, or have a negative upon their deliberation, tho' the contrary was plainly inſinuated in the licenſe. The Archbiſhop was ſo ill of the gout, that after their firſt meetings he could come no more: So was alſo the Biſhop of *London*; upon which the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, ſeeing how invidiouſly he was diſtinguiſhed from his brethren, in which he had not been conſulted, pretended ill health, and the Convocation was at a ſtand, till a new licenſe was ſent them, in which the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Briſtol*, and *St. Davids*, were added to be of the *Quorum*. The two laſt were newly conſecrated, and had been in no functions in the Church before: So the Queen not only paſſed over all the Biſhops made in King *William*'s Reign, but a great many of thoſe named by herſelf, and ſet the two laſt in a diſtinction above all their brethren. All this was directed by *Atterbury*, who had the confidence of the chief Miniſter; and, becauſe the other Biſhops had maintained a good correſpondence with the former Miniſtry, it was thought fit to put marks of the Queen's diſtruſt upon them, that it might appear, with whom her Royal favour and truſt was lodged.

A repreſentation drawn for the Queen.

The Convocation entered on the conſideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen: And a Committee was appointed to draw a repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of the Church, and of Religion among us; but, after ſome heads were agreed on, *Atterbury* procured, that the drawing of this might be left to him: And he drew up a moſt virulent declamation, defaming all the Adminiſtration from the time of the Revolution: Into this he brought many impious principles and practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be publiſhed, if this ſhould be laid before the Queen. The Lower-Houſe agreed to his draught; but the Biſhops laid it aſide, and ordered another repreſentation to be drawn in more general and more modeſt terms. It was not ſettled, which of theſe draughts ſhould be made uſe of, or whether any repreſentation at all ſhould be made to the Queen: For it was known, that the deſign in aſking one was only to have an aſperſion caſt, both on the former Miniſtry and on the former Reign. Several proviſions were prepared, with relation to the other particulars in the Queen's letter: But none of theſe were agreed to by both Houſes (1). 1711.

Whiſton revives Arianiſm.

An incident happened, which diverted their thoughts to another matter. Mr. *Whiſton*, the Mathematical Profeſſor in *Cambridge*, a learned man, of a ſober and exemplary life, but much addicted to ſearch after Paradoxes, endeavoured to revive the *Arian Hereſy* *, though he pretended to differ from *Arius* in ſeveral particulars. He found his notions favoured by the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*; ſo he reckoned them a part, and the chief part of the Canon of the Scriptures. For theſe tenets he was cenſured at *Cambridge*, and expelled the Univerſity: Upon that he wrote a vindication of himſelf and his doctrine, and dedicated it to the Convocation, promiſing a larger work on theſe ſubjects. The unconteſted way of proceeding in ſuch a caſe was, that the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, in which he lived, ſhould cite him into his Court, in order to his conviction or cenſure, from whoſe ſentence an appeal lay to the Archbiſhop, and from him to the Crown: Or the Archbiſhop might proceed in the firſt inſtance in a Court of audience. But there were no clear precedents of any proceedings in Convocation, where the juriſdiction was conteſted, a reference made by the High-Commiſſion to the Convocation, where the party ſubmitted to do penance, being the only precedent that appeared in hiſtory, and even of this there was no record: So that, it not being thought a clear warrant for their proceeding, the Biſhops were at a ſtand. The act, that ſettled the courſe of appeals in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, made no mention of ſentences in Convocation; and yet, by the act in the firſt of Queen *Elizabeth*, that defined what ſhould be judged Hereſy, that judgment was declared to be in the Crown: By all this (which the Archbiſhop laid before the Biſhops in a letter, that he wrote to them on this occaſion) it ſeemed doubtful, whether the Convocation could, in the firſt inſtance, proceed againſt a man for Hereſy: And their proceedings, if they were not warranted by law, might involve them in a *Præmunire*. So the Upper-Houſe, in an addreſs, prayed the Queen to aſk the opinions of the Judges, and ſuch others as ſhe thought fit, concerning theſe doubts, that they might know how the law ſtood in this matter.

* See note III. 521.

Different opinions about the power of the Convocation.

Eight of the Judges, with the Attorney and Sollicitor-General (*Northey* and *Raymond*) gave their opinion, that the Convocation had a juriſdiction, and might proceed in ſuch a caſe; but brought no expreſs law or precedent to ſupport their opinion. They only obſerved, that the law-books ſpoke of the Convocation, as having juriſdiction; and they did not ſee that it was ever taken from them: They were alſo of opinion, that an appeal lay from the ſentence of Convocation to the Crown; but they reſerved to themſelves a power to change their mind, in caſe, upon an argument that might be made for a pro-

(1) During theſe proceedings died Dr. *Aldrich*, Dean of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*. He was a polite and learned Divine, and a warm Stickler for the Church and Hereditary Right. His zeal, in thoſe reſpects, had made him deſcend ſo low, as to apply himſelf to the contriving of the hieroglyphical figures of the *Oxford Almanack*, with alluſions in favour of *the Pretender*.

(1) Dr.

1711. a prohibition, they ſhould ſee cauſe for it. Four of the Judges were poſitively of a contrary opinion, and maintained it from the Statutes made at the Reformation. The Queen, having received theſe different opinions, ſent them to the Archbiſhop, to be laid before the two Houſes of Convocation; and, without taking any notice of the diverſity between them, ſhe wrote that, there being now no doubt to be made of their juriſdiction, ſhe did expect that they ſhould proceed in the matter before them. In this it was viſible, that they, who adviſed the Queen to write that letter, conſidered more their own humour, than her honour. However, two doubts ſtill remained, even ſuppoſing the Convocation had a juriſdiction: The firſt was, Of whom the Court was to be compoſed, whether only of the Biſhops, or what ſhare the Lower-Houſe had in this judiciary authority: The other was, By what Delegates, in caſe of an appeal, their ſentence was to be examined: Were no Biſhops to be in the Court of Delegates? Or was the ſentence of the Archbiſhop and his twenty-one Suffragan Biſhops, with the Clergy of the Province, to be judged by the Archbiſhop of *York* and his three Suffragan Biſhops? Theſe difficulties appearing to be ſo great, the Biſhops reſolved to begin with that, in which they had, by the Queen's licenſe, an undiſputable authority; which was to examine and cenſure the book, and to ſee if his doctrine was not contrary to the Scriptures, and the firſt four general Councils, which is the meaſure ſet by law, to judge Hereſy. They drew out ſome propoſitions from his book, which ſeemed plainly to be the reviving of *Arianiſm*; and cenſured them as ſuch. Theſe they ſent down to the Lower-Houſe, who, though they excepted to one propoſition, yet cenſured the reſt in the ſame manner. This the Archbiſhop (being ſtill diſabled by the gout) ſent by one of the Biſhops to the Queen for her aſſent, who promiſed to conſider of it: But ſhe did not ſend an anſwer till the Convocation came to an end; neither, at their next meeting the winter following, did any anſwer come from her, and therefore, two Biſhops being ſent to aſk it, ſhe could not tell what was become of the Archbiſhop's paper; ſo a new extract of the cenſure was again ſent to her; but ſhe did not think fit to ſend any anſwer, and *Whiſton*'s affair remained undecided, though he publiſhed a large work in four Volumes Octavo, juſtifying his doctrine, and maintaining the Canonicalneſs of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, preferring their authority not only to the *Epiſtles*, but even to the *Goſpels*. But, in this laſt point, he has made no Proſelytes, though he has uſed his utmoſt efforts to ſupport it.

The Lower-Houſe would not enter into the conſideration of the repreſentation, ſent down to them by the Biſhops; ſo none was agreed on, 1711. to be preſented to the Queen: But both were printed, and ſevere reflections were made, in ſeveral tracts, on that which was drawn by the Lower-Houſe, or rather by *Atterbury*. The Biſhops went through all the matters, recommended to them by the Queen; and drew up a ſcheme of regulations on them all: But neither were theſe agreed to, by the Lower-Houſe; for their ſpirits were ſo exaſperated, that nothing ſent by the Biſhops could be agreeable to them.

A bill for fifty new Churches. Pr. H. C.

The pariſh of *Greenwich* having petitioned the Houſe of Commons for aſſiſtance in rebuilding their Church, a Committee was appointed to examine the petition, and an inſtruction was given them to conſider what Churches were wanting within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. Upon this, the Lower-Houſe of Convocation ſent a ſolemn meſſage by their Prolocutor to the Commons, to thank them for this inſtance of their regard to the welfare of the Eſtabliſhed Church, and to offer ſuch lights, as they were able to afford in relation to the extreme want of Churches in *London* and *Weſtminſter*. The Commons immediately reſolved, That they would receive all ſuch informations, as ſhould be offered in this caſe, by the Lower-Houſe of Convocation; and would have a particular regard to ſuch applications, as ſhould at any time be made to them from the Clergy in Convocation aſſembled, according to the antient uſage, together with the Parliament. Purſuant to this reſolution, quickened by a recommendation from the Queen (who had been addreſſed by the Convocation) they paſſed a bill for the building fifty new Churches, and gave the duty of one ſhilling a chaldron upon coals, from *September* 29, 1716, to *September* 29, 1719, for raiſing the ſum of three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe. This duty had been reſerved for building *St. Paul*'s, which was now finiſhed. This was the leaſt that could be expected from a Houſe of Commons, choſen, in great meaſure, by the zeal and influence of the Clergy, eſpecially, as it was apparent, that, in the Suburbs of *London*, there were above two hundred thouſand people more than could poſſibly reſort to the Churches already built. Soon after this, the Seſſion of Parliament and Convocation both came to an end.

The Duke of Marlborough goes to Holland. Hiſt. of Eur.

The Duke of *Marlborough* being continued in the command of the *Britiſh* forces in *Flanders* inclined many to hope, that a reconciliation was effected between him and the new Miniſtry. But this was ſo far from being the caſe, that there was no longer any confidence between him and thoſe that managed affairs at Court; and conſequently little was to be expected from the continuation of the war, when the chief Conductor of it was in ſo uneaſy a ſituation (1). Howe-

(1) Dr. *Hare*, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s Attendant-Chaplain, then in *Flanders*, and who was in his ſecrets, deſcribes the Duke's ſituation in the following manner:

'That little more harmony was to be expected between two rivals in power, than between a falling and a riſing Favourite. Some perſons, *ſays he*, would ſtill pretend to put a good face upon the matter, and do not queſtion, from the Duke of *Marlborough*'s paſt ſucceſſes, that he will yet frighten our enemies into an honourable peace. But, I am afraid, he is not likely to do ſo much at this time, when the enemy are encouraged to take heart afreſh; the Allies are full of jealouſies and fears, and himſelf extremely mortified. Things are not the ſame, any more than the uſage he meets with. When he is uneaſy in his thoughts, undermined in the favour of his Sovereign, and vilely miſrepreſented to the people; when his want of intereſt at home makes it impoſſible for the Allies to depend upon the hopes he gives them; when he is without authority in the army, where it is made criminal to eſpouſe his intereſt; and to fly in his face is the ſureſt means

1711. However, to carry matters on the more ſmoothly, the Queen wrote a kind letter to the *States* about the Duke, whoſe conduct ſhe declared herſelf to be intirely ſatisfied with; and aſſured them, that, according to their deſires, ſhe would order the Duke forthwith to go over to *Holland*. Accordingly, on the 18th of *February*, he ſet out from *St. James's*, with a poſitive aſſurance, that the payment of the troops under his command would be as effectually taken care of by the new Miniſters, as it had been by the old; and, imbarking at *Harwich* the next day, arrived at the *Hague* on the 4th of *March*, *N. S.* to the great ſatisfaction of the *States*.

While all things were preparing on both ſides for the opening of the campaign, many conſultations were held on ſeveral weighty affairs, particularly in relation to the aſſembling a body of troops, to preſerve the neutrality of the Empire, which was in imminent danger of being broke by the King of *Sweden*'s refuſing to come into the meaſures already agreed on for that purpoſe. After ſeveral Conferences it was reſolved, that her *Britannic* Majeſty and the *States-General* ſhould employ in that ſervice the eight *Palatine* battalions in their pay, and provide the other four, that would be ſtill wanting to compleat their quota's, where they might beſt be ſpared, without affecting the common cauſe.

Unexpected demands of Pruſſia.

There was, at this juncture, another affair of no ſmall conſequence in agitation at the *Hague*. For when the Allies expected to hear, that the King of *Pruſſia*'s troops were on their march into the field, that Prince's Miniſters declared, that, unleſs their Maſter had full ſatisfaction given him, as to the Arrears due to his forces, and the Succeſſion of the late King *William*, as Prince of *Orange*, his troops ſhould not march out of their winter-quarters. The Allies were ſomewhat ſurprized at this unexpected declaration; but, the Deputies of the *States* having had ſeveral Conferences with the *Pruſſian* Miniſters, an agreement was concluded, containing in ſubſtance, "That the Arrears ſhould be paid in four "months time: That, notwithſtanding the "Houſe of *Dieren* had been adjudged, by "ſentence of a Court of Judicature, to the "Houſe of *Naſſau*, the *States* conſented, that "his *Pruſſian* Majeſty ſhould continue to make "uſe of it: And that the Council, who had "adminiſtered the revenue of the Succeſſion of "*Orange*, ſince the death of the late King, "ſhould be obliged ſpeedily to give an account "of the ſame." As ſoon as the Deputies had made this Declaration, the King of *Pruſſia* approved of the agreement, and his troops began their march for the *Netherlands*.

The Duke of Marlborough takes the field.

The Duke of *Marlborough* expected with great impatience the arrival of Prince *Eugene*, who was for ſome time detained at *Vienna* by the coming of a *Turkiſh* Aga, with a particular Commiſſion from the *Ottoman Port*, to remove any jealouſy, that might be entertained at the Imperial Court, from the warlike preparations, which the *Turks* were making at this time againſt *Muſcovy* and *Poland*. In the mean while the Duke was daily in Conference with the Deputies of the *States*, to concert the operations of the war; and, it being thought of the utmoſt importance to be in the field before the enemy, it was reſolved, to cauſe detachments from all the garriſons to canton along the *Scarpe*, and between that river and the canal of *Doway*, whereby a great body might in a few hours be formed, and ready to march; which, with great diligence and ſecrecy, was put in execution, under the direction of Lieutenant-General *Cadagon*. 1711.

On the other hand, the *French* forces beginning about the middle of *April* to aſſemble near *Cambray* and *Arras*, the Duke ſet out from the *Hague*, and arrived in three days at *Tournay*, near which place the troops were incamped in ſeveral bodies. At a Council of war, it was reſolved, that thoſe troops ſhould join, and form the army; which was done at *Orchies* between *Liſle* and *Doway*. The next day the Duke of *Marlborough* paſſed the *Scarpe*, and incamped between *Doway* and *Bouchain*, and found, that the enemy had aſſembled a numerous army behind the *Sanſet* in a moſt advantageous poſt, which was judged inacceſſible. Nothing material happened till the 9th of *May*, when three thouſand *French*, detached from *Valenciennes* and *Condé*, attacked a convoy of forty-five boats, laden with hay and oats, which ſet out for *Tournay* under a guard of two battalions commanded by Brigadier *Chambrier*. But, the garriſon of *St. Amand* advancing to the aſſiſtance of the guard, the enemy retired, having firſt ſet on fire twelve of the boats, with the loſs of about an hundred men killed and wounded; and the Allies loſt about the ſame number.

Some boats deſtroyed by the French.

The Duke of *Marlborough* continued in his camp, where he expected the reſt of the troops, which were to form his army, and the arrival of Prince *Eugene*. That Prince was obliged to ſtay ſome days at *Francfort*, to concert with the Elector of *Mentz* the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of the Empire, upon the unexpected death of the Emperor *Joſeph*; after which he proceeded to the Court of the Elector *Palatine*, to regulate ſeveral matters with that Prince, who, as one of the Vicars of the Empire, was to have the chief adminiſtration thereof during the *Interregnum*. By this means Prince *Eugene* did not join the grand army till the 23d of *May*. The Duke and Prince were reſolved to continue in their camp as long as poſſible, in hopes that the ſcarcity of forage would oblige the enemy to decamp; for, after the ſeveral attempts, that were made at the poſt of *Arleux*, which was taken and retaken, there was no likelihood to force their lines.

In the mean time the *French* hoping, that the Elector of *Bavaria* had many friends in the Empire, who would declare for him; and believing, that the *Germans*, being deprived of their General in chief, would hearken to a neutrality, if that Elector appeared in *Germany* at the head of a powerful army; reſolved to ſend

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means to advancement; when it is meritorious in his Officers to cabal againſt him; and the moſt factious will be thought the moſt deſerving; With what heart can a man in theſe circumſtances ſerve? Or, what ſucceſs can be expected from him, when he is made to depend upon profeſſed enemies for his ſupport? It is little, I think, we can hope for even from him hereafter, though that little be more than any body elſe could do.'

1711. him thither; and, to that end, re-inforced their army on the *Rhine* from their garriſons on the *Maeſe* and *Moſelle*, and likewiſe from their army in the *Netherlands*. For *Villars* thought his lines ſo ſecure and impenetrable, that he boaſted, they were the *Ne plus ultra* of the Duke of *Marlborough*. Theſe lines began at *Bouchain* on the *Scheld*, and were continued along the *Sanſet* and the *Scarpe* to *Arras*, and from thence along the *Upper Scarpe* and the river *Ugy* to the *Canche*, the opening between thoſe rivers being intrenched and fortified with all poſſible care by a large ditch, defended with redoubts and other works.

Prince Eugene *marches to the* Rhine.

The preparations of the enemy alarming the Empire, Prince *Eugene* received poſitive orders from *Vienna* to march with the Imperial and *Palatine* troops to the *Upper Rhine* for ſecuring *Germany*. Upon this the two armies decamped, the 14th of *June*, and repaſſed the *Scarpe*, Prince *Eugene* taking his way towards *Tournay*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* marching towards the plains of *Lens* in ſight of the *French*, who did not offer to inſult his rear. The Duke continued there till the 20th of *July*, when he advanced towards *Aire*, to make the enemy believe, that he deſigned to beſiege *St. Omer*, or attack their lines on that ſide. This obliged *Villars* to re-inforce the garriſon of that place, and to draw all his troops to defend his lines between the *Scarpe* and the *Canche*, which both armies believed the Duke deſigned to attack, becauſe of the preparations he had made. The Duke, upon a view of the enemy's lines, finding it would be too hazardous to endeavour to force them, reſolved upon a ſtratagem. To make the enemy believe, he really intended to attack them, he ordered twelve hundred men out, to make roads and bridges in the front, and advanced, with the whole army, to *Rebreuve*, and from thence to *Villars-Brulin*, within two leagues of the lines. Here he ſet all his troops to work, in making faſcines, and gave out, that he intended to attack the lines the next morning. *Villars* was ſo fully perſuaded of it, that he ſent orders to a ſtrong detachment, commanded by Count *d'Eſtain*, which had been ſent upon a ſecret expedition, to halt at *Perenne*, and to the garriſons of *Ypres* and *St. Omer*, to join his army, which he drew together behind the lines. The Duke, to amuſe the enemy more effectually, went, the 4th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* by break of day, with ſeveral of the General Officers and two thouſand horſe, to take a nearer view of the ſituation of the enemy's camp; but his real deſign, when he advanced from *Coté* near *Aire*, was to endeavour to get within the enemy's lines, by attempting the paſſage of the *Sanſet* by *Arleux*, which he believed was unguarded, as indeed it happened to be. To this end he ordered *Cadogan* and *Hompeſch* to repair, with all expedition, to *Doway*, and aſſemble ſome troops that were left there on purpoſe, which, with a detachment of that, and the neighbouring garriſons of *Liſle* and *St. Amand*, made a body of three and twenty battalions and ſeventeen ſquadrons. Their farther orders were to march directly with their troops to *Arleux*, and endeavour to paſs the *Sanſet*, while the Duke himſelf would advance with the whole army to ſupport them. And, that nothing might retard this extraordinary march, Brigadier *Sutton* was ſent beforehand with the artillery and pontons to make bridges over the *Scarpe* near *Vitry*, and over the canal of *Arleux* near *Goulezin*. 1711.

The Duke of Marlborough *ſurpriſes the* French *lines.*

Theſe things were managed ſo privately, and the feint carried on ſo well, that the Confederate Generals themſelves thought of nothing but attacking the lines the next morning. Theſe amuſements had ſo good an effect upon *Villars*, that he kept his troops under arms night and day, and re-inforced them with all the ſtrength he could poſſibly draw together, on that ſide, not leaving any number of troops in the poſts he had upon the *Sanſet*.

The Confederate army, in the mean time, were expecting orders to march, which were not given till ſix in the evening. The march was to begin between eight and nine, as ſoon as it was dark enough to ſtrike their tents, without being ſeen by the enemy; but, whether the march was to be to the right or left, was not known. They were only told, that the ſeveral columns, which the army was to march in, ſhould find an Officer at the head of each, at ſuch an hour, who ſhould lead them the way they were to take, when the time came. About nine the whole army, to their great ſurprize, were ordered to march by the left, in four columns, without beat of drum; and the Duke himſelf, with the horſe of the left wing, led the van, and advanced with ſuch extraordinary expedition, that, the next morning by five, he paſſed the *Scarpe* at *Vitry*. Here he received advice, that *Hompeſch* had paſſed the *Sanſet* without oppoſition, and taken poſſeſſion of the paſſes on that river, and on the *Scheld* at *Oiſy*, the *French*, having, ſome time before, withdrawn the detachments they had on that ſide. The Duke, upon this, haſtened his march, leſt the enemy ſhould get there before him; and at the ſame time diſpatched orders to the grand army, to purſue their march with the utmoſt diligence. The Duke, with his van-guard of fifty ſquadrons, having paſſed the *Scarpe*, haſtened towards *Arleux* and *Bacà Bacheul*, where he arrived before eight of the clock, and the heads of the columns joined him there about ten, having marched above ten leagues without halting, a thing ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory.

Villars, though he had notice of this unexpected march of the Confederate army about eleven at night, was ſo poſſeſſed with the belief that the deſign was to attack his lines near *Aveſnes le Compte*, that he waited till two the next morning for certain intelligence. Then he decamped with his whole army, and, putting himſelf at the head of the King's houſhold, marched all night with ſuch diligence, that he appeared with the head of his line about eleven o'clock, ſoon after the Duke of *Marlborough* had joined Count *Hompeſch*, and paſſed with twenty ſquadrons through the defile of *Marquion*. But, when he ſaw the Duke was advancing with his horſe to attack him, he retreated to the main body of his army, which was, by that time, advanced to the high road between *Arras* and *Cambray*. Mean while the Allies advanced with all poſſible diligence, and, having all paſſed, the army incamped upon the *Scheld* between *Oiſy* and *Eſtrun*.

Thus the Confederate army entered the *French* lines, which they had ſo vainly boaſted to be impenetrable; the boldeſt attempt, that had been made during the whole war: And the honour

1711. honour of it was the greater to the Duke of *Marlborough*, as his army was not only weakened by the detachment, which Prince *Eugene* had carried to the *Rhine*, but by the calling over five thouſand of the beſt troops in his army for an expedition deſigned by ſea; ſo that the enemy were ſuperior to him in number. This raiſed his character beyond all that he had done formerly; the deſign was ſo well laid, and ſo happily executed, that, in all men's opinions, it paſſed for a maſter-piece of military ſkill, the honour of it falling intirely on the Duke of *Marlborough*, no other perſons having any ſhare, except in the execution.

The next day, *Auguſt* 6, whilſt the Allies expected the enemy lying upon their arms, advice was brought to the Duke of *Marlborough*, that they were in motion towards the *Scheld*, in order to paſs it at *Crevecoeur*, and incamp between *Cambray* and *Bouchain*, to prevent the ſiege of the latter. The Duke detached forty ſquadrons, with orders to fall upon their rear; but they found it impracticable, by reaſon of the moraſs that was between them: And, a Council of war being called, the Field-deputies of the *States-General* propoſed to purſue the enemy, and hazard a battle, ſince this ſurprize had put them in no ſmall diſorder. The Duke of *Marlborough* was of a different opinion. He thought the attempt might be too hazardous: The army was much fatigued with ſo long a march, in which the cavalry had been eight and forty hours on horſeback, alighting only twice, about an hour each time, to feed their horſes. The *French* were freſh, having had a much nearer march within their lines, than the Confederates round them; and the Allies were not in a condition for action, till ſome time were allowed for refreſhment. Beſides, the Duke foreſaw, in caſe of a misfortune, their being within the enemy's lines might be fatal.

The Duke having diſapproved of the propoſal made by the Deputies, it was expected he ſhould make another. Accordingly he propoſed the beſieging of *Bouchain*, which he thought would oblige the *French* to endeavour to raiſe the ſiege: and that might give occaſion to their engaging on more equal terms; or it would bring both a diſreputation and a diſcouragement on their army, if a place of ſuch importance ſhould be taken in their ſight. But both the *Dutch* Deputies and the General Officers thought the enterprize too bold, yet they ſubmitted to his judgment. It ſeemed impracticable to take a place ſituated in a moraſs well fortified, with a good garriſon in it, in ſight of a ſuperior army; for the *French* lay within a mile of them. There was alſo great danger from the excurſions, which the garriſons of *Valenciennes* and *Condé* might make, to cut off their proviſions, which were to come from *Tournay*. All about the Duke endeavoured to divert him from ſo dangerous an undertaking, ſince a misfortune in his conduct would have furniſhed his enemies with the advantages they waited for. All this he was ſenſible of; but he had laid the ſcheme ſo well, that he reſolved to venture on it. But, before this reſolution was executed, the Duke diſpatched Brigadier *Sutton* to *England* with the news, that he had without the loſs of a man entered thoſe lines, which had coſt the enemy ſo much time and labour to fortify, and of the ſtrength of which they had ſo much boaſted. The Field-deputies ſent alſo an account of that affair to the *States-General*. The news was received in *Holland* with an univerſal joy, and no encomiums were too great for the conductor of the great deſign; but the ſatisfaction was not ſo general in *England*. When *Sutton* arrived at *Whitehall*, with an account of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s paſſing the *French* lines, it gave his friends indeed the greater joy, becauſe his enemies had given out, that nothing would be done this year in *Flanders*, becauſe, as they pretended, he was reſolved no affair ſhould ſucceed under the preſent Adminiſtration, if he could help it. But, his enemies, being diſappointed, endeavoured to leſſen the glory of the action, pretending, he had only removed his army from a plentiful to a ſtarving camp. But this malicious ſuggeſtion was ſoon confuted, as well by the ſequel of his ſucceſs, as by the applauſe, all *Europe* gave to his conduct; while *Villars* was openly reflected on, both in his own army and at *Paris*. 1711.

The ſiege of Bouchain.

Purſuant to the reſolution taken in the Council of war, the ſiege of *Bouchain* was undertaken, the difficulty of which may be judged from the ſituation of the place. *Bouchain* is a fortified Town, ſtanding at the confluence of the *Sanſet* and the *Selle* into the *Scheld*. The *Sanſet* parts the *Upper Town* from the *Lower*, forms an inundation between that and the *Selle*, and fills the ditches which ſurround the works between the Upper and Lower Towns. The *Selle* divides the Lower Town in two parts, and, between the Lower Town and the *Scheld*, is a horn-work which covers two ſeparate baſtions, and which is cut in two by a ditch ſupplied by the *Scheld*. Notwithſtanding theſe, and ſeveral other difficulties, the place was inveſted the 10th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* by thirty-battalions, and twelve ſquadrons, commanded by General *Fagel*. Marſhal *Villars* tried to throw more men into the town by a narrow cauſeway (called the *Cow-path*) thro' the moraſs; but the Duke of *Marlborough* took his meaſures ſo well, that he was guarded againſt every thing, and drove the *French* from that advantageous poſt. He ſaw what the event of this ſiege might be; and therefore beſtirred himſelf with unuſual application, and was more fatigued in the courſe of this ſiege, than he had been at any time during the whole war. The trenches were vigorouſly carried on, and by the batteries and bombs the town was ſoon laid in ruins. *Villars* did all he could to raiſe the ſiege, but to no purpoſe. When he ſaw that could not be done, he endeavoured to ſurpriſe *Doway*. To that end, he ſent a detachment of ten thouſand men under *Albergotti* (the late Governor of *Doway*) and thought fit to be there himſelf in perſon. They marched the 7th of *September* in the evening; and, about one in the morning, they were diſcovered by a patrole of the Confederate horſe, who ſent intelligence of it to Count *Hompeſch*; ſo that orders were immediately given to the Officers in the out-poſts to be upon their guard: But, in the mean time, the enemy advanced towards the gate of *St. Eloy*, where they deſigned to ſcale the wall; and ſeveral of their boats, filled with ſoldiers, paſſed over the inundation to favour the attempt, and came ſo near the works, that, being challenged by the Centinels, they anſwered, *They were the Governor's fiſhermen*; which the garriſon miſtruſting, and, at the ſame time,

1711. time, hearing ſome firing from the out-poſts, they fired likewiſe upon the boats: So that the enemy, finding themſelves diſcovered, retired immediately. Thoſe in the inundation left their boats behind, and made what haſte they could to join their main body, which marched back, and repaſſed the *Sanſet*, with great precipitation, having loſt a conſiderable number of their men by deſertion.

The town ſurrenders. *Villars* having failed in all his attempts to relieve *Bouchain*, the garriſon, after twenty days from the opening of the trenches, capitulated, and could obtain no better terms, than to be made priſoners of war. The garriſon, conſiſting at firſt of ſix thouſand men, was reduced to leſs than three thouſand. The Governor pretended, he was in a condition to have defended himſelf ſome days longer; but the ſoldiers, finding *Villars* did not attempt to relieve the place, obliged him to capitulate.

The ſucceſs of this memorable ſiege, ſo difficult in all its circumſtances, improved the bravery and reſolution of the Confederate troops; ſo that they never expreſſed ſo much eagerneſs for coming to a fair engagement with the enemy. The Duke's ſtratagem in paſſing the lines without the loſs of a man; the cutting off the communication of the enemy with *Bouchain*; the manner of the Duke's inveſting the town with an inferior army; his caſting up lines, making regular forts, raiſing batteries, laying bridges over a river, making a moraſs paſſable, and providing for the ſecurity of his convoys, againſt a ſuperior army on the one ſide, and the numerous garriſons of *Condé* and *Valenciennes* on the other, were enterprizes that ſhewed the great military ſkill of the Undertaker. As this was reckoned the moſt extraordinary thing in the whole hiſtory of the war, ſo the honour of it was acknowledged to belong entirely to the Duke of *Marlborough*; as the blame of a miſcarriage in it muſt have fallen ſingly on him (1). *Villars*'s conduct on this occaſion was much cenſured, but by means of Madam *Maintenon* (whoſe favourite *Villars* was) it was approved by the King of *France*.

Whilſt the works and breaches of *Bouchain* were repairing, the Duke of *Marlborough* ſent the Earl of *Albemarle* to the *Hague*, to regulate the operations for the remaining part of the campaign with the *States*; and as he judged, the enemy might be troubleſome in the winter, to the conquered places near them, without the reduction of *Queſnoy*, to obtain their concurrence for the ſiege of that place. But the *States*, conſidering how far the ſeaſon was ſpent, and the difficulties, which muſt attend ſuch an enterprize in the ſight of the enemy's army, eſpecially in a country, where they had deſtroyed all the forage, they rejected the propoſal. They agreed however, that moſt of their troops ſhould be quartered in the frontier-towns, not only, that they might be ready to take the field early in the ſpring, but alſo to hinder the enemy from making any new lines during the winter, and oblige them, at the ſame time, to continue their troops upon their frontiers, where they would find it very difficult to ſubſiſt them. The Duke, who had been acquainted with the negotiations, that were carrying on in *England*, by Monſieur *Meſnager* from the *French* court, and the propoſals he had given in to the Miniſtry from his Maſter, could not but perceive, that the *States* had this alſo for an inducement, to make no more ſieges during the remainder of the campaign, in order to ſpare their troops till they ſaw what would be the reſult of the negotiations; though they did not think fit to inſert it among their other arguments for putting an end to it. The Duke therefore ſet the forces at work to level the approaches, fill up the breaches, and put the town of *Bouchain* into a poſture of defence; which was not finiſhed till about three weeks after its ſurrender, through the badneſs of the weather, which very much incommoded both the *French* and the Allies, who continued incamped to ſee each other drawn off to their winter quarters. As ſoon as *Bouchain* was put in a good poſture of defence, both the armies began to ſeparate, having already greatly ſuffered by the continual rains, and the ſcarcity of forage.

1711.

This was the laſt ſervice which the Duke of *Marlborough* ever performed in the field. The Allies were now in poſſeſſion of the *Maeſe* almoſt to the inlet of the *Sambre*, and the *Scheld* beyond *Tournay*, and of the *Lys* ſo far as it is navigable. And beſides the conqueſts of *Bavaria*, *Cologne*, and other countries in *Germany*, they had alſo reduced ſo much of *Guelderland*, as had formerly been left to *Spain* by the treaty of *Munſter*; and likewiſe *Limburg*, *Brabant*, *Mechlin*, *Flanders*; two thirds of *Hainault*, with their ſtrong-holds, the conqueſt of which was thought almoſt impracticable. By the taking of *Bouchain*, and the progreſs of the Confederate army on the *Scarpe* and the *Lys*, they were become maſters of two rivers, which, by the means of the *Deule*, and its Canal, had been ſerviceable to the *French* for many years in their continual invaſions of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, of which they were now altogether deprived. All theſe important conqueſts the Allies had made during the courſe of this war under the conduct of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who having given the neceſſary orders for ſecuring the navigation of the *Scarpe* to *Doway*, and covering the workmen employed in fortifying ſeveral poſts on that river, and on the *Scheld*, left the army on the 27th of *October*, and, after ſome ſtay at the *Hague*, landed in *England* on the 17th of *November*, *O. S.*

As the affair of *Spain* had been ſo much preſſed from the throne, and ſo much inſiſted on all the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and as the Commons had given, 1,500,000. for that ſervice, (a ſum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceeding ſeſſion) it was expected matters would have been carried there in another manner than formerly. The Duke of *Argyle* having been recalled from the ſervice in *Flanders* (where he

After Spain. Burnet M.S.

(1) As *Villars* was lampooned in *France* about his *Ne plus ultra*, and for ſuffering *Bouchain* to be taken in his ſight: So, on the contrary, the Duke of *Marlborough* was libelled in *England* by ſome mercenary pens for his ſucceſſes. *Bouchain* was called a *Dove-Houſe*, to leſſen the glory of taking it, and the paſſage of the *French* lines was repreſented as a Militia-Company's croſſing a kennel.

he had acted in conſtant oppoſition to the Duke of *Marlborough*) was appointed to command the *Engliſh* forces in *Spain*, and great hopes were entertained, that, by his courage, activity, and conduct, the face of affairs there would be changed for the better: But all theſe hopes failed. After the ſurrender at *Brihuega*, there were, as hath been related, but three *Engliſh* regiments left, *Lepel*'s dragoons, with *Richards*'s and *Du Bourgay*'s regiment of foot, and theſe had almoſt been deſtroyed at the battle of *Villa Vicioſa*. However, they were in great meaſure compleated again by the dragoons and foot that made their eſcape from their confinement. But there was no money to ſubſiſt them; and if the *Catalans*, in whoſe towns they were quartered, had not been ſo humane as they were, they muſt have been ſtarved. There had been no remittances from *England* in above ſix months, till the beginning of *February*, when the Pay-maſter received bills for thirty-two thouſand pounds only, though the eſtabliſhment in *Spain* amounted yearly to one million, one hundred thouſand pounds and upwards. As this ſmall ſum bore no proportion to what ſubſiſtance was due, ſo it did not ſuffice to give any relief to thoſe who were in want, and therefore they muſt have periſhed, had it not been for the good nature of the people of *Catalonia*.

During the winter, General *Stanhope* had been endeavouring to get an exchange of priſoners; but the Court of *Madrid* was ſo averſe to it, and ſo unwilling the *Engliſh* ſhould obtain their liberty while the war continued, that, inſtead of agreeing to it, *Stanhope* was removed from the City of *Valladolid* to a poor fiſher-town in *Aſturia*, and afterwards to *Pan*, the Capital of *Bearn* in *France*, where he continued till all the priſoners on both ſides were releaſed.

Sir *John Norris* came with the fleet in the beginning of *March* from *Port-Mahon* to *Barcelona*, and a great Council of war was held at the palace, in King *Charles*'s preſence, about the ſituation of affairs, and the operations of the next campaign. Soon after, Major-General *Whetham* arrived at *Barcelona*, and ſuperſeded *Lepel* in the command of the forces. He was followed by a few regiments of foot from *Ireland*, and two from *Gibraltar*, that were re-implaced by ſome that came from that Kingdom.

The Duke of *Argyle* was expected with great impatience, by whoſe preſence it was hoped (ſays our Author*) all our wants, which were very great, would be ſupplied: For no money had been returned, except the inconſiderable ſum before-mentioned. Some bills indeed were drawn by a Banker of *London* upon our *Engliſh* Merchants, but theſe were proteſted. The Duke of *Argyle* (who, in his way to *Spain*, came, the 4th of *April*, to the *Hague*, and went on his journey without viſiting the Duke of *Marlborough*) ſtaid ſome time at *Genoa*, expecting the remittances he was promiſed before he left *England*, but none came, which made him very uneaſy. However, he came away with two men of war, and landed at *Barcelona* the 29th of *May*, and had his firſt audience of King *Charles* as Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary the next day. The Duke employed all his time in putting the *Britiſh* troops into the beſt condition he could; but ſtill no remittances came. The enemy had marched out of their quarters ſome time before, and were advancing towards the *Urgel*; ſo it was thought high time for our army to be in motion, to oppoſe their progreſs. As no money came, the Duke was obliged to borrow ten thouſand pounds on his own credit, which was but of little ſervice. 1711

Vendoſme's army was in ſo ill a condition, that *Staremberg*, if he had been ſupported, promiſed himſelf great advantages. He marched towards the enemy with the *Spaniards* and the *Germans*, and the Duke of *Argyle* with the *Engliſh*. The conſiderable paſs of *Prato del Rey* was the ſcene of action this campaign; it was regularly and warmly attacked by the Duke of *Vendoſme*, and as vigorouſly defended by our Generals. At laſt, the enemy was obliged to retire, and leave us in poſſeſſion of the paſs. The Duke of *Argyle* was ſoon after ſeized with a violent fever, and obliged to return to *Barcelona*, where it was a long time before he was perfectly recovered. In the beginning of *June*, Sir *John Jennings*, with a fleet, arrived before *Barcelona*, and ſuperſeded Sir *John Norris*, who ſailed back to *England*.

The Duke of *Vendoſme* ordered the caſtles of *Venaſque*, *Arens*, and *Cardona* to be inveſted, but without ſucceſs. The ſiege of *Cardona* was obſtinately perſiſted in. This caſtle ſtands upon a high hill near the mountains. The garriſon being ſoon reduced to great extremities, *Staremberg* ordered a convoy of proviſions to be got ready, and five hundred grenadiers, ſupported by ſome regiments, to ſee it ſafe into the caſtle. The command of the grenadiers fell upon Colonel *Edward Stanhope*, who attacked part of a *French* Brigade that was poſted in the way to the gate of the caſtle, and, having routed them, ſaw all the proviſions delivered into the place. After which, the Colonel drew his grenadiers upon a riſing ground on the ſide of the caſtle, to refreſh them, and going too near the eminence, under which the enemy had retired, a ſoldier ſhot him through the body, of which wound he ſoon after died (1). By the help of this convoy, the garriſon held out till the end of *December*, when *Staremberg* ſent ſome bodies to raiſe the ſiege, who ſucceeded ſo well in their attempt, that they killed two thouſand of the Beſiegers, and forced their camp; ſo that they not only raiſed the ſiege, but made themſelves maſters of the enemy's artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and the Duke of *Vendoſme*'s army was ſo diminiſhed, that, if *Staremberg* had received the aſſiſtance, which he expected from *England*, he would have penetrated far into *Spain*. But nothing was done, after all the zeal expreſſed by the Parliament and Miniſtry, for retrieving matters on that ſide. The Duke of *Argyle* wrote over heavy complaints that he was not ſupported, by the failing of the remittances he had expected.

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(1) The famous town of *Manciſſa*, to which he was carried before he expired, out of reſpect to his name, ſuffered his body to be interred in the Hoſpital burying-ground, a favour allowed to no other Proteſtant Officer during the ſeven years our Author was in *Spain*. M. S.

1711. expected. Notwithſtanding theſe complaints, when he afterwards came over, he was very ſilent, and ſeemed in a good underſtanding with the Miniſters.

The election of King Charles *to be Emperor.* Burnet.

The Emperor's death, as it immediately opened to King *Charles* the Succeſſion to the hereditary Dominions, ſo a diſpoſition appeared unanimouſly, among all the Electors, to chuſe him Emperor. However, he ſtaid in *Barcelona* till *September*, and then leaving his Queen there, to ſupport his affairs in *Spain*, he ſailed over to *Italy*. He ſtaid ſome weeks at *Milan*, where the Duke of *Savoy* came to him; and it was ſaid, that all matters in debate were adjuſted between them. It was hoped, this campaign would have produced ſomething in thoſe parts advantageous to the common cauſe, upon the agreement made before the Emperor *Joſeph*'s death, who, a few days before he was taken ill, granted to the Duke of *Savoy* the poſſeſſion of the fiefs in *Montferrat*. And Mr. *St. John*, when he moved in the Houſe of Commons for the Subſidies to the Duke of *Savoy*, ſaid, all our hopes of ſucceſs this year lay in that quarter, for in *Flanders* we could do nothing. The Duke indeed took the field, forced his way into *Savoy*, and penetrated as far as the *Rhine*; but, upon what views it was not then known, he ſtopped his courſe, and, after a ſhort campaign, repaſſed the mountains.

The election of the Emperor came on at *Francfort*, where ſome Electors came in perſon, others ſent their Deputies; ſome weeks were ſpent in preparing the capitulations; great applications were made to them, to receive Deputies from the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*; but they were rejected, for they were under the *Ban* of the Empire; nor were they pleaſed with the interpoſition of the Pope's *Nuncio*, who gave them much trouble in that matter; but they perſiſted in refuſing to admit them. *Francfort* lay ſo near the frontier of the Empire, that it was apprehended, the *French* might have made an attempt that way; for they drew ſome detachments from their army in *Flanders*, to increaſe their forces on the *Rhine*, as hath been related. This it was that obliged the Court of *Vienna* to ſend orders to Prince *Eugene* to march with a detachment from *Flanders* towards the *Rhine*. He came in good time to ſecure the Electors at *Francfort*; who being now ſafe, from the fear of any inſult, went on ſlowly in all that they thought fit to propoſe, previous to an election; and concluded unanimouſly to chuſe *Charles*, who was now declared Emperor by the name of *Charles* the Sixth: He went from *Milan* to *Inſpruck*, and from thence to *Francfort*, where he was crowned with the uſual ſolemnity. Thus that matter was happily ended, and no action happened on the *Rhine* all this campaign.

The King of Pruſſia *preſſes the ſettling the Succeſſion of King* William. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

The endeavours uſed to adjuſt the diſputes about the Succeſſion of the late King *William* were rendered unſucceſsful by a fatal accident. An accommodation was attempted in the beginning of the ſpring, and the King of *Pruſſia* repairing to the *Hague* ſoon after, to preſs the concluſion of that affair, the Prince of *Naſſau-Frieſeland*, the other party, was earneſtly deſired by him to come thither alſo. The Prince complied, though not without ſome reluctance to leave the Confederate army in the middle of the campaign. But, upon the 14th of *June*, *N. S.* being come to *Moerdyke* in his way to the *Hague*, and being obliged to ferry over the *Ames*, by reaſon of the fatigue of his journey, and the rain, which fell in great abundance, he choſe to continue in his coach with Mr. *Hilken*, his Maſter of Horſe, and Colonel of his Guards. A ſudden tempeſtuous wind aroſe, with which, and the diſturbance of the water occaſioned by it, the horſes were ſo frighted, that they immediately leaped overboard, and dragged the coach into the *Ames*; ſo that the Prince and his Companion were ſoon drowned, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of one of his ſervants, who loſt his life in attempting to ſave his Maſter's. The death of this Prince, who was eminent for his bravery, and great qualities, was univerſally lamented by the *States*, and the inhabitants of the *United-Provinces*, and, particularly, by the army, who had been eye-witneſſes of his conduct and reſolution in the memorable ſieges of *Liſle*, *Douay*, and *Mons*, the battle of *Oudenarde*, and chiefly in that of *Blaregnies*.

The war between the *Turks* and the Czar came to a quick end. The Czar advanced with his army ſo far into *Moldavia*, that he was cut off from his proviſions. An engagement followed, in which both ſides pretended they had the advantage. It is certain, the Czar found he was reduced to great extremities, for he propoſed, in order to a peace, to ſurrender *Azoph*, with ſome other places, and demanded, that the King of *Sweden* might be ſent home to his own country. The Grand Vizier was glad to obtain ſo ſpeedy a concluſion of the war; and, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition made by the King of *Sweden*, he concluded a peace with the *Muſcovites*, not without ſuſpicion of his being corrupted by money. The King of *Sweden*, being highly offended at this, charged the Grand Vizir with neglecting the great advantages he had over the Czar, ſince he and his whole army were at mercy; and he prevailed ſo far at the *Porte*, that upon it the Grand Vizier was depoſed, and there was an appearance of a war ready to break out the next year; for the Czar delayed the rendering *Azoph*, and the other places agreed to be delivered up; pretending, that the King of *Sweden* was not ſent home, according to agreement; yet, to prevent a new war, all the places were at length given up.

Towards the end of this year the *Danes* and *Saxons* broke in by concert upon *Pomerania*, reſolving to beſiege *Stralſund*; but every thing neceſſary for a ſiege came ſo ſlowly from *Denmark*, that no progreſs was made, though the troops lay near the place for ſome months; and in that time the *Swedes* landed a conſiderable body of men in the Iſle of *Rugen*. At laſt the Beſiegers, being in want of every thing, were forced to raiſe the ſiege, and to retire from that neighbourhood in the beginning of *January*. They ſate down next before *Wiſmar*; but that attempt likewiſe miſcarried, which rendered the conduct of the King of *Denmark* very contemptible, who thus obſtinately carried on a war, at a time, that the plague ſwept away a third part of the people of *Copenhagen*, with as little conduct as ſucceſs.

No action happened at ſea this year, for the *French* fitted out no fleet. All they did this ſummer was the ſending a ſquadron of fourteen or fifteen men of war under the command of *Du Guay Trouin* in *America*, where they already had another ſquadron, commanded by *Du Caſſe*.

Du

1711. *Du Guay*'s expedition was for ſome time kept ſecret; but, at laſt it was known, that, having entered the Bay of *Rio de Janeiro* in *Braſil*, he obliged the *Portugueſe* to run aſhore, and ſet on fire one of their men of war in that Port; after which he made himſelf maſter of the town of *St. Sebaſtian*; and, having kept poſſeſſion of it two months, ſailed from thence the 13th of *November*, carrying away ſix hundred ten thouſand Cruſadoes, beſides a great quantity of ſugar, and other rich plunder, which they valued at ſeven millions of livres, and pretended, that the whole loſs ſuſtained by the *Portugueſe* amounted to five and twenty millions. On the other hand, the *French* made this year ſome unſucceſsful attempts on the *Leeward Iſlands*; and, about the ſame time, Commodore *Littleton* took a *Spaniſh* Galleon, and another ſhip of twenty-ſix guns, richly laden, in the *Weſt Indies*.

The Canada expedition. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

An expedition was deſigned by ſea for taking *Quebec* and *Placentia* in North *America*. This deſign was formed by Colonel *Nicholſon*, who had taken poſſeſſion of *Nova Scotia*, put a garriſon into *Port-Royal*, and called it *Annapolis*. The four *Indian* Chiefs, whom the Colonel had brought over with him in the ſpring of the year 1710, had alſo promoted it by repreſenting the dangers our ſettlements on the Continent of *America* were threatened with from that quarter. Indeed, the driving the *French* out of thoſe parts would have driven them alſo out of the *Newfoundland* trade entirely, and been a very great ſecurity to *New-England* and *New-York*. To execute this deſign, troops were ſent for from *Flanders*, and, with others in *England*, put on board tranſports under the command of Brigadier *Hill*, brother to Mrs. *Maſham*, the new favourite, conſiſting of about five thouſand men (1). A ſtrong ſquadron of men of war under Sir *Hovendon Walker* was ordered to convoy the tranſport fleet (2). They all ſailed from *Plymouth* the 4th of *May*, and arrived at *Boſton* in *New-England* the fourth of *June*. General *Hill* and Admiral *Walker* going aſhore, a Council of war was held, in which it was reſolved to land the troops, the proviſions which they expected to be furniſhed with at *Boſton* not being in any readineſs. The fleet upon their arrival here conſiſted of twelve men of war, forty tranſport-ſhips, and ſix ſtore-ſhips, with all manner of warlike ſtores, and a fine train of artillery, with forty horſe for the uſe of the ſame, commanded by Colonel *King*, with proper officers. On the 20th of *July*, the *Britiſh* forces returned on board their reſpective ſhips, and were joined by two regiments of *New-England* and *New-York*, commanded by Colonel *Vetch* and Colonel *Walton*. On the 30th of *July*, the fleet ſailed for the river of *Canada*, and Colonel *Nicholſon* ſet out from *Boſton* for *New-York*, from whence he proceeded to *Albany*, where the forces of *New-York*, *Connecticut*, and *New-Jerſey*, about one thouſand *Palatines*, and about one thouſand *Indians* of the five nations, under the *Caſſaiques*, who had been in *England*, rendezvouſed to the number of about four thouſand men, commanded by Colonel *Ingoldsby*, Colonel *Schuyter*, and Colonel *Whiting*, who marched towards *Canada* the 28th of *Auguſt*. The fleet arrived at the mouth of the river *Canada*, on the 14th of the ſame month, and on the 18th (ſays Sir *Hovenden Walker* *) the wind blowing freſh at North-Weſt, we put into *Gaſpe-Bay*, where we ſtaid till the 20th, being afraid of loſing company with the tranſports, that might be blown to the leeward; but, having got all of them together, we proceeded up part of the river of *Canada*, which is an hundred and thirty leagues long to *Quebec*, from the mouth of it. On the 21ſt it proved foggy, and continued ſo all night, and the day following, with little wind till the afternoon, when, in an extreme thick fog, it began to blow hard at Eaſt and Eaſt-South-Eaſt. We found ourſelves then in a dangerous circumſtance, having neither ſoundings, nor ſight of land, to ſteer any courſe, or any anchorage within ſixty leagues, and that not ſafe: So that the Pilots on board this ſhip, being the beſt in the fleet, were of opinion, that the Admiral ſhould make a ſignal to bring to; which he did with our heads to the Southward, judging, by that, we might eſcape danger, and be driven by the ſtream in the mid-channel: But quite contrary, as we were with the wind Eaſterly, and our heads to the Southward, in two hours we found ourſelves upon the North-ſhore among rocks and iſlands, where the whole fleet had like to have been loſt. The men of war eſcaped, though with extreme hazard; but eight tranſports were caſt away, with about eight hundred men, officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen; and, had not the Admiral made the ſignal, as he did, it is very likely, that our loſs would have been much greater. After this diſaſter, we continued thereabouts two or three days, ſeeing what men and other things we could get from the ſhore: After which it was determined by a conſultation of ſea officers, to return back to ſome bay or harbour, where the fleet might ſafely ride till a further reſolution ſhould be taken. Accordingly, on the 14th of *September*, we arrived in the *Spaniſh* river Bay, and the General and Admiral called a Council of war of land and ſea-officers, who conſidering we had but ten weeks proviſion for the fleet and army, and that the navigation in theſe parts of the world being ſo bad and dangerous, that, at this time of the year, we could not depend upon a ſupply of proviſions from *New-England*, it was unanimouſly agreed to return home, without making further attempts elſewhere. 1711.

* *In a letter, dated* Sept. 12, 1711.

This account of the expedition to *Canada* was brought to *England* by Colonel *Clayton*, who arrived not many days before Sir *Hovenden Walker*, who came to *Portſmouth* with the fleet, and the remainder of the tranſports, the 9th of *October*. Six days after, the *Edgar* of ſeventy guns was blown up, with above four hundred men, beſides a great many perſons who were come on board to ſee their friends.

Remarks on this expedition. Burnet. Hare.

The ill ſucceſs of this expedition was a great mortification to the new Miniſtry, it being their firſt undertaking, ill projected, and worſe executed

(1) The regiments of *Kirk*, *Hill*, *Clayton*, *Wadniſs*, *Seymour*, *Deſannay*, and a battalion of marines commanded by Colonel *Charles Churchill*.

(2) The *Edgar*, *Monmouth*, *Devonſhire*, *Humber*, *Swiftſure*, *Kingſton*, *Sunderland*, *Mountague*, and *Dunkirk*. Thoſe were to be reinforced by other ſhips in the *Weſt-Indies*.

1711. cuted in every ſtep. It was the more liable to cenſure, becauſe, at the very time, that the old Miniſtry were charged with entering on deſigns, which had not been laid before the Parliament, and for which no Supplies had been given, they projected this, even while a Seſſion was yet going on, without communicating it to the Parliament; whereas what the former Miniſtry had done, this way, was upon emergencies, and ſucceſſes after the end of the Seſſion. Beſides, the Parliament had juſt then declared it to be their ſenſe, That to inlarge the ſervice, or increaſe the charge beyond the bounds preſcribed, and the Supplies granted, was illegal, and an invaſion of their rights. The new Miniſtry did another thing to keep the deſign ſecret, which was to victual the fleet greatly ſhort of what was neceſſary, leaving them to take in a freſh ſupply in *New-England*, which they would not beforehand give direction for (though the event ſhewed it was very neceſſary) for fear that alſo ſhould occaſion a diſcovery. This, in ſome meaſure, preſerved the ſecreſy, but deſtroyed the deſign; for, though they had a very fortunate paſſage to *New-England*, much better than the fleet could ordinarily expect, yet they were ſo long detained there, that the proper ſeaſon, it was ſaid, was over, before any conſiderable quantity of proviſions could be procured; and the whole was ſo ſhort of what they wanted, that, when they failed in the deſign againſt *Quebec*, they were not able to ſucceed in the under-plot againſt *Placentia*, in which otherwiſe they apprehended no difficulty (1). 1711.

A Seſſion of Parliament in Ireland. Hiſt of *Eur.*

The Duke of *Ormond* held a Seſſion of Parliament this ſummer at *Dublin*, where he was received with great acclamations. It is obſervable, that, during the Seſſion, the Duke, Chancellor *Phips*, and the majority of the Peers, did, on all occaſions, viſibly favour and countenance the *High-Party*, if not the friends to the Pretender, whilſt the Commons ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the *Revolution-Principles*, and ſhewed their firm adherence to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*. Of this there were ſeveral inſtances *, but none more remarkable than the diſpute between the two Houſes, relating to the application of the Commons in 1709 to the Queen, for five thouſand pounds to build a library for *Trinity-College* (2). After the Seſſion was over, Chancellor *Phips* (who had

* *See Annals of Q. Anne*, X. 164.

(1) To all this may be added a groſs impoſition upon the public, in the fitting out of this expedition, which the Lord-Treaſurer *Harley* himſelf owns, in his *brief account of public affairs*, laid before her Majeſty in *June* 1714, where he obſerves as follows: 'On the 4th of *June* 1711, three days after the Treaſurer was ſworn, he was ſurprized with a demand of twenty-eight thouſand thirty-ſix pounds and five ſhillings for arms and merchandize, ſaid to be ſent to *Canada*. When the Treaſurer ſcrupled this, Mr. Secretary *St. John* and Mr. *Moore* came to him with much paſſion upon this affair; and, about a fortnight after, the Secretary of State ſignified the Queen's poſitive pleaſure to have that money paid; and, accordingly, her Majeſty ſigned a warrant, *June* 21, and the Treaſurer not being able then, with all his precaution, to diſcover further light, the money was paid *July* the 4th, 1711. Since the return from that expedition, the ſecret is diſcovered, and the Treaſurer's ſuſpicion juſtified; for the public was cheated of above twenty thouſand pounds. There is reaſon to be more particular upon this head, becauſe it is one of the things never to be forgiven the Treaſurer; and Lord Chancellor *Harcourt* told him more to that purpoſe, that no Government was worth ſerving, that would not let them make thoſe advantages, and get ſuch jobs. The Treaſurer was forced to uſe all his ſkill and credit to keep the Houſe of Commons from examining this affair laſt Parliament.

(2) This application was made by the Commons, 'becauſe (as they ſaid) the College had cenſured *Forbes* for aſperſing the memory of King *William*, and for their ſteady adherence to the late Revolution, and for the encouragement of good Literature, and *ſound Revolution-Principles*.' The Duke of *Ormond*, in his ſpeech, having taken notice that the Queen had complied with this application, the Lords, in their addreſs to the Queen among other things, ſaid, 'Your Majeſty has alſo extended your royal favour to the College of *Dublin*, and at ſuch a juncture, as muſt teſtify to the world, that what your Majeſty beſtowed was not given to promote thoſe principles upon which it was at firſt applied for.' The Commons incenſed at theſe words came to the following reſolutions: 'That the Lords, in this addreſs, have highly infringed the rights, privileges, and liberties of the Commons, miſrepreſented her Majeſty's gracious condeſcenſion to their humble application, and have unjuſtly inſinuated (to the diſhonour of this Houſe) that the principles, for encouragement of which the application was made, were ſuch, as her Majeſty diſapproved. That to inſinuate, that the Houſe of Commons, in their reſolution, intended any other than the late *happy Revolution* brought about by King *William* III of glorious Memory, is falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious, highly and moſt unjuſtly reflecting on the loyalty, integrity, and honour of this Houſe, and a great breach of the privileges thereof.' And, in their addreſs to the Queen on this occaſion, they inſerted the following paragraphs:

'Being therefore moſt ſenſibly touched at heart, that our principles and good intentions ſhould be thus injuriouſly repreſented, and out of a deep concern, leſt the addreſs of the Lords ſhould have made any impreſſion on her Majeſty, to the diſadvantage of her moſt dutiful Commons, they took this opportunity to lay before her Majeſty theſe their humble and ſincere aſſurances, that the principles, upon which they had applied to her Majeſty for her bounty to the College of *Dublin*, in their addreſs of the firſt of *June* 1709, were ſuch, as they ſhould never be aſhamed to own, they being no other than thoſe, to which they owed the preſervation of their religion, lives, liberties, and properties, and more eſpecially, that ineſtimable bleſſing of her Majeſty's happy Reign over them. That the ſound Revolution-principles, mentioned in their addreſs, neither had, nor can have, in the true conſtruction of the words, any other meaning, than what related to the late happy Revolution; and that they had the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation of all principles, that tend to any other Revolution, or to weaken her Majeſty's Parliamentary Right.'

The Commons, hearing the Lords intended to vindicate their addreſs, voted, 'That whoever ſhall, by ſpeaking, writing, or printing, arraign or condemn the principles of our late happy Revolution in 1688, is an enemy to our moſt gracious Queen, to our Conſtitution in Church and State, to the *Hanover* Succeſſion, and a friend to the Pretender.' The next day, the Lords agreed on an addreſs to the Queen, wherein they complained of the high indignities offered to them by the Commons, in theſe terms: 'How far the Commons have made good their profeſſions to your Majeſty of unanimity; how far they have purſued that temper recommended to them by your Majeſty, we ſhall not determine: Yet, ſurely, had thoſe profeſſions been ſincere, they would not (without any Conference demanded, or any opportunity given to us to explain ourſelves, if we had been miſtaken) have uſed us in a manner wholly unknown to former Parliaments, and in language more indecent, more opprobrious, than was given by another Houſe of Commons, when they voted the Houſe of Lords uſeleſs. However, your Majeſty

1711. had been publickly thanked by the Clergy, for his defenſe of the Church at Dr. *Sacheverel*'s trial, and for patronizing the Clergy on all occaſions) and General *Ingoldſby* were appointed as Lords-Juſtices in the Duke of *Ormond*'s abſence, who returned to *England* the latter end of *November*.

The friends of the Pretender ſhew themſelves openly in Scotland.

Whilſt the Commons of *Ireland* were ſtrenuouſly aſſerting the Revolution principles, the oppoſite ſpirit of *Jacobitiſm* diſcovered itſelf in *Scotland*, encouraged very probably by the late numerous addreſſes in *England*, aſſerting the ſole *Hereditary Right*. Upon this preſumption, the Ducheſs of *Gordon*, a *Roman* Catholic, ſent about the latter end of *June* to Mr. *Robert Bennet*, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, a ſilver medal, with a head on the right ſide, and this legend, *Cujus eſt* * ? and on the reverſe the *Britiſh* Iſlands, with this motto, *Reddite* †, as a preſent to the faculty. This medal was firſt left in the hands of one of their ſervants, the Dean being cautious either to accept it, or place it in the Repoſitory of Rarities, before he had conſulted ſome of the members of the Faculty, to whom he ſhowed the medal, formally telling them, That her Grace the Ducheſs of *Gordon* ſent, as a preſent to them, the medal of King *James* the Eighth, whom they and the *Engliſh* called the Pretender; and he hoped, Thanks were to be returned to her Grace. Mr. *Alexander Stevenſon* anſwered, That the medal ſhould be returned to her Grace, for the receiving it was throwing dirt on the face of the Government. He was ſeconded by Mr. *Robert Alaxander* of *Black-Houſe*, who ſaid, *That the receiving of ſuch a medal was owning a right contrary to her Majeſty's.* Mr. *Robert Frazer* anſwered, 'That *Oliver Cromwell*'s medal, who deſerved to be hanged, and the arms of the Commonwealth of *England*, had been received; and why not this?' Upon this Mr. *Duncan Forbes*, ſaid, *It was time enough to receive the medal, when the Pretender was hanged:* To whom adhered Mr. *Joſeph Hume*, of *Ninehole*; Mr. *Hugh Dalrymple*, ſon to the Preſident; Mr. *James Ferguſon*, ſon to Sir *John Ferguſon* of *Kirkennel*; and Sir *James Stuart* of *Goodtrees*, the Queen's Sollicitor. Then Mr. *Dundaſs* of *Armiſton* roſe up, and made the following ſpeech:

Hiſt. of Eur. Medal given by the Ducheſs of Gordon.

* *Whoſe is it?*

† *Reſtore.*

1711.

Dean of Faculty,

"Whatever theſe gentlemen may ſay of their "loyalty, I think they affront the Queen, whom "they pretend to honour, in diſgracing her "Brother, who is not only a Prince of the blood, "but the firſt thereof; and, if blood can give "any right, he is our undoubted Sovereign. I "think too they call her Majeſty's title in queſ-"tion, which is not our buſineſs to determine. "medals are the documents of hiſtory, to which "all hiſtorians refer; and therefore, though I "ſhould give King *William*'s ſtamp, with the "Devil at his right ear, I ſee not how it could "be refuſed, ſeeing an hundred years hence it "would prove, that ſuch a coin had been in "*England*. But, Dean of Faculty, what needs "further ſpeeches? None oppoſe the receiving "the medal, and returning thanks to her Grace, "but a few *pitiful ſcoundrel vermin, and muſh-*"*rooms*, not worthy our notice. Let us there-"fore proceed to name ſome of our number, to "return our hearty thanks to the Ducheſs of "*Gordon*." The Dean of the Faculty put it to the vote, and it was carried by a majority of ſixty-three voices againſt twelve (there being ſeventy-five members preſent) that thanks ſhould be returned to her Grace by Mr. *Dundaſs* and Mr. *Horne* of *Weſthall*. *Dundaſs* aſking, *In what terms he ſhould return thanks?* The Dean, in the name of the whole ſociety, anſwered, That they would approve whatſoever Mr. *Dundaſs* and Mr. *Horne* thought convenient. Three days after *Dundaſs* returned her 'the moſt hearty thanks of the Faculty for all her favours, particularly in preſenting them with a medal of their Sovereign Lord the King; hoping, and being confident, that her Grace would very ſoon have an opportunity to compliment the Faculty with a ſecond medal, ſtruck upon the Reſtoration of the King, and Royal Family, and the finiſhing *Rebellion*, *uſurping Tyranny*, and *Whiggery*.' It was obſerved on this occaſion, that the medal was not new; for the public had an account of its being diſperſed in the *Netherlands* about a year before; and it was then the general opinion, that it was ſtruck upon the hopes given by the Jacobites in *England* to their correſpondents in

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Majeſty might juſtly approve the conduct of the College of *Dublin* in the late Revolution, we did, and do ſtill humbly conceive, that your Majeſty did not extend your bounty to them, to promote (in general) *Revolution-principles*, principles, which, as explained by the pamphlets and libels publickly avowed by men of factious and ſeditious tempers, and particularly, by a ſermon preached on the 30th of *January*, dedicated to this very Houſe of Commons, without cenſure or animadverſion, do, in a great meaſure, maintain and juſtify the execrable murder of King *Charles* I, your Royal Grandfather of bleſſed memory, and on which may be founded any rebellion againſt your Majeſty or your Succeſſors. Nor have the Commons, in our apprehenſion, vindicated themſelves or their vote, by ſaying, *That the ſound Revolution-principles, mentioned in their addreſs, neither had, nor can have, in the true conſtruction of the words, any other meaning than what related to the late happy Revolution.* For, however they may take upon themſelves beſt to know their own meaning, yet we think it hard to deny us the right of judging, as well as they, of the true conſtruction of the words; and we do take the liberty to ſay, That, the Commons having, in that vote, maintained the ſteady adherence of the Provoſt and Fellows of the College to the late Revolution, as one conſideration of their application for the five thouſand pounds ſince granted by your Majeſty, the ſubſequent motive mentioned in that vote, viz. *for the encouragement of ſound Revolution-principles*, cannot, in good reaſon or grammar, be referred to the late Revolution, ſince adherence to the late Revolution was a diſtinct motive of itſelf; and it is the known nature of principles, to be as well the rule and guide of future as of paſt actions.'

Moreover, the Houſe of Lords, at the ſollicitation of the Biſhops, did, the ſame day, agree to a *repreſentation* and addreſs againſt the *Diſſenters*, wherein they ſuggeſted, 'That they had been enabled to propagate their Schiſm, and undermine the Church, by the miſapplying her Majeſty's bounty to them of twelve hundred pounds a year: And, therefore, they ſubmitted it to her, whether ſhe would put a ſtop to theſe growing evils, by withdrawing that bounty from them.' But the Queen did not think fit to do ſo.

1711. in *France*, that the *Britiſh* Nation was ready to declare for the Pretender; to which the diſtractions occaſioned by Dr. *Sacheverel*'s ſermon, and trial, and the aſſerting the doctrines of Hereditary Right, and of abſolute Paſſive Obedience, entirely oppoſite both to the late Revolution, and Proteſtant Succeſſion, gave ſome air of probability. Nor was this medal ſcarce, but rather common; and, as for its intrinſick value, it did not exceed half a crown; ſo that it could not be worth either the Ducheſs's while to preſent it, or the Faculty's to receive it, on the account of its being either new, or ſcarce, or valuable. And, if the Advocates deſigned it only as a curioſity, they might have eaſily procured it, and placed it among their collection, without formality and noiſe. But the Ducheſs's preſenting it, and ſome of the Advocates receiving it with ſolemnity, and endeavouring to make it the act of the Faculty, by returning thanks to the Ducheſs in the name of the whole ſociety, with ſo much oſtentation, was certainly a public and treaſonable affront to her Majeſty, a tacit arraignment of her title, and a ſtriking at the ſettlement in the Houſe of *Hanover*. Nor is it to be doubted, that the deſign of the Jacobites was to give reputation to their cauſe, by engaging ſo many Gentlemen of the Long Robe to eſpouſe it, as the readieſt way to bring the common people into their meaſures; for, as theſe are generally led by example, they would be apt to conclude, that there could be no danger in following the pattern ſet them by thoſe, who, of all men, ought beſt to underſtand the laws and conſtitution of their country. The timing of this tranſaction was likewiſe judged very remarkable; for it was ſoon after the aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* had publickly declared themſelves for the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* in the Houſe of *Hanover*; and their ſenſe being juſtly taken for that of the bulk of the Proteſtants in *Scotland*, whom they repreſent in an eccleſiaſtical capacity, it ſeemed, the Jacobite party there thought it neceſſary to balance them by the ſenſe of the Miniſters of law and juſtice in that country. This happened alſo immediately after her Majeſty had declared in her ſpeech at the cloſe of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, "That it was "needleſs for her to repeat the aſſurances of "her earneſt concern for the Succeſſion of the "Houſe of *Hanover*." From whence it may be concluded, that, the Jacobites being ſenſible of the injury this declaration had done their cauſe, they might think, that the only way to retrieve it was by procuring ſo many Lawyers to declare for them. And, in the laſt place, this was done at a time, when the armies were in the field, and the Pretender reported to be gone from *St. Germain*'s, in order to imbark in ſome port of *France* on the ocean; which might raiſe a well-grounded ſuſpicion, that this was deſigned to favour a ſecond invaſion; the rather, becauſe *Dundaſs*, in his compliment to the Ducheſs of *Gordon*, did not ſcruple to inſinuate *a ſpeedy Reſtoration of the King, and the Royal Family.* 1711.

The Facul-ty's act diſowning the pro-ceedings.

Sir *David Dalrymple*, the Lord Advocate, gave an account of this proceeding to the Duke of *Queensberry*, who dying about this time, the information was laid before the Queen by one of the other Secretaries; and the caſe was ſo flagrant, that there was no avoiding to ſend the Lord Advocate orders to enquire into it. Upon which the Faculty thought fit to diſown *Dundaſs*, *Horne*, and the other Advocate in their addreſs concerning the medal, as done by a party at an occaſional meeting, and not by general conſent, declaring by a ſolemn act their affection to the Queen and her Government, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and their deteſtation of all practices tending to give any incouragement to the Pretender.

It was for ſome time matter of doubt, whether the Government would be ſatisfied with this act of the Faculty. But the Court thought fit to make no further Inquiry into that affair. This lenity imboldened *Dundaſs* to write a vindication more treaſonable, if poſſible, than their proceedings about the medal: But, before the publication, the Printer carried the copy of it to the Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, who communicated it to Sir *James Stuart*, and he took care, that the Queen and Council ſhould be informed of it: Upon which the paper was intirely ſuppreſſed. And Monſieur *de Kreyenberg*, Reſident from the Elector of *Hanover*, having, by expreſs orders, preſented a memorial, for the proſecution of *Dundaſs* and his aſſociates: The Government thought proper to remove Sir *David Dalrymple* from his office of Lord Advocate, on pretence he had been too remiſs in proſecuting the *Scots Medaliſts*, and reinſtated Sir *James Stuart* in that poſt, on account of his zeal in ſuppreſſing of *Dundaſs*'s vindication. Though this gave ſome ſatisfaction to the friends of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, yet it is obſervable, that Sir *David Dalrymple* was ſo far from being an enemy to it, that (as his particular acquaintance affirmed) he would have proſecuted the *Medaliſts* with greater ſeverity than any whatever, had he not received ſecret inſtructions from a great man at Court not to ſtir in the affair (1). All

Boyer.

(1) Nor were the Jacobites leſs buſy in *England*; for, while theſe things paſſed in *Scotland*, they were very induſtrious in diſperſing clandeſtinely a printed paper, intitled, *An oath to an Invader, and abjuring the Invaded, diſſected and examined*; containing eleven queries, levelled againſt the *Revolution* and the *oath of Abjuration*, now adminiſtered in *Great-Britain*, which was printed at the end of that paper. About that time, likewiſe, a news-paper took notice of a paragraph inſerted in a written poſtſcript to the *Poſt-Boy*, of the 5th of *July* 1711, ſent to *Dick*'s Coffee-houſe in *Dublin*, and (as may well be ſuppoſed) to many other places, which was as follows: "We are in-"formed, that Mr. *White*, alias *Leſley*, is gone to "*Swiſſerland*, in order, if he can, to convert a cer-"tain *young Gentleman*, and bring him over from Po-"pery to Proteſtantiſm. If he ſucceed, it is hoped, "that there will be no experiment tried hereafter to "run the hazard of making uſe of a *Come-over*: For "thoſe ſort of Gentlemen ought no more to be truſt-"ed, than a ſtaunch Whig ſhould, although he ſwears, "that he ſhall be for the Church and Monarchy; ex-"cept thoſe, who have been ſenſible of their errors, "and, ſince their converſion, have merited the eſteem "of all honeſt men." This paragraph was founded upon a report, that the Pretender was, about that time, preparing to go for *Swiſſerland*; but he only went to the *French* army in *Dauphiné*, and having ſtaid there a few days, and conferred with the Duke of *Berwick* and the other Generals, he took a journey through *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Guienne*, the three fineſt Provinces of *France*, and ſo returned to his reſidence at *St. Germain*'s.

1711. *Titles and promotions.*

All this while the Miniſters in *England* uſed all poſſible means to ſtrengthen themſelves, and weaken their enemies, by advancing to honours and employments, ſuch perſons as they thought inclined to carry on their new meaſures. The Lord *Raby* was created Viſcount and Earl of *Strafford*. He was the ſurviving head of the family of *Wentworth-Woodhouſe*, in *Yorkſhire*, but by a diſpute between his Father, and the late Earl of *Strafford*, cut off from the eſtate. He was recalled from his long Ambaſſy in *Pruſſia*, and ſent Ambaſſador to *Holland*. The Lord *Dartmouth* was made Viſcount *Lewiſham*, and Earl of *Dartmouth*; the Lord *Ferrers*, Earl *Ferrers*; Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Boron of *Stanton-Harcourt*; the Earl of *Orrery*, Baron *Boyle* of *Marſton*; the Duke of *Hamilton*, Duke of *Brandon*, but, a caveat being entered againſt that patent, a ſtop was put to it for the preſent.

The Earl of *Winchelſea* was placed at the head of the Board of Trade; Earl *Paulet* was made Steward of the Houſhold, in the room of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was made Preſident of the Council upon the death of the Earl of *Rocheſter*. Sir *George Byng* was declared Admiral of the White. Alderman *Caſs*, was elected one of the Sheriffs of *London*, who, in the time of the Aſſaſſination-Plot, harboured Sir *John Friend*, in his houſe, where he was apprehended. The Lord *Clermont*, and his brother, Captain *Middleton*, ſons to the Earl of *Middleton*, who were taken aboard the *Saliſbury*, in the intended Invaſion of *Scotland*, were admitted to bail after three years impriſonment.

In *July* the Duke of *Newcaſtle* died, whoſe death is ſaid to be occaſioned by a fall from his horſe as he was hunting. He was the richeſt ſubject that had been in *England* for ſome ages, and had an eſtate of above forty thouſand pounds a year, which he was much ſet upon increaſing The Office of Privy-Seal being vacant by his death, it was reſolved, to give it to the Earl of *Jerſey*. As this Earl had ſome correſpondence in *Paris* and *St. Germain*'s, the conduct of the private Negotiation of peace was truſted to him, by the Lord-Treaſurer *Harley*, who therefore made him Privy-Seal, but the Earl died ſuddenly the very day that office was given him. Upon his deceaſe it was conferred on Dr. *Robinſon*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, who was deſigned to be the Plenipotentiary in the Treaty that was now projecting. There having been a warm competition between the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Mar* for the place of Secretary of State for *North-Britain*, vacant by the death of the Duke of *Queenſberry*, it was thought fit to ſuppreſs that place.

Negotiation of peace. Hiſt. of Eur. Rep. of the Secr. Committee. Burnet.

In the mean time thoſe at the helm carried on the Negotiation of peace, which they had clandeſtinely entered into with ſome agents of *France*, even before the old Miniſters were removed. To this purpoſe Mr. St. *John*, and, as ſome affirmed, Mr. *Harley* himſelf, had ſeveral private meetings with the Sieur *Gaultier*, an obſcure *French* Prieſt, who, for ſome time, was protected by Count *Gallas*, the Imperial Miniſter, and ſuffered to ſay maſs in his chapel, and who being afterwards employed in *London* by Count *Tallard*, to receive and forward his letters between *Paris* and *Nottingham*, began to be taken notice of, and aſſumed the title of Abbot. It was the opinion of many, that, when the Lord-Treaſurer *Harley* formed the *South-Sea* project, he had verbal aſſurances given him, that *France* and *Spain* would grant to that Company, either ſome ſettlement, or, at leaſt, a free trade in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, provided a peace was concluded, by which King *Philip* ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the Monarchy of *Spain*. Theſe aſſurances were ſufficient to engage the Treaſurer, who ſaw the load, that the carrying on the war muſt bring upon him, and therefore he reſolved to ſtrike up a peace as ſoon as poſſible. 1711.

On the other hand, the emiſſaries of *France* gave out every where, that a ſecret Negotiation of peace was on foot: And the *French* Court was not wanting to cheriſh and improve the eager diſpoſitions towards a peace, which they found in the new *Britiſh* Miniſters. Accordingly *Torcy* tranſmitted into *England* ſome propoſitions, ſigned by himſelf, *April* 22d. *N. S.* with a remarkable preamble, importing, 'That, as it was not doubted but the (*French*) King was in a condition to maintain the war with glory, ſo it would not be eſteemed a ſign of weakneſs, that his Majeſty broke the ſilence he had kept ſince the ſeparation of the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*; and that, before the opening of the campaign, he gave ſtill new proofs of the deſire, that he had always preſerved, to procure the reeſtabliſhment of the repoſe of *Europe*. But that, after the experience he had made of the ſentiments of thoſe, who now governed the Republic of *Holland*, and of their endeavours to render the Negotiations fruitleſs, he was willing to addreſs to the *Engliſh* nation the propoſitions he thought fit to make to end the war; and that, with this view, the King offered to treat of peace on the baſis of the following conditions: 1. That the *Engliſh* ſhould have real ſecurities to exerciſe their commerce in *Spain*, to the *Indies*, and in the ports of the *Mediterranean*. 2. That a Barrier ſhould be formed in the *Low Countries* for the ſecurity of the Republic of *Holland*, and to the good liking of the *Dutch*. 3. That reaſonable means ſhould be ſought out to ſatisfy the Allies of *England* and *Holland*. 4. That as the good eſtate of the affairs of the King of *Spain* furniſhed new expedients to end the differences touching that Monarchy, endeavours ſhould be uſed to ſurmount the difficulties raiſed on this occaſion. 5. That the Conferences to treat of peace ſhould be immediately opened; and that the King's Plenipotentiaries ſhould either treat with thoſe of *England* and *Holland* alone, or jointly with thoſe of their Allies, at the choice of *England*. 6. And that his Majeſty propoſed, the Cities of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Liege* for the place of Treaty, referring it to *England* to chuſe one of thoſe two Cities.' Theſe propoſitions Mr. Secretary *St. John* tranſmitted to the Lord *Raby*, the Queen's Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, with orders to communicate them to the Penſionary, and to aſſure that Miniſter, 'that the Queen was reſolved in making peace, as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the *States*; and deſired, that the ſecret might be kept among as few as poſſible. He confeſſed, that the terms of the ſeveral propoſitions were very general; that there was an air of complaiſance ſhewn to *England*, and the contrary to *Holland*, which might be of ill conſequence, but could be of none, as long as the Queen and *States* took care to underſtand each other, and to act with as little reſerve as became two powers ſo nearly allied in intereſt; and he

New propoſals from France.

Apr. 27. O. S.

1711. he desired the Pensionary to be assured, that this rule should on the part of *England* be inviolably observed.' In answer to these orders, the Lord *Raby*, acquainted Mr. *St. John*, 'That the Pensionary had, with those of the *States*, who had been formerly employed in the Negotiations of peace, considered *Torcy*'s propositions, and the obliging manner, in which her Majesty was pleased to communicate them: That they thanked her Majesty for her confidence in them; and assured her, that their's was reciprocal, and that, as her Majesty had promised, she would make no step towards a peace, but in concert with them, they desired she might be assured of the same on their part, and that they would make no step in that, or any other kind of Negotiation, which regarded the mutual interests of both nations, but in communication and concert with her Majesty. That they urged the necessity of an intire confidence one with the other at this critical juncture; and declared themselves weary of the war, which they endeavoured to conceal from the enemy, lest he should make his advantage by it; and that they were ready to join in any measures, which her Majesty should think proper, to obtain a good peace: But that they looked upon these propositions as yet in the same manner as the Secretary did, to be very dark and general, and designed to create jealousies between her Majesty, that Republic, and the Allies: But they depended upon her Majesty's justice and prudence, to prevent any such ill effect; and hoped she would make the *French* explain more particularly the several points contained in them.' But, notwithstanding these mutual assurances, there was not the least communication to the *States* of the Negotiations, which were carrying on for above five months together, betwixt *England* and *France*, till after the special Preliminaries, and the seven general ones were signed and sent to them. In the mean time the Lord *Raby*, not being as yet let into the secret, freely declared in a letter, 'That he thought it advisable and necessary to go open with the *States* in this matter of the propositions, and in another, acquainted the Secretary, that all the letters from *France* agreed, that all the hopes the *French* had, was to sow jealousies among the Allies.' And in a third repeats his advice, 'That we must act cautiously with the *States*, that they might have no reason to accuse us for taking the least measures without them.' But it was not long before Mr. *St. John* prepared him to have other sentiments of the manner of carrying on this Negotiation, and in a letter acquainted him, 'That it was her Majesty's pleasure, he should make all possible haste to come over, since her service might better dispense with his absence, at this point of time, than it would perhaps do at another; and since they must now expect to have very soon upon the tapis many intrigues, concerning which the Queen thought it expedient, that he should confer with the Ministers in *England*; her Majesty designed, upon his arrival, to give him the promotion in Peerage, which he had desired.' The Secretary then frankly told him, 'That *Great-Britain* had gone so much too far in weaving her interest into that of the continent, that it would prove no easy task to disentangle our affairs, without tearing or rending.' The Lord *Raby* took the hint, and assured Mr. *St. John*, that he would venture any thing, and undertake any thing to serve the Queen: That the Secretary might venture boldly to trust him with the real intentions, and be assured, that he would not make further use of them, than according to his instructions. He told the Secretary likewise, that if the thing was actually gone no further than it appeared, and *France* had not yet explained; and he had a mind, that he should come over for the Queen's service, he was ready to come in a yatch, frigat, packet-boat, or any way; and, concluded in short, that the Secretary might dispose of him as he pleased, for all his desire was to serve her Majesty to her satisfaction, and he should never grudge any danger and pains.' This voluntary and frank declaration, he desired in a particular manner, might, with his humble compliments, be communicated to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* and Mr. *Harley*.

1711. May 25, 26. N. S. June 15. N. S.

All transactions betwixt *England* and *France* during this time, except two or three papers, are intirely suppressed, which, in the Earl of *Strafford*'s *Instructions* of *October* the 1st, 1711, are said to have been carried on by papers sent backward and forward, and much time spent therein. However, the *English* Ministers sent over privately to *France* one of their agents, Mr. *Prior*; but though the subject and success of his clandestine Negotiations were for some time kept secret, yet his journey could not. For having first gone into *Kent*, and thence into *Suffolk* to give a visit to his friend Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, and so into *France*; upon his return from thence, about the beginning of *August* in a small vessel, that set him ashore at *Deal*, going under a borrowed name, and not producing his pass, he was discovered, and stopped by the Custom-House Officers, till he was released by orders from above. This adventure being noised abroad, Count *Gallas*, the Imperial Minister, thought it his duty to expostulate about it with the Earl of *Oxford*, who told him, 'That he had no reason to be alarmed, for the Queen would never make a peace derogatory from her engagements with her Allies.' On the other hand, in order to palliate the clandestine Negotiation between *Great-Britain* and *France*, which was no longer a mystery, and to feel the pulse of the Nation about a peace, the agents of the *British* Ministers published a pamphlet, intitled, *A new journey to* Paris: *Together with some secret transactions between the* French *King and an* English *Gentleman* (1). This account, under the fictitious name of Mr. *Du Baudrier*, was supposed

Mr. Prior sent into France.

(1) The Author of this piece acquaints his friend, 'That about two months before the *French* King, resolving once more to give peace to *Europe*, offered the Court of *England*, to send a Minister as far as *Boulogne*, who should be there met by some persons from *England*, to treat the overtures of a peace. That upon notice, that this was agreed to, the King dispatched a person, who went by the name of Monsieur *de la Bastide*, to *Boulogne*, where he took lodgings at one Mr. *des Marais*, a Silk-merchant, married to an *English* woman, who formerly waited on the Ladies of the Earls of *Portland* and *Jersey*, when Ambassadors there in the time of King *William*. That, on the 14th of *July*, *N. S.* a person, who was afterwards known to be

1711. poſed by ſome to be written by *Daniel De Foe*, and by others aſcribed to *Jonathan Swift*, who had for ſome years before attached himſelf to the Whig-party, but, being diſappointed in his hopes of preferment, and particularly of being Chaplain to the Earl of *Wharton*, when he was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, went over to the Tories upon the change of the Miniſtry in 1710, and with Mr. *Prior*, Dr. *Friend*, Mr. *Oldiſworth*, and ſome others, was employed in writing a weekly paper, called the *Examiner*, in defence of the new Miniſtry. Mr. *Prior* was inſtructed to communicate to the Court of *France* ſome *private Propoſitions* dated *July* the 1ſt, importing in ſubſtance, 'That *Great-Britain* would make no peace, but what ſhould be to the ſatisfaction of all her Allies, according to their agreements and treaties: That the trade of *Holland* ſhould be reſtored, and the *Dutch* have a barrier, as well as the Emperor, and Duke of *Savoy*, for their ſecurity. That care ſhould be taken to keep the balance in *Italy*; and that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* ſhould never be united. In relation to *Great-Britain*, that our commerce ſhould be ſettled to the ſatisfaction of the *Britiſh* ſubjects: The Government to be acknowledged in *France*, as now ſettled in *Great-Britain*: *Dunkirk* to be demoliſhed: The *Aſſiento* to be enjoyed by *Great-Britain*, after the peace, as the *French* had it at preſent: *Newfoundland* to be intirely given up to the *Engliſh*; but the trade of *Hudſon's Bay* to be continued in the hands of the *French* and *Engliſh*; and all things in *America* to remain in the ſtate they ſhould be found in at the concluſion of the peace. That all advantages of trade, granted to the *French* by the *Spaniards* ſhould be equally granted to the *Britiſh* Subjects: And, in the laſt place, that the ſecret ſhould be inviolably kept, till allowed to be divulged by the mutual conſent of both parties concerned.' With theſe propoſitions Mr. *Prior* went to *France* in the beginning of *July*; had a power ſigned by the Queen; was ordered to return immediately, if the *French* ſtarted any difficulties, and was particularly directed to ſee, if they had full powers from *Spain*. The *French*, not finding him ſufficiently impowered to treat, were cautious of diſcloſing their thoughts to him; for, upon his arrival in *France*, *Torcy*, in a letter to Mr. *St. John*, told him, 'That he ſaw with great pleaſure Mr. *Prior* return after an interval of ſo many years: That he could have wiſhed, he had had greater liberty to employ thoſe talents, which he was perſuaded he would have made a good uſe of; but that he hoped Monſieur *Meſnager* would ſupply what he could not do.' Accordingly, *Meſnager*, Deputy of the Council of Commerce in *France*, accompanied by another Gentleman (ſaid to be the *Abbé du Bois*) attended Mr. *Prior* into *England*, and (being veſted with full powers to treat, conclude, and ſign with ſuch Miniſters, as ſhould be authorized in due form, not by *Britain* only, but by any of the Princes and Eſtates then in war with *France*) he had frequent Conferences with the Queen's Miniſters, particularly the Lord Treaſurer, Mr. *St. John*, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Dartmouth*. At one of their meetings, which was held at Mr. *Prior*'s Houſe, by order of the Lords of the Committee of Council, and unknown to the Queen, then at *Windſor*, *Meſnager* delivered to theſe four *Britiſh* Miniſters the *French* King's anſwer to the demands laſt ſent over by *England*; which, according to Mr. *St. John*'s Letter to the Queen of the 20th of *September*, *complied with every article, except the eighth, relating to* North America. He added, 'They found, however, that they ſhould be able to compound this point in the manner, which her Majeſty, ſome time before, reſolved to paſs it

1711.

Aug. 3. N. S.

Meſnager *ſent into* England.

dated Aug. 3. N. S.

Sept. 20.

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be Mr. *Prior*, coming directly to the door, and inquiring for Monſieur *de la Baſtide* (the name and place having been before concerted) was immediately ſhewn to Monſieur ——, where they were ſhut up for three hours without any refreſhment, though Mr. *Prior* had rid poſt from *Calais* that day, in a great deal of rain. That, the next morning, the Author of this account, being recommended to Mr. *Prior* by Monſieur *des Marais*, was admitted to wait on him in the capacity both of a Secretary and Valet de Chambre; after which, he learned further particulars of Mr. *Prior*'s journey to *Boulogne*. That it was reported, that, ſome time before the peace of *Ryſwick*, King *William* did diſpatch this very Gentleman to *Paris* upon the ſame account, for which he now came. That having received his inſtructions from the *Engliſh* Court, under pretence of taking a ſhort journey of pleaſure, and viſiting Sir *Thomas Hanmer* in the County of *Suffolk*, he left his Houſe on *Sunday* night, the 11th of *July*, *N. S.* taking none of his ſervants with him. That Mr. *M—e*, who had already prepared a bark on the coaſt of *Dover*, took Mr. *Prior* diſguiſed in his chariot. That they lay, on *Monday* night, the 12th of *July*, at the Earl of *Jerſey*'s houſe in *Kent*; arrived early, the next day, at *Dover*; drove directly to the ſhore; and Mr. *Prior*, having got aboard the veſſel, arrived at *Calais* about eleven at night; was entertained that night by the Governor with great reſpect, and ſet out pretty late next morning for *Boulogne*, where, for four days, he had two long Conferences every day with Monſieur *de la Baſtide*, from ten to one at noon, and from ſix till nine in the evening. That, on the third morning, the Writer of this account was ordered to attend early; obſerved Mr. *Prior* to have a pleaſant countenance; and was commanded to be ready at an hour's warning for a journey to *England*; but, upon the fourth evening, all this was changed. That, on the 18th, Mr. *Prior* ſet out with Mr. *de la Baſtide*, in the latter's chaiſe, for *Paris*, where they arrived, *Tueſday* the 20th, and Mr. *de la Baſtide* conducted Mr. *Prior* to a private lodging, in the *Rue St. Louis*, prepared for his reception, where the Author had orders to ſay, that the Gentleman, to whom he belonged, was called Monſieur *Matthews*; but afterwards, at *Verſailles*, he overheard, that his real name was Mr. *Prior*. That Mr. *de la Baſtide* would have had Mr. *Matthews* to have gone with him next morning to *Verſailles*, but could not prevail with him to comply. That Mr. *de la Baſtide* returned the ſame evening, from *Verſailles*, and, after an hour's warm conference, went with Mr. *Prior* in a chariot and ſix horſes to *Verſailles*, where they arrived about eleven at night, and alighted at a vineyard adjoining to Madam *de Maintenon*'s gardens, whereof Mr. *de la Baſtide* had the key. That the clock ſtruck two before they came out; and then the coachman drove away to a ſmall houſe at the end of the town, where Mr. *de la Baſtide* left Mr. *Prior* with his attendant, who obſerved him to be very thoughtful. That, the next morning, *Thurſday* the 22d, about ten o'clock, Mr *de la Baſtide* came; and the houſe being ſmall, and the Writer's apartment divided from Mr. *Prior*'s only by a thin wainſcot, he could eaſily hear what they ſaid, when they raiſed their voice. That, after ſome time, he could hear Monſieur *de la Baſtide* ſay with warmth, "*Bon Dieu*, &c. Good God! Were ever ſuch de-

1711. it in, provided *France* gave her ſatisfaction upon the ſeventh article, as ſhe had now entirely done. That the propoſitions to be ſent to *Holland*, as the foundation of a *General Treaty*, they had likewiſe received from him; and that, which was thought moſt liable to exception, had been very much mended. That, my Lord Treaſurer having, however, propoſed ſome further alterations, in order to make the whole more palatable abroad, and Monſieur *Meſnager* ſeemingly inclined to agree to them, the Lords of the Council were to conſider of them the next morning. That, this being the preſent ſituation of the Treaty, all her ſervants were unanimouſly of opinion, that a warrant and full powers ſhould that night be tranſmitted to her Majeſty, in order to paſs the Great-Seal the next morning: And that Mr. *Prior* ſhould be added to thoſe impowered to ſign; becauſe he, having perſonally treated with Monſieur *de Torcy*, was the beſt witneſs they could produce of the ſenſe, in which the general preliminary engagements were entered into. Beſides which, as he was the beſt verſed in matters of Trade of all her Majeſty's Miniſters truſted in this ſecret, if ſhe thought fit to employ him in the future Treaty of Commerce, it would be of conſequence, that he had been a party concerned in that Convention, which muſt be the rule of that Treaty.' He concluded, " That the reſt of the Plenipo-
" tentiaries were all thoſe, who had the honour
" to ſit in her Majeſty's Cabinet-Council;" namely, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Earl *Pawlet*, the Earl of *Dartmouth*, and Mr. Secretary *St. John*. But, though the warrant, antedated three days, was ſigned by the Queen, directing the Lord-Keeper to affix the Great-Seal to an inſtrument thereto annexed, meaning the full powers; yet moſt of thoſe, who ſo readily concurred in treating with the Miniſter of *France*, declined becoming parties, when the Treaty was to be concluded; and ſo the *ſpecial Preliminaries* between *Great-Britain* and *France*, ſigned by *Meſnager* on the 27th of *September*, were accepted and ſigned only by the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr. Secretary *St. John*, by virtue of a warrant directed to them two only, and ſigned by the Queen. And it is obſervable, that neither this, nor any one paper of powers or inſtructions, throughout this whole affair was counter-ſigned by any one Miniſter, but the Queen's name expoſed to cover all, in caſe this clandeſtine Negotiation ſhould at laſt prove abortive, and be afterwards inquired into: And, the *Engliſh* Miniſtry having every where extolled the great advantages, that were granted to *Great-Britain*, *France* made a proper uſe of it, and declared, 'That thoſe articles were an eventual or conditional Treaty only; and that the *French* King would not be obliged to make them good, but in caſe of the ſigning of a general peace.' In this ſenſe *Meſnager* ſigned them; and by this means the Queen was brought into this dilemma, either to go on through all adventures in the meaſures of *France*, or they had it in their power by divulging the ſecret, and expoſing ſuch a notorious breach of national faith, to make what advantage they thought fit among the Allies; who, from this time, muſt think themſelves diſengaged from the Queen, if they could find their own account in ſeparate meaſures. The ſame day, that the *ſpecial Preliminaries* were thus accepted, another ſet of *General Preliminary Articles on the part of* France were ſigned by *Meſnager*; as was alſo a ſeparate article in favour of the Duke of *Savoy*, 'whereby the *French* King promiſed to reſtore to that Prince the territories, which belonged to him at the beginning of the preſent war; and to conſent,

1711.

Sept. 17.

" mands made of a great Monarch, unleſs you were
" at the gates of the Metropolis? For the love of
" God, Monſieur *Prior*, relax ſomething, if your
" inſtructions will permit you, elſe I ſhall deſpair of
" any good ſucceſs in our Negotiation. Is it not
" enough, that our King will abandon his Grandſon,
" but he muſt lend his own arm to pull him out of the
" Throne? Why did you not open yourſelf to me
" at *Boulogne*? Why are you more inexorable here at
" *Verſailles*? You have riſen in your demands, by ſee-
" ing Madam *Maintenon*'s deſire for a peace. As able
" as you are to continue the war, conſider which is to
" be moſt preferred, the good of your Country, or
" the particular advantage of your General; for he will
" be the only gainer among your ſubjects." That Mr. *Prior* ſpoke ſo ſoftly, he could not be well underſtood; but, upon parting, the Writer heard him ſay, " If you inſiſt ſtill on thoſe difficulties, my next au-
" dience will be that of leave." That, three hours after, Mr. *de la Baſtide* returned with a countenance more compoſed, and dined with Mr. *Prior*, who entertained him with much pleaſantry; and, among other things, ſaid, " That Monſieur," meaning the King, " if he were a private man, would be the moſt agree-
" able perſon in the world. Did you mind how ob-
" ligingly he inquired, whether our famous Chevalier
" *Newton* was ſtill living? He told me, my good
" friend, poor *Deſpreaux*, was dead ſince I was in
" *France*, and aſked me after Queen *Anne*'s health:" Which confirmed the Relator in his opinion, that Mr. *Prior* had an audience the night before of the King. That, about ten that evening, Mr. *de la Baſtide* came to take Mr. *Prior* to go to the ſame place they were at before, where they ſtaid about two hours. That, being returned, Mr. *Prior* appeared ſomewhat diſſatisfied; and, when he came into his chamber, he threw off his hat in ſome paſſion, folded his arms, and walked up and down the room for above an hour, extreme penſive. That, on *Friday* the 23d, Mr. *de la Baſtide* ſtaid the afternoon with Mr. *Prior*, and, about eight o'clock, they went to the rendezvous; and, in an hour an half's time, Mr. *Prior*, with Mr. *de la Baſtide*, another Gentleman, and a Lady, came into the walk. That, as Mr. *Prior* was taking his leave of thoſe perſons, the Lady ſaid, " *Monſieur, ſongez*
" *vous*, &c. Conſider this night on what we have ſaid to
" you:" And that the Gentleman ſeconded her, ſaying, " *Oüy, oüy, Monſieur, ſongez vous en pour la dernier*
" *fois*: Ay, ay, Sir, conſider for the laſt time." To which Monſieur *Matthews* anſwered briſkly in going out, " *Sire, tout ou rien*; Sir, all or none, as I have
" had the honour to tell your Majeſty before." That, on *Saturday* the 24th, Mr. *de la Baſtide* came to Mr. *Prior* with a ſmiling countenance, embraced him with much joy, and told him, " Courage, Monſieur, no tra-
" velling to day; Madam *Maintenon* will have me once
" more conduct you to her." That, about ten o'clock at night, they went forth, and returned about one in the morning; and Mr. *Prior*, having taken his leave of Mr. *de la Baſtide*, ſet out in a chaiſe for *Calais*, where he arrived on *Wedneſday* the 28th in the evening; and, the next morning, the Writer of this account took his leave of Mr. *Prior*, who thanked him in the civileſt manner, and very nobly made him a preſent of fifty piſtoles. And that the ſame day, *July* the 29th, *N. S.* Mr. *Prior* having put to ſea with a fair wind, it was ſuppoſed, in a few hours, he landed in *England*.

(1) It

1711. conſent, that there be alſo yielded to him ſuch other places in *Italy*, as ſhould be found agreeable to the ſenſe of the Treaties between him and his Allies.' From this a perfect confidence was eſtabliſhed between the two Miniſtries of *England* and *France*; and, in the letters written in the month of *October*, a mutual ſincerity was recommended and engaged for, and, that a perfect unanimity ſhould be maintained for accompliſhing the work. The Earl of *Strafford*'s Inſtructions, in order to his immediate return into *Holland*, were now preparing, and dated *October* 1, *O. S.* and as an early proof of the confidence, which Mr. *St. John* repoſed in the *French* Miniſter, he acquainted *Torcy* by his letter of *October* 2, *O. S.* that the Earl of *Strafford* was going for *Holland*, and ſaid, *Your Miniſter*, (meaning *Meſnager*, who was then going back to *France*, and carried this letter) *is fully informed in what the Earl of* Strafford *is to propoſe to the* States. Such intelligence of the Queen's Counſels, which Mr. *St. John* confeſſed he had given to the Miniſters of the Queen's enemies, ſeems very extraordinary; eſpecially when it is conſidered, that the Earl of *Strafford* was ſent over to preſs the opening the general Conferences, with aſſurances of the greateſt friendſhip and concern for the intereſts of the *States* on the part of the Queen, and by her authority to procure from *France* juſt ſatisfaction for all her Allies; and, in his inſtructions, was likewiſe directed to propoſe to the *States* a new ſcheme for carrying on the war, and to acquaint them with ſuch reſolutions, as the Queen had taken concerning it. In ſhort, every article in his inſtructions was a ſpecimen of the ſincerity, with which the *Engliſh* Miniſters intended to treat the Allies. He was inſtructed, that it muſt be the moſt careful endeavour and fixed principle of all the Confederates to hold faſt together; and this immediately after a ſeparate Treaty had been ſigned by *Great-Britain*; and, if the Miniſters of *Holland* ſhould expreſs any uneaſineſs at their apprehenſions of any ſuch private agreement, he was ordered by evaſive anſwers to avoid giving them ſatisfaction concerning it.

In the mean time *Meſnager* and his companion took their leave of the *Britiſh* Miniſters, in order to return to *France*, extremely ſatisfied with their reception here, the Queen having honoured *Meſnager* with a private converſation in her cloſet, and, at his requeſt, granted to Marſhal *Tallard* (who was ſuppoſed to have laid the foundation of this Negotiation) the favour of going to *France* for four months upon his parole, which ended in his enlargement, without ranſom (1).

The ſeven preliminaries publiſhed.

Five days after *Meſnager*'s departure, the Miniſters thought fit to communicate the preliminary articles, he had ſigned, to Count *Gallas* the Emperor's Miniſter, who treated them with much ſcorn, and cauſed an *Engliſh* tranſlation of them to be publiſhed, on the 13th of *October*, in the *Daily Courant*, as follows: 1711.

Preliminary articles on the part of France, *for effecting a general peace.*

The King being willing to contribute all, that is in his power, to the re-eſtabliſhing of the general peace, his Majeſty declares,

'I. That he will acknowledge the Queen of *Great-Britain* in that quality, as alſo the Succeſſion of that Crown, according to the preſent ſettlement.

II. That he will freely, and *bonâ fide*, conſent to the taking all juſt and reaſonable meaſures, for hindering that the Crowns of *France*, and *Spain* may ever be united on the head of the ſame Prince; his Majeſty being perſuaded, that this exceſs of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of *Europe*.

III. The King's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the preſent war, without excepting any of them, may find their reaſonable ſatisfaction in the Treaty of peace, which ſhall be made: That Commerce may be re-eſtabliſhed and maintained for the future, to the advantage of *Great-Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other Nations, who have been accuſtomed to exerciſe Commerce.

IV. As the King will likewiſe maintain exactly the obſervation of the peace, when it ſhall be concluded, and the object, the King propoſes to himſelf, being to ſecure the frontiers of his Kingdom, without diſturbing in any manner whatever the neighbouring *States*, he promiſes to agree, by the Treaty, which ſhall be made, that the *Dutch* ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of the fortified places, which ſhall be mentioned, in the *Netherlands*, to ſerve hereafter for a barrier; which may ſecure the quiet of the Republic of *Holland* againſt any enterprize from the part of *France*.

V. The King conſents likewiſe, that a ſecure and convenient barrier ſhould be formed for the Empire, and for the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

VI. Notwithſtanding *Dunkirk* coſt the King very great ſums, as well to purchaſe it, as to fortify it; and that it is further neceſſary to be at very conſiderable expence for razing the works, his Majeſty is willing however to engage to cauſe them to be demoliſhed, immediately after the concluſion of the peace, on condition, that, for the fortifications of that place, a proper equivalent, that may content him, be given him: And, as *England* cannot furniſh that equivalent, the diſcuſſion of it ſhall be referred to the Conferences to be held for the Negotiation of the peace.

VII. When the Conferences for the Negotiation of the peace ſhall be formed, all the pretenſions

(1) It was confidently reported, That *Meſnager*, by the encouragement he received from Mr. *St. John*, ſpoke to the Queen in favour of the Chevalier *de St. George*, whom he called *her Brother*; that, her Majeſty ſeemed not diſpleaſed with the diſcourſe; and that before he left *England*, he obtained, by means of Mrs. *Maſham*, a verbal promiſe, that private inſtructions ſhould be ſent to the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries, not to inſiſt on the *French* King's giving up the intereſt of the Chevalier intirely. Moreover, a letter from a good hand in *Paris*, dated *November* 19. *N. S.* imported, That, upon *Meſnager*'s return thither, he was very ſanguine, and affected publicly to affirm, that the peace was as good as concluded; and that, in particular, he laid great emphaſis on the advantages granted in favour of the Prince of *Wales*; which to ſome people appeared very unlikely, eſpecially when they compared the weight of ſuch an affair with the abilities of Monſieur *Meſnager*, who was never accounted a great genius. *Boyer*.

(1) It

1711. tenſions of the Princes and *States*, engaged in the preſent war, ſhall be therein diſcuſſed *bonâ fide*, and amicably: And nothing ſhall be omitted to regulate and terminate them, to the ſatisfaction of all the parties.'

Done at *London*, *Sept.* 27. *O. S.* 1711. MESNAGER.

Count Gallas *ſent away in diſgrace.* Burnet.

Soon after Count *Gallas* received a meſſage from Mr. Secretary *St. John* in the Queen's name, 'that he ſhould come no more to Court, his behaviour of late not being agreeable to her Majeſty, but, that whatever ſhould for the future be preſented to her from his Imperial Majeſty by the hands of another Miniſter ſhould be very well received.' He was further told, he might go away when he thought fit. This proceeding was ſevere and unuſual; for the common method, when a provocation was given by a public Miniſter, was to complain of him to his Maſter, and, to deſire him to be recalled. It was not then known upon what this was grounded; that, which was ſurmized was, that *Gaultier* betrayed him, and diſcovered his ſecret correſpondence, and the advertiſements he ſent the Emperor, to give him ill impreſſions of our Court; for which *Gaultier* was ſaid to be rewarded with an Abbey in *France* (1).

Buys *ſent to* England *by the* States,

The ſeven preliminaries were no ſooner made public, than they were ſeverely animadverted upon in ſeveral pamphlets, and defended in others; and being communicated to the *States-General* by the Earl of *Strafford*, who arrived at the *Hague* on the 10th of *October*, extremely alarmed the *States*, as not being a ſufficient foundation, upon which a Negotiation might be hazarded; they dreaded the fatal conſequences of opening the general Conferences, before the articles offered by *France* were explained, and eſpecially, before they knew at all what they were to truſt to for their own Barrier, and for their Commerce. Theſe conſiderations made them, for ſome time, decline granting the paſſports to the *French* Plenipotentiaries; and, in order to prevail with the Queen to have ſome regard to her Allies, and particularly in the two great articles of their Barrier and Commerce, they ſent over Monſieur *Buys*, as Envoy Extraordinary, to intercede with her to alter her reſolutions; and they made the ſame repreſentations to the Earl of *Strafford*, but all to no purpoſe. For as Mr. *St. John* declared, in his letter to that Earl, of the 9th of *October*, "Certain it it is, that her Majeſty has "ſo far determined upon her meaſures, that "thoſe will deceive themſelves, who may ima- "gine by delay or other artifices to break them." And again, *November* the 2d, to the ſame Earl, "The Queen will not finally concert a plan for "the proſecution of the war with the *States*, un- "til they join with her in agreeing to open the "Conferences of peace." And the Earl acquaints Mr. *St. John*, *November* the 15th, "That he had now told them, her Majeſty's "order to him was to declare, that ſhe would "look upon any delay as a refuſal to comply "with her propoſitions." In theſe circumſtances the *Dutch* at laſt complied to grant the paſſports, and agreed to open the general Conferences at the time fixed by the Queen, *January* the 1ſt, 1711-12; and, purſuant to this reſolution of the *States*, upon the preſſing inſtances of the Queen, paſſports for the *French* Plenipotentiaries were ſent to *Buys*, and delivered to Mr. *St. John*; and *Utrecht* was agreed upon to be the place for the general Conferences; at which the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Strafford*, were appointed Plenipotentiaries, whoſe inſtructions were ſettled and ſigned on the 23d of *December* 1711. By theſe inſtructions the Plenipotentiaries were ordered, "That, if it ſhould be "thought proper to begin by the diſpoſition of "the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, they were to inſiſt, "that the ſecurity and reaſonable ſatisfaction the "Allies expected, and which his moſt Chriſtian "Majeſty had promiſed, could not be obtain- "ed, if *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* be allotted to "any branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*:" So that hitherto the Queen thought fit to declare in all public acts, that *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* ought by no means to be left in the poſſeſſion of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, although in the *ſpecial preliminaries*, ſigned by the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John*, on the 27th of *September* preceding, the King of *France* did expreſsly promiſe to make good the ſixth article for himſelf and for the King of *Spain*, purſuant to the powers, which were then in his hands.

1711.

who come at laſt to a Conference.

Upon the receipt of the Preliminaries ſigned by Monſieur *Meſnager*, which Count *Gallas* tranſmitted to the new Emperor at *Milan*, his Imperial Majeſty wrote a circular letter to the Electors, and other Princes of the Empire, exhorting

The Emperor's letters to the Elector, and to the States. Nov. 7 N. S.

(1) It is hard to expreſs, how greatly the generality of people, and even ſome friends of the Miniſtry, were ſurprized at the publication of theſe Preliminaries, which they looked upon as captious, inſidious, and inſufficient to ground a Treaty upon; whereas they had been made to expect ſuch glorious and advantageous terms for all the Allies, that the peace would be laſting, ſafe, and honourable. Hereupon, to calm the minds of the people, an addition of ſix other Preliminary articles were the ſame day made public in the *Poſt-Boy*, which were ſaid to be agreed to by *France*, though they were not yet ſigned, nor communicated to the Miniſters of the Allies.

Theſe were in ſubſtance:

1. That the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the Duchy of *Milan*, with the fortreſſes of *Tuſcany*, which belonged to the Crown of *Spain*, and all *Flanders*, ſhould remain for ever to the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

2. That King *Philip* ſhould have all *Spain*, with the iſlands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, and the *Weſt-Indies*.

3. That, for the ſecurity of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* trade at all times with *Spain*, King *Philip* will conſent, that the city of *Cadiz* ſhall be always garriſoned by the *Engliſh*, with full liberty to the *South-Sea* Company, to eſtabliſh themſelves on the continent of that country, according to the act of Parliament.

4. That the fortifications of *Dunkirk* ſhall be demoliſhed, and the harbour ruined.

5. That the *Dutch* may name Commiſſioners, to treat with the *French* Commiſſioners about regulating the neceſſary Barriers.

6. That ſatisfaction and ſecurity ſhall be given to the reſt of the Allies at the general Congreſs.

With ſuch fictions, it was thought proper to amuſe the people.

(1) On

1711. horting them *to perſiſt in the engagements of the grand Alliance*; and at the ſame time he wrote another letter to the *States* to the ſame effect, but, with this additional deſire, "That they "would join counſels with him to induce the "Queen of *Great-Britain* to reject thoſe pro- "poſitions, and to continue the war; or, if a "Negotiation with the enemy could not be "avoided, that it might be on condition, that "the preceding preliminaries, propoſed moſt "of them by the enemy himſelf, might remain "fixed, and without alteration: And that ſhe "would not truſt the immortal glory ſhe had "gained, and the certain welfare of her peo- "ple, to the infidelity of the *French* promiſes." Before this letter reached the *Hague*, Count *de Goes*, the Imperial Plenipotentiary there, preſented a memorial to the *States*, about the current report, "That the Queen of *Great-Bri-* "*tain* had accepted the ſeven articles propoſed "by *France*, judging them ſufficient for pro- "ceeding to a general Congreſs of peace; and "preſſed their High Mightineſſes to conſent "thereto, and to grant their paſſports for the "Ambaſſadors of *France*. Wherefore he thought "it his duty to aſk of their High Mightineſſes, "Whether this report were true? And in caſe "it was, to deſire them not to come to any re- "ſolution, but in conjunction with his Impe- "rial Majeſty, or his Miniſters, conformable "to the ſixth article of the Grand Alliance." The *States* returned a civil anſwer both to this memorial, and to the Emperor's repreſentations; but the letter, which the Emperor wrote at the ſame time to the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and which was delivered by Monſieur *Hoffman*, did not meet with the like favourable return.

Many libels againſt the Allies.

Many mercenary pens were ſet on work, to juſtify the proceedings of the new Miniſtry, and to defame the Allies, more particularly the *Dutch*: This was done with much art, but with no regard to truth, in a pamphlet entitled *The Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Miniſtry*: To which very full anſwers were written, detecting the thread of falſehood that ran through the work (1). It was now ſaid, *England* was ſo exhauſted, that it was impoſſible to carry on the war: And, when King *Charles* was choſen Emperor, it was alſo ſaid, he would be too great and too dangerous to all his neighbours, if *Spain* were joined to the Emperor, and to the Hereditary Dominions: It was alſo zealouſly, though moſt falſely, infuſed into the minds of the people, that our Allies, moſt particularly the *Dutch*, had impoſed on us, and failed us on many occaſions. The Jacobites did, with the greater joy, entertain this proſpect of peace, becauſe the *Dauphin* had, in a viſit to *St. Germains*, congratulated that Court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect, with relation to the Pretender's affairs. 1711.

Our Court denied this; and ſent the Earl of *Rivers* to *Hanover*, to aſſure the Elector, that the Queen would take eſpecial care, to have the Succeſſion to the Crown ſecured to his family, by the Treaty that was to be opened: This made little impreſſion on that Elector; for he ſaw clearly, that, if *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were left to King *Philip*, the *French* would ſoon become the ſuperior power to all the reſt of *Europe*; that *France* would keep *Spain* in ſubjection, and, by the wealth they would fetch from the *Indies*, they would give law to all about them, and ſet what King they pleaſed on the Throne of *England*. Earl *Rivers* ſtaid a few days there, and brought an anſwer from the Elector in writing; yet the Elector apprehended, not without reaſon, that it might be ſtifled; therefore his Miniſter the Baron *de Bothmar*, who came over with the Duke of *Marlborough* on the 18th of *November*, was ordered to deliver to Mr. *St. John* a long memorial, repreſenting 'the neceſſity of preſerving a perfect union between the Allies, while the peace ſhould be treating; of their giving each other a mutual guaranty upon what ſhould therein be concluded; as alſo the pernicious conſequences, if *Spain* and the *Indies* were left to the Duke of *Anjou* (2).' This memorial, a few days after it was delivered, was publiſhed in the *Daily Courant* of *December* the 5th, and received with great applauſe by all the well-wiſhers to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, who highly commended the Elector of *Hanover* for his ſeaſonable interpoſition in an affair, which ſo nearly concerned him. But, on the other hand, as it directly condemned the preſent ſcheme of peace, it gave no ſmall offence to the Miniſtry, whoſe agents openly exclaimed againſt it, ſuggeſting,

The Elector of Hanover's memorial. Nov 20. O. S.

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(1) On the 23d of *October*, being the firſt day of the Term, fourteen Bookſellers, Printers, or Publiſhers, who had been lately taken up and committed to the cuſtody of State-Meſſengers, by warrants from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, for printing and publiſhing pamphlets, libels, and ballads, ſome of which were indeed ſevere invectives againſt the Miniſtry, and others repreſented as ſuch, appeared at the bar of the Court of *Queen's-Bench*, where Mr. *Nicholas Lechmere*, Council for Mr. *Darby*, and Mr. *Hurt*, two of the Printers, pleaded with great zeal againſt the ſeverity of *committing people, without telling them their crimes*; urging, *That at this rate the Office of a Secretary of State would become a* Spaniſh *Inquiſition*. But, at the requeſt of the Attorney-General, all the ſaid perſons were continued on their Recognizances till the laſt day of Term.

Mr. *Darby* and Mr. *Hurt* were proſecuted on account of a tranſlation of a memorable paſſage in *Tacitus* about *Cæcilius Baſſus*'s deceiving the Emperor *Nero*, with the promiſe of an *immenſe* but *imaginary treaſure*, which was inſerted in a paper called the *Obſervator*, and was deſigned as a reflection on the *South-Sea* project. Others were proſecuted on more criminal accounts, *viz.* for publiſhing ſeditious ballads, called, *A Welcome to the Modal*, *Credit-reſtored*, Mat's *Peace*, &c. Notwithſtanding theſe proſecutions, the pens of both parties were ſtill buſy, the one in expoſing, and the other in vindicating the preſent Negotiations of peace.

(2) It concludes thus: There is ground to hope, that, by remaining firmly united, the Allies may ſoon oblige *France* (with the bleſſing of God) to agree to reaſonable conditions; the extreme indigence that Crown is in, and the need ſhe has of peace, being very certain, and confirmed from all parts. The Almighty has bleſſed the arms of the Queen and of her Allies, with ſo many triumphs over their powerful enemy, to the end they may ſecure themſelves by a ſafe and advantageous peace, from all they have to fear from him; and it cannot be his pleaſure, that an enemy ſo exhauſted, and vanquiſhed, as he has been on all occaſions, ſhould at laſt carry his deſigns by this war, and get out of it by a peace glorious to him, to the ruin of the victorious Allies, and to the deſtruction of the Liberty of all *Europe*; in acquiring by this peace the power of giving a King to *Spain*, of impoſing one upon *Great-Britain*, and of making the validity of the election of the Head of the Empire depend on his approbation.

1711. geſting, that it was very impolite in his Electoral Highneſs, at this juncture, to intermeddle in the affairs of *Great-Britain*, and ſeem to eſpouſe a party. Others pretended, that this memorial had more the air of an original in *Engliſh*, than of a tranſlation from the *French*; and ſo concluded, it was contrived in *London* by the leading men of the Whig-party in concert with Baron *Bothmar*, who was perſuaded to preſent it: But this was altogether groundleſs, for the memorial was drawn up in form at *Hanover*, by Monſieur *Robethon*, according to the Elector's orders and directions. Nay, ſome were ſo bold, as in a printed *Letter from a ſuppoſed Whig Gentleman in the country, to a friend in town*, to queſtion the genuineneſs of that memorial, and to laugh at it as a barefaced impoſture; with other ſcandalous reflections on his Electoral Highneſs, and his Envoy. As for the *Britiſh* Miniſters, they had no manner of regard to that repreſentation; nor would the Queen perhaps ever have ſeen it, had it not been ſhewn to her in print by the Duke of *Somerſet*, before it was laid before her by the Secretary of State; which could not be agreeable either to her, or to Mr. *St. John*, who expoſtulated with the Baron *de Bothmar* about publiſhing his memorial.

The Parliament prorogued to the 7th of Decemb. Burnet. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

The Parliament having been prorogued to the 27th of *November*, a Council was held on the 26th at *St. James*'s, whether it ſhould be further prorogued, or only adjourned for a few days; and it was at laſt carried for a prorogation till the 7th of *December*. It ſeems, the *Dutch*, before they gave their conſent to the opening of a Congreſs, were deſirous to ſee firſt how the Parliament was inclined, but the Earl of *Strafford*, perceiving their deſign, told them plainly, that, till they agreed to treat, the Seſſion would not be opened, ſo they complied: Another reaſon, for proroguing the Parliament ſo late in the year, was the diſcovery of a *Coalition* of ſome eminent Peers of the High-Church Party, with thoſe of the contrary ſide, and of their having concerted a *Repreſentation* to be laid before the Queen againſt a peace on the foot of the propoſals made by *France*; which, it was thought, might be prevented, if not by other means, at leaſt by the coming up of the *Scotch* Peers, not above three or four of whom were yet arrived in *London* (1). 1711.

Endeavours uſed by the Court to ſecure the Parliament when opened.

In the mean time, pains were taken on many perſons who were ſuppoſed to be concerned in the intended repreſentation. The Lord-Treaſurer *Harley* endeavoured to engage the Earl of *Nottingham* in the Court meaſures, againſt which he had openly declared. And the Queen, at the ſame time, cloſeted the Dukes of *Grafton* and *St. Albans*, the Earls of *Dorſet* and *Scarborough*, the Lords *Sommers*, *Cowper*, and particularly the Duke of *Marlborough*, who, upon his coming over, ſpoke plainly to the Queen againſt the ſteps that were already made: But he found her ſo poſſeſſed, that what he ſaid made no impreſſion; ſo he deſired to be excuſed from coming to Council, ſince he muſt oppoſe the preſent proceedings. All the reſt likewiſe remained firm in their opinion, to the great diſappointment of the new Miniſtry (2). It was therefore propoſed at firſt in a Council, on the 5th of *December*, to cauſe both Houſes to adjourn for a few days, during which freſh endeavours might be uſed to defeat the deſign lately formed againſt the preſent ſcheme; but ſome Members of the Privy-Council having repreſented the fears and jealouſies, which ſuch an adjournment, after ſo many prorogations, might create in the minds of the people; and, on the other hand, the Miniſtry, either hoping, with the aſſiſtance of their *Scots* friends, to have a majority in the Houſe of Lords, or, at leaſt, being ſecure of it in that of the Commons, it was, after a long debate, finally reſolved, that the

(1) What happened, ſome days before, afforded yet more matter of diſcourſe and ſpeculation. Upon information, that the effigies of the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender, were to be carried in proceſſion, and (according to the cuſtom of the *London* Mob) burnt on the 17th of *November*, the Anniverſary of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Inauguration, the Earl of *Dartmouth* iſſued out his warrant, purſuant to which, on the 16th, at twelve at night, ſome of the Queen's Meſſengers, ſuſtained by a detachment of the Foot-guards, ſeized thoſe three figures, with ſeveral others of Cardinals, Jeſuits, and Friars, all finely dreſſed, and carried them from an empty houſe in *Drury-Lane*, where they had been lodged, to the Earl of *Dartmouth*'s Office in the *Cock-pit*. And the Trained Bands of *London* and *Weſtminſter* were immediately aſſembled, and continued under arms three days together. At the ſame time endeavours were uſed to render obnoxious an illuſtrious ſociety of Noblemen and Gentlemen, called the *Kit-Cat-Club*, who, for many years, had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for the Proteſtant Succeſſion. For which purpoſe, the mercenary Writer of the *Poſt-Boy*, of the 22d of *November*, was directed to charge them with "a conſpiracy to raiſe "a mob to confront the beſt of Queens, and her Miniſtry, pull down the houſes of ſeveral honeſt, "worthy, loyal, true *Engliſh* Gentlemen, having "had money diſtributed amongſt them ſome time be"fore for that purpoſe by *G. G. G. S. S. S. W. H. M.* "[i. e. *Grafton*, *Godolphin*, Dr. *Garth*, *Somerſet*, *Sunder*"land*, *Sommers*, *Wharton*, *Halifax*, and *Montague*,] "an inſatiable junto, *cum multis aliis*, who made the "ſubſcription, and gave out, that her Majeſty was "very ill, if not dead, in order to have acted their "treaſons with greater freedom." Whereas the Lords and Gentlemen, who were at the expence of theſe effigies, had no other deſign, than to have them carried in proceſſion, and afterwards burnt with the like ſolemnity, as was remarkably practiſed on the 17th of *November*, 1679, when the Nation was juſtly alarmed with a popiſh Plot, and a popiſh Succeſſor.

(2) Among others (ſays Biſhop *Burnet*, Vol. II. p. 582.) the Queen ſpoke to myſelf; ſhe ſaid, ſhe hoped Biſhops would not be againſt peace: I ſaid, a good peace was what we prayed daily for, but the Preliminaries offered by *France* gave no hopes of ſuch an one; and the truſting to the King of *France*'s Faith, after all that had paſſed, would ſeem a ſtrange thing. She ſaid, we were not to regard the Preliminaries; we ſhould have a peace upon ſuch a bottom, that we ſhould not at all rely on the King of *France*'s word; but we ought to ſuſpend our opinions, till ſhe acquainted us, with the whole matter. I aſked leave to ſpeak my mind plainly; which ſhe granted: I ſaid, any treaty, by which *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were left to King *Philip*, muſt in a little while deliver up all *Europe* into the hands of *France*; and, if any ſuch Peace ſhould be made, ſhe was betrayed, and we were all ruined; in leſs than three years time, ſhe would be murdered, and the fires would be again raiſed in *Smithfield*: I purſued this long, till I ſaw ſhe grew uneaſy; ſo I withdrew.

1711. the Parliament ſhould ſit on the day, to which they were laſt prorogued. Accordingly, a Committee of the Council having met the 6th of *December*, to conſider of the Queen's ſpeech, her Majeſty went the next day in a ſedan to the Houſe of Peers, and ſpoke to both Houſes to this effect:

The ſecond Seſſion of the third Parliament of Great Britain. Pr. H. C.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech.

" I Have called you together, as ſoon as the " public affairs would permit; and I am " glad I can now tell you, that, notwithſtanding " the arts of thoſe, *who delight in war*, both " place and time are appointed, for opening the " Treaty of a general peace.

" Our Allies, eſpecially the *States-General*, " whoſe intereſt I look upon as inſeparable from " my own, have, by their ready concurrence, " expreſſed their intire confidence in me; and " I have no reaſon to doubt, but that my own " ſubjects are aſſured of my particular care of " them.

" My chief concern is, that the Proteſtant " Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of theſe " Nations, may be continued to you, by ſecu- " ring the Succeſſion to the Crown, as it is li- " mited by Parliament to the Houſe of *Hano- " ver*.

" I ſhall endeavour, that after a war, which " has coſt ſo much blood and treaſure, you may " find your intereſt in trade and commerce im- " proved and inlarged by a peace, with all other " advantages, which a tender and affectionate " Sovereign can procure for a dutiful and loyal " People.

" The Princes and States, which have been " engaged with us in this war, being by treaties " intitled to have their ſeveral intereſts ſecured " at a peace, I will not only do my utmoſt to " procure every one of them all reaſonable ſa- " tisfaction, but I ſhall unite with them in the " ſtricteſt engagements for continuing the Alli- " ance, in order to render the general peace ſe- " cure and laſting.

" The beſt way to have this treaty effectual, " will be to make early proviſion for the cam- " paign. Therefore, I muſt aſk of you, Gen- " tlemen of the Houſe of Commons, the neceſ- " ſary Supplies for the next year's war; and I " do moſt earneſtly recommend to you, to make " ſuch diſpatch therein, as may convince our " enemies, that, if we cannot obtain a good " peace, we are prepared to carry on the war " with vigour.

" Whatever you give, will ſtill be in your " power to apply; and I doubt not, but, in a " little time after the opening of the treaty, we " ſhall be able to judge of its event.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" As I have had your chearful aſſiſtance for " the carrying on this long and chargeable war, " ſo I aſſure myſelf, that no true Proteſtant, or " good Subject, will envy *Britain* or Me the " glory and ſatisfaction of ending the ſame by " a juſt and honourable peace for Us and all " our Allies.

" Such a peace will give new life to our fo- " reign trade; and I ſhall do my utmoſt to im- " prove that happy opportunity to encourage " our home-manufactures, which will tend to " the eaſing my ſubjects in that exceſſive charge " they now lie under in maintaining the poor, " and to correct and redreſs ſuch abuſes, as " may have crept into any part of the Admini- " ſtration during ſo long a war. 1711.

" I cannot conclude, without earneſtly recom- " mending to you all unanimity; and that you " will carefully avoid every thing, which may " give occaſion to the enemy to think us a peo- " ple divided amongſt ourſelves, and conſe- " quently prevent our obtaining that good peace, " of which we have ſuch reaſonable hopes, and " ſo near a view.

" I pray God direct your conſultations to this " end, that, being delivered from the hardſhips " of war, you may become a happy and a " flouriſhing people."

This ſpeech gave occaſion to many reflections. The arts of thoſe, *who delighted in war*, ſeemed to be levelled at the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Preliminaries concerted at the *Hague*; and her ſaying, that the *Allies expreſſed their intire confidence in her*, amazed all thoſe, who knew, that neither the Emperor, nor the Empire, had agreed to the Congreſs, but were oppoſing it with great vehemence; and that even the *States-General* were far from being cordial or eaſy in the ſteps they had made.

Reflections on it. Burnet.

As ſoon as the Queen had ended her ſpeech, ſhe retired into a room, and, having taken off her robes, came back *Incognito* to the Houſe of Peers, both to hear the debates, and, by her preſence, to moderate any heats, that might ariſe; which, however, was by ſome obſerved to be unuſual on the day the Sovereign opens a Seſſion of Parliament. The Earl of *Ferrers* having made a motion for an addreſs of thanks to the Queen for her ſpeech, the Earl of *Nottingham* roſe up, and very copiouſly ſet forth 'the inſufficiency and captiouſneſs of the late Preliminaries; made a lively repreſentation of the danger of treating upon ſo precarious a foundation; urged the expreſs engagements, which *Great-Britain* had entered into with the Allies, to reſtore the intire monarchy of *Spain* to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and the neceſſity of carrying on the war with vigour, till thoſe engagements were made good:' adding, 'That, though he had a numerous family, he would readily contribute half his income towards it, rather than acquieſce in a peace, which he thought unſafe and diſhonourable to his Country and all *Europe*.' He concluded with offering a clauſe to be inſerted in the addreſs of thanks, 'to repreſent to her Majeſty, as the humble opinion and advice of the Houſe, that no peace could be ſafe or honourable to *Great-Britain*, or *Europe*, if *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were allotted to any branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.' The Lord *Guernſey*, brother to the Earl of *Nottingham*, ſaid, 'That ſuch a clauſe was foreign to an addreſs of thanks: That, in all probability, few of the Members of the Houſe were prepared to ſpeak to it; but that it might be debated at a more convenient time, when, according to cuſtom, the Houſe ſhould take into conſideration the State of the Nation.' He was ſeconded by the Lord *North* and *Grey*, and another Peer; and the Lord Treaſurer added, 'That, according to the rules and orders of the Houſe, this was not the *proper time* to debate ſuch a motion.' Upon this the Earl of *Wharton* appealed to the Houſe, whether

Debate about a clauſe offered by the Earl of Nottingham. Pr. H. L.

1711. ther there were any ſuch order? And, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the moſt verſed in the knowledge of Parliamentary proceedings, having overruled the Treaſurer's objection, the Earl of *Wharton* proceeded; ſpoke with great zeal againſt the *Preliminary Articles* offered by *France*; and inſiſted upon the neceſſity of inſerting in the addreſs the clauſe offered by the Earl of *Nottingham*. He was ſupported by the Earl of *Sunderland*, who anſwered the objection raiſed by ſome Peers of the oppoſite ſide, namely, that they were not prepared to ſpeak to that motion: "What, my Lords, *ſaid he*, is it poſſible, that "any Member of this illuſtrious Houſe ſhould "be unprepared to debate an affair, which, for "theſe ten years paſt, has been the principal "ſubject-matter of our conſultations? Do not "we ſit in the ſame Houſe? And, Are we "not the ſame Peers, who have conſtantly been "of opinion, and have often repreſented to her "Majeſty, that no ſafe and honourable peace "can be made, unleſs *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* be recovered from the Houſe of *Bourbon*? "It is true, I ſee ſome new faces among us: "But even that Lord, who ſits on the Woolpack [*meaning the Lord Treaſurer*] may well "remember, that, in the late reign, four Lords "were impeached for having made a *Partition-Treaty*." The Earl of *Angleſey*, (who, with the Duke of *Ormond*, was juſt come into the Houſe, having that morning travelled above thirty miles in their return from *Ireland*) repreſented "the neceſſity of eaſing the Nation of "the burden of this expenſive war, and ſaid, "they ought to leave it to her Majeſty's wiſdom to conclude a peace, when ſhe thought "it convenient for the good of her ſubjects:" adding, "That we might have enjoyed that "bleſſing ſoon after the battle of *Ramillies*, if "the ſame had not been put off by ſome perſons, whoſe intereſt it was to prolong the war." The Duke of *Marlborough*, who could not but perceive, that this ſuggeſtion was levelled againſt him, made a long and pathetic ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, "He thought "himſelf happy, in having an opportunity "given him of vindicating himſelf on ſo material a point, which his enemies had ſo loudly, and ſo unjuſtly, laid to his charge, before "a perſon [*meaning the Queen, and making a "bow towards the place where her Majeſty was*] "who knowing the integrity of his heart, and "the uprightneſs of his conduct, would not fail "doing him juſtice. That he referred himſelf "to the Queen, whether, whilſt he had the "honour to ſerve her Majeſty, as General and "Plenipotentiary, he had not conſtantly informed Her, and her Council, of all the propoſals of peace, that had been made; and, "had not deſired inſtructions for his conduct on "that ſubject? That he could declare with a "ſafe conſcience, in the preſence of her Majeſty, of that illuſtrious aſſembly, and of that "Supreme Being, who is infinitely above all the "powers upon earth, and before whom, according to the ordinary courſe of nature, he muſt "ſoon appear, to give an account of his actions, that he ever was deſirous of a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace; and that he was "always very far from any deſign of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as "his enemies had moſt falſely inſinuated. That "his advanced age, and the many fatigues he had "undergone, made him earneſtly wiſh for retire- 1711.
"ment and repoſe, to think of eternity the remainder of his days; the rather, becauſe he had "not the leaſt motive to deſire the continuance of "the war, having been ſo generouſly rewarded, "and had honours and riches heaped upon him, "far beyond his deſert and expectation, both "by her Majeſty and her Parliaments. That "he thought himſelf bound to this public acknowledgment to her Majeſty and his Country, that he ſhould always be ready to ſerve "them, if he could but crawl along, to obtain "an honourable and laſting peace: But that, at "the ſame time, he muſt take the liberty to "declare, that he could, by no means, give in- "to the meaſures, that had lately been taken to "enter into a Negotiation of peace with *France*, "upon the foot of the ſeven *preliminary articles*; for he was of the ſame opinion with the "reſt of the Allies, that the ſafety and liberties "of *Europe* would be in imminent danger, if "*Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were left to the "Houſe of *Bourbon*; which, with all humility, "and as he thought himſelf in duty bound, he "had declared to her Majeſty, whom he had "the honour to wait on, after his return from "*Holland*: And, therefore, he was for inſerting "in the addreſs the clauſe offered by the Earl of "*Nottingham*." This ſpeech, delivered with a moſt hearty concern, had the greater weight, as it was ſupported by the Lord *Cowper*, the Biſhop of *Sarum*, the Lord *Halifax*, and ſome other Peers. On the other hand, the Lord *North* and *Grey* and ſome other officious Courtiers ſaid, that, ſince peace and war belonged, as prerogatives to the Crown, it was not proper to offer any advice in thoſe matters, until it was aſked: But this was rejected with indignation, ſince it was a conſtant practice, in all Seſſions of Parliament, to offer advices; no prerogative could be above advice; this was the end ſpecified in the writ, by which a Parliament was ſummoned; nor was the motion for a delay received. The eyes of all *Europe* were upon the preſent Seſſion; and this was a poſt-night: So it was fit they ſhould come to a preſent reſolution, in a matter of ſuch importance. This debate (in which the Dukes of *Shrewſbury* and *Buckingham* were obſerved to ſay little or nothing) having laſted till near ſeven in the evening, the queſtion was put, whether the Earl of *Nottingham*'s advice ſhould be part of the addreſs; and, the previous queſtion being firſt put, it was carried by the ſingle vote of that Earl; but the main queſtion was carried by ſixty-two againſt fifty-four: So this point was gained, though by a ſmall majority. *The clause is agreed to by the Lords.*

It was expected, that the Court-party would the next day have the majority, by means of the proxies which eight *Scot* Peers had ſent to the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Mar*. Wherefore, when the addreſs of the Lords was reported to the Houſe, by the Committee appointed to prepare it, the Court tried to get the whole matter to be conteſted over again, pretending, that the debate was not now, upon the matter, debated the day before, but only whether they ſhould agree to the draught, prepared by the Committee: But that part of it, which contained the advice, was conceived in the very words, in which the vote had paſſed; and it was a ſtanding rule, that what was once voted, could never again be brought into queſtion, during

1711. ring that Seſſion. This was ſo ſacred a rule, that many of thoſe, who voted with the Court the day before, expreſſed their indignation againſt it, as ſubverting the very Conſtitution of Parliaments, if things might be thus voted and unvoted again, from day to day: Yet even upon this a diviſion was called for, but, the majority appearing ſo evidently againſt the motion, it was yielded, without counting the Houſe. Three days after, the Lords waited on the Queen with their addreſs, which was as follows:

The Lords addreſs. Pr. H. L.

"WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal "ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Tem- "poral in Parliament aſſembled, do, with hearts "full of gratitude and loyalty to your ſacred "Majeſty, beg leave to return your Majeſty "our moſt humble and hearty thanks and ac- "knowledgments for your Majeſty's moſt tender "and affectionate care for all your people, ex- "preſſed in your Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech "from the Throne, and for imparting to us "your Majeſty's deſires of ending this preſent "war, by a peace advantageous to your Sub- "jects, and juſt and honourable for your Majeſty "and all your Allies; as alſo for your Majeſty's "expreſſing ſo particular a regard for the inte- "reſt of the *States-General*, as inſeparable from "your own; and that your Majeſty is graci- "ouſly pleaſed to aſſure us, it is your chief "concern, that the Proteſtant Religion, and the "laws and liberties of theſe Nations, may be "continued to your people, by ſecuring the "Succeſſion to the Crown, as it is limited by "Parliament to the Houſe of *Hanover*; and "that your Majeſty is pleaſed to ſhew ſo juſt a "reſolution to procure a ſatisfaction for all the "Allies, being by treaties intitled to have their "ſeveral intereſts ſecured at a peace, and to "unite with them in the ſtricteſt engagements, "in order to render the peace ſecure and laſt- "ing. And we do beg leave to repreſent it to "your Majeſty, as the humble opinion and ad- "vice of this Houſe, that no peace can be ſafe "or honourable to *Great-Britain* or *Europe*, if "*Spain* and the *Weſt Indies* are to be allotted "to any part of the Houſe of *Bourbon*."

To which the Queen returned this anſwer:

"*My Lords*,

"I take the thanks you give me kindly. I "ſhould be very ſorry any one could think I "would not do my utmoſt to recover *Spain* and "the *Weſt-Indies* from the Houſe of *Bour- "bon* (1).

The Lords returned her thanks for this anſwer: For they underſtood, by *the doing her utmoſt*, was meant the continuing the war. The Court was much troubled to ſee the Houſe of Lords ſo backward, and both ſides ſtudied to fortify themſelves, by bringing up their friends, or by getting their proxies.

The Houſe of Commons were more complaiſant than that of the Lords, for a clauſe being offered to be inſerted in their addreſs of thanks, importing, "That the Houſe did not doubt, "but care would be taken, that *Spain* and the "*Weſt-Indies* ſhould not be left in the hands of "any branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, which "might indanger the ſafety of her Majeſty's "Perſon and Government, the Proteſtant Suc- "ceſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, and the "Liberties of *Europe*;" after a long debate, this clauſe was rejected by a majority of two hundred and thirty-two voices againſt one hundred and ſix; and ſo the Commons, in their addreſs, not only expreſſed their ſatisfaction in what her Majeſty had been pleaſed to declare of the juſt and honourable peace, which ſhe had in view; 'but, at the ſame time, aſſured her, that they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſappoint, as well the arts and deſigns of thoſe, who, for private views, might *delight in war*, as the hopes the enemies might have vainly entertained of receiving advantage from any diviſion among them.' The Queen returned for anſwer, 'That this very dutiful addreſs was what ſhe expected from the zeal and loyalty of ſuch an Houſe of Commons: That ſhe returned them her hearty thanks for the confidence they had in her; and entirely relied upon their aſſurances: And that they might depend upon her affection and care for their intereſts.' 1711. *The ſame clauſe rejected by the Commons.* Pr. H. C.

While things paſſed ſmoothly in the Houſe of Commons, the proceedings in the Houſe of Peers made a great noiſe, and kept the contending parties in ſuſpence. The Duke of *Hamilton*, one of the ſixteen Peers for *Scotland*, having, been created a Peer of *Great-Britain*, by the title of Duke of *Brandon*, notwithſtanding a *caveat* entered againſt his patent, and now claiming a place in that quality in the Houſe of Peers, many Lords, who apprehended no ſmall danger to the Conſtitution, from the admitting into their Houſe a greater number of *Scots* Peers, than were agreed to by the act of Union, reſolved to oppoſe his claim. When that affair was brought into the Houſe, it was eſpouſed by the Court with great zeal, and the Queen came to hear the debates. Lawyers were heard for the patent: It was ſaid, the Queen's prerogative in conferring honours was clear. All the ſubjects of the united Kingdom had likewiſe a capacity of receiving honour. The Commons of *Scotland* had it unqueſtionably; and it ſeemed a ſtrange aſſertion, that the Peers of that Nation ſhould be the only perſons incapable of receiving honour. By the act of Union the Peers of *Scotland* were, *by virtue of that Treaty*, to have a repreſentation of ſixteen for their whole body: Theſe words, *by virtue of that Treaty*, ſeemed to inſinuate, that, by Creation or Succeſſion, they might be made capable. And in the debate, that followed in the Houſe, the *Scots* Lords, who had been of the Treaty of Union, affirmed, that theſe words were put in on that deſign. And, upon this, they appealed to the *Engliſh* Lords. This *Duke Hamilton's patent examined.* Pr. H. L. Burnet. Dec. 20.

was

(1) The ſame day the addreſs was preſented, ſeveral Court Lords entered their proteſts againſt it; 1. "Becauſe the nature of it was altered, there being no "precedent for inſerting a clauſe of advice in an ad- "dreſs of thanks. 2. Becauſe they looked upon it "as an invaſion of the Royal Prerogative, in ſo ſud- "den a manner to declare their opinion in a matter "of ſuch importance to the Crown, as the making "of peace and war."

1711. was denied by none of them. It was alſo urged, that the Houſe of Lords had already judged the matter, when they not only received the Duke of *Queensberry* upon his being created Duke of *Dover*, but had ſo far affirmed his being a Peer of *Great-Britain*, that upon that account they had denied him the right of voting in the election of the ſixteen Peers of *Scotland*. But, in oppoſition to all this, it was replied, that the prerogative could not operate, when it was barred by an act of Parliament: The act of Union had made all the Peers of *Scotland* Peers of *Great-Britain*, as to all intents, except the voting in the Houſe of Lords, or ſitting in judgment on a Peer: And, as to their voting, that was veſted in their repreſentatives, by whom they voted. The Queen might give them what titles ſhe pleaſed; but this incapacity of voting, otherwiſe than by theſe ſixteen, being ſettled by law, the prerogative was by that limited as to them. They had indeed admitted the Duke of *Queensberry* to ſit among them as Duke of *Dover*; but that matter was never brought into debate, and ſo was paſſed over in ſilence; and he was mentioned in their books, upon occaſion of his voting in the choice of the ſixteen Peers of *Scotland*, in terms that were far from determining this; for it was there ſaid, that he, claiming to be Duke of *Dover*, could not vote as a *Scots* Peer. The *Scots* Lords, in arguing for the Patent, inſiſted with great vehemence, not without intimations of the diſmal effects, that might follow, if it ſhould go in the negative. The Court exerted their whole ſtrength to ſupport the Patent. This heightned the zeal of thoſe, who oppoſed it; for they apprehended, that, conſidering the dignity and the antiquity of the *Scots* Peers, and the poverty of the greater part of them, the Court would always have recourſe to this, as a ſure expedient to have a conſtant majority in the Houſe of Lords. There was no limitation indeed on the Prerogative, as to the creation of new Peers; yet theſe were generally men of eſtates, who could not be kept in a conſtant dependence, as ſome of the *Scots* Lords might be. The debate laſted till near eight o'clock in the evening, when the queſtion was put, Whether the twelve Judges ſhould be conſulted with? Which being carried in the negative by fourteen votes, proxies included, another queſtion was put, Whether *Scots* Peers, created Peers of *Great-Britain* ſince the Union, have a right to ſit in that houſe? Which was alſo carried in the negative by a majority of fifty-ſeven voices againſt fifty-two (1). The Queen and the Miniſters ſeemed to be much concerned at this, and the *Scots* were inraged at it. They met together, and ſigned a repreſentation to the Queen, complaining of it as a breach of the Union, and a mark of diſgrace put on the whole Peerage of *Scotland*, adding ſolemn promiſes of maintaining her Prerogative, either in an united or ſeparate ſtate. This made the Miniſters reſolve on another method to let the Peers, and indeed the whole World ſee, that they would have that houſe kept in a conſtant dependence on the Court, by creating ſuch a number of Peers at once, as ſhould give them an unqueſtionable majority. 1711.

A bill againſt Occaſional Conformity. In the mean time an affair of no leſs importance was brought into the Houſe of Peers. The *Occaſional Conformity Bill*, having miſcarried three times, lay dormant for ſeven years, till it was at this time revived by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who told thoſe, with whom he now joined, that he was but one man come over to them, unleſs he could carry a bill to that purpoſe: But, if they would give way to that, he hoped he ſhould be able to bring many to concur with them in other things. They yielded

(1) On this occaſion was entered the following proteſt:

Diſſentient,

1. Becauſe, as we apprehend, by this reſolution, the prerogative of the Crown in granting patents of honours, with all privileges depending thereon, to the Peers of *Great-Britain*, who were Peers of *Scotland* at the time of the Union, as well as the right of the Duke of *Brandon* to ſit and vote in Parliament, are taken away; and this prerogative of the Crown, and right of the Duke, depending upon the conſtruction of an act of Parliament, though Council, by order of the Houſe, were heard at the bar, and all the Judges were ordered to attend at the ſame time, yet the opinion of the Judges was not permitted to be aſked touching the conſtruction of the ſaid act of Parliament.

2. Becauſe the prerogative of the Crown, as we conceive, in granting patents of honour, with the privileges depending thereon, ought not, in the conſtruction of any act of Parliament, to be taken away, unleſs there be plain and expreſs words to that purpoſe in the ſaid act: And we conceive, there are no ſuch plain and expreſs words for that purpoſe in the act of Union.

3. Becauſe by this reſolution all the Peers of *Great-Britain*, who were Peers of *Scotland* at the time of the Union, are ſuppoſed to be incapable of receiving of any patent of honour from the Crown, by virtue whereof they may be intitled to the privileges of ſitting and voting in Parliament, and ſitting on the trial of Peers; which, we conceive, is repugnant to the fourth article of the Union, which declares the privileges and advantages, which do or may belong to the ſubjects of either Kingdom, except where it is otherwiſe expreſsly agreed in thoſe articles, in which, we apprehend, there is no ſuch proviſion.

4. Becauſe the Duke of *Queensberry*, in all reſpects in the ſame caſe, as the Duke of *Hamilton*, was introduced, ſat, and voted in this Houſe, in matters of the higheſt importance, in two ſeveral Parliaments, as Duke of *Dover*, by virtue of a patent paſſed ſince the Union; and, in conſequence of ſuch ſitting and voting, his vote in the election of Peers of *Scotland* was rejected; and, as a further conſequence thereof, the Marquiſs of *Lothian* was removed from his ſeat in this Houſe, which he had an undeniable title to, if the Duke of *Queensberry*'s patent, as Duke of *Dover*, had not given him a title to ſit and vote in this Houſe.

5. Becauſe, by this reſolution, the Peers of *Scotland* are reduced to a worſe condition in ſome reſpects, than the meaneſt or moſt criminal ſubjects.

6. Becauſe we conceive, this reſolution may be conſtrued, to be a violation of the treaty between the two Nations.

Winchelſea,
Ormond,
Balmerino,
Clarendon,
Oxford and *Mortimer*,
Boyle.
Kelſyth,
Rivers,
Blantyres,
Hunſdon,
Paulet,
Harcourt,
O. S. Hume,
Mar,
Loudun,
Osborne,
Roſeberry,
Ilay,
Orkney.

(1) The

1711. ed this the more eaſily, becauſe they knew, that the Court had offered to the High-men in the Houſe of Commons, to carry any bill, they ſhould deſire in that matter. The Earl of *Nottingham* promiſed to draw it with all poſſible temper. It was thus prepared, that all perſons in places of profit and truſt, and all the Common-Council-men in Corporations, who ſhould be at any Meeting for divine worſhip (where there were above ten perſons more than the family) in which the Common Prayer was not uſed, or where the Queen and Princeſs *Sophia* were not prayed for, ſhould upon conviction forfeit their place of truſt, or profit, the witneſſes making oath within ten days, and the proſecution being within three months after the offence; and ſuch perſons were to continue incapable of any employment, till they ſhould depoſe, that for a whole year together they had been at no Conventicle. The bill likewiſe enacted, that the Toleration ſhould remain inviolable in all time to come; and that, if any perſon ſhould be brought into trouble for not having obſerved the rules that were preſcribed by the act, that firſt granted the Toleration, all ſuch proſecution ſhould ceaſe, upon their taking the oath preſcribed by that act: And a Teacher in any one County was by the bill qualified to ſerve in any licenſed Meeting in any part of *England*; and, by another clauſe, all, who were concerned in the practice of the Law in *Scotland*, were required to take the *Abjuration* in the month of *June* next. This bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords on the 15th of *December*, and, no oppoſition being made to it, they paſſed it in three days, and ſent it down to the Commons, who read it immediately the firſt time, and gave it a ſecond reading the next day; and on the 20th of *December*, a petition being offered to the Houſe in behalf of the *Dutch* and *French* Proteſtant Churches, praying, they might be excepted from the reſtraints laid by this bill upon *Engliſh* Diſſenting Congregations: The petition was rejected. After which the Commons in a Committee of the whole Houſe (which that morning was very thin) made ſeveral amendments to the bill, particularly the addition of a penalty on the offender of forty pounds, which was to be given to the informer. Theſe amendments being immediately reported and agreed to, the bill was ſent back to the Peers, who the ſame day ſent down a meſſage to the Commons, to acquaint them, they had agreed to theſe amendments (1). Great reflections were made on the fate of this bill, which had formerly been ſo much conteſted, and was ſo often rejected by the Lords, and now went through both Houſes in ſo ſilent a manner, without the leaſt oppoſition. Some of the Diſſenters complained much, that they were thus forſaken by their Friends, to whom they had truſted; and the Court had agents among them, to inflame their reſentments, ſince they were ſacrificed by thoſe, on whom they depended. All the excuſe, that the Whigs made for their eaſineſs in this matter, was, that they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding it might go towards quieting the fears of thoſe, who ſeemed to think, that the Church was ſtill in danger, till that act paſſed, and thereby to engage theſe to concur with them in thoſe important matters, that might come before them (2). 1711.

The Commons adjourn to the 14th of January.

On the 22d of *December*, the Queen being indiſpoſed, the Lord-Keeper and the Lord-Preſident, and other Lords, were commiſſioned to paſs the land-tax-bill for four ſhillings in the pound, which was ready for the Royal aſſent, with the bill againſt Occaſional Conformity. After which, the Commons adjourned to the 14th of *January*, which was a long receſs at ſo critical a time.

The Lords addreſs about the peace. Pr. H. L.

Before the Lords adjourned, a motion was made by the Duke of *Devonſhire*, for leave to bring in a bill, to give the Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, as Duke of *Cambridge*, the precedence of all Peers; which was granted, and ſo was likely to meet with no oppoſition. The Earl of *Nottingham* moved next, that, before their receſs, they ſhould make an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring 'That her Majeſty would be pleaſed to give inſtructions to her Plenipotentiaries, to conſult with the Miniſters of the Allies in *Holland*, before the opening of the Congreſs, that they might concert the neceſſary meaſures to preſerve a ſtrict union amongſt them all, the better to obtain the great end propoſed by her Majeſty, for procuring to them all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction, and for rendering the peace more ſecure and laſting, which could only be effected by a general guaranty of the terms of the peace to all the Allies, and of the Proteſtant Succeſſion to theſe Kingdoms, as ſettled by act of Parliament.' All the oppoſition, which the Court made to this, was to ſhew, that it was needleſs, ſince it was already ordered; and the Lord-Treaſurer ſaid, that the Lords might, in order to their ſatisfaction, ſend to examine their inſtructions. To this, it was anſwered, that the offering ſuch an addreſs would ſatisfy the Plenipotentiaries, in executing their inſtructions. The Court moved, theſe words might be put into the addreſs, *in caſe her Majeſty had not already given ſuch orders*; which being agreed to, the addreſs was preſented on the 27th of *December*, and

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(1) The Diſſenters (ſays *Boyer*) being juſtly alarmed at this bill, did, the ſame morning, make application to the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord High-Treaſurer, humbly beſeeching his Lordſhip to uſe his powerful intereſt to prevent the paſſing of it: But though his Lordſhip, with moſt of his family, had, for the greateſt part of his life, joined in Communion with the Preſbyterians; yet, on this occaſion, he thought fit to ſacrifice his religious principles to his political views; and ſo the Diſſenters were left in the lurch.

(2) Dr. *Calamy*, in his Hiſtorical Additions, ſays, on this occaſion: Thus, after fifty years excluſion from the public Churches, by the act of Uniformity, during the one half of which they were expoſed to great rigours and ſeverities, though, during the other half, they have had more liberty, are the poor Diſſenters excluded the ſervice of the State. So far are we from any hopes of a coalition, which has been ſo often talked of, that nothing will do but an entire ſubmiſſion. *Conſciences truly ſcrupulous* may indeed ſtill have their liberty: But they, that would be capable of any places of profit or truſt, muſt quit the Meetings after *March* 25, 1712; and they, that in all times and changes adhered to the true intereſt of their Country, muſt be publickly branded. Perhaps, the time may come, when perſons may have other thoughts of this matter, than while in the heat of action.

(1) The

1711. and the Lords adjourned no longer than to the 2d of *January*, which, as well as the addreſs, was no ſmall ſurprize to the Queen and her Miniſters.

The Duke of Marlborough *turned out of all his employments on pretence of bribery.* Pr. H. C. Burnet.

During the receſs it was, that the Duke of *Marlborough* was diſcharged from all his employments. In order to this, all the methods, that malice and envy could invent, were uſed to make him appear criminal. But the diſcoveries made by the Commiſſioners for examining the public accounts were made the immediate cauſe of his diſgrace. Sir *Solomon Medina*, a *Jew*, concerned in the contract for furniſhing bread to the army in *Flanders*, made a preſent yearly to the Duke of *Marlborough* of between five or ſix thouſand pounds. The General of the *States*, it ſeems, had the like preſent, as a perquiſite to ſupport his dignity, and to enable him to procure intelligence. The Queen ordered ten thouſand pounds a year more to the Duke of *Marlborough* for the ſame ſervice. King *William* had alſo agreed, that two and a half *per Cent.* ſhould be deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops, which amounted to fifteen thouſand pounds. This the Queen had by a warrant appointed the Duke of *Marlborough* to receive, on the ſame account.

The Duke having heard, while he was beyond ſea, that the Commiſſioners had diſcovered the preſent made him by the *Jew*, ſent them a letter on the 10th of *November*, *N. S.* from the *Hague*, wherein he owned the whole matter to be true, and added, he had applied theſe ſums to the procuring good intelligence, to which, next to the bleſſing of God, on the bravery of the troops, their conſtant ſucceſſes were owing. This did not ſatisfy the Commiſſioners; but, though no complaints were brought from the army of their not being conſtantly ſupplied with good bread, yet they ſaw here was matter to raiſe a clamour againſt the Duke, which they chiefly aimed at. Accordingly the Commiſſioners reported theſe things to the Houſe of Commons on the 21ſt of *December*, the day before their receſs (which report was referred to the 17th of *January*) and the next day, purſuant to an order of the Houſe, Mr. *Shippen*, one of the Commiſſioners, laid before them: Firſt, the depoſition of Sir *Solomon de Medina*, Knight, proving great ſums of money taken by his Grace, *John* Duke of *Marlborough*, *Adam Cardonnel*, Eſquire, his Grace's Secretary, and others, on account of the contracts for ſupplying bread and bread-waggons to her Majeſty's forces in the *Low-Countries*. Secondly, Captain *William Preſton*'s depoſition about forage in *North-Britain*. Upon this the Duke of *Marlborough*'s letter, which he had writ in vindication of himſelf to the Commiſſioners, was by his order or contrivance publiſhed in *the Daily Courant* of the 27th of *December*. This letter having made an impreſſion in his favour on the minds of many perſons, the report of the Commiſſioners was by way of anſwer printed at large two days after (1), and the next day, the 30th of *December*,

(1) The ſubſtance of the report and the Duke's letter were as follow: 'That it appeared by the depoſition of Sir *Solomon de Medina*, the preſent Contractor, and by the accounts of *Antonio Alvarez Machado*, who had been Contractor before him, that from the year 1702, to the year 1711, both included, the Duke of *Marlborough* had received, upon account of the contracts for bread and bread-waggons, the ſum of ſix hundred and ſixty-four thouſand, eight hundred and fifty-one guilders, and eight ſtivers, which amounted to ſixty-three thouſand, three hundred and nine pounds, three ſhillings, and ſeven pence. That, ſome time after this evidence was given, they received, by the hands of *James Craggs*, Eſq; a letter from the Duke of *Marlborough*, deſiring the Commiſſioners, That, when they made their report, they would lay ſome facts before the Parliament in a true light. That they thought they could not better do him juſtice, than in his own words:

Gentlemen, *Hague*, *Novemb.* 10, 1711.

'Having been informed, upon my arrival here yeſterday, that Sir *Solomon Medina* had acquainted you with my having received ſeveral ſums of money from him, that it may make the leſs impreſſion upon you, I would loſe no time in letting you know, that this is no more than what has always been allowed as a perquiſite to the General or Commander in chief of the army in the *Low-Countries*, both before the Revolution and ſince; and I do aſſure you, at the ſame time, that whatever ſums I have received, on that account, have conſtantly been applied for the ſervice of the public, in keeping ſecret correſpondence, and getting intelligence of the enemies motions and deſigns; and it has fallen ſo ſhort, that I take leave to acquaint you with another article that has been applied to the ſame uſe, and which ariſes from her Majeſty's warrant, whereof the incloſed is a copy, though this does not properly relate to the public accounts, being a free-gift from the foreign troops. You will have obſerved, by the ſeveral eſtabliſhments, that, before the late King's death, when the Parliament voted forty thouſand men for the quota of *England* in the *Low-Countries*, twenty-one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve were to be foreigners, and the reſt *Engliſh*; for the laſt they gave ten thouſand pounds a year for intelligence, and other contingencies, without account; but his Majeſty being ſenſible, by the experience of the laſt war, that this ſum would not any way anſwer that ſervice, and being unwilling to apply for any more to the Parliament, he was pleaſed to order, that the foreign troops ſhould contribute two and a half *per cent.* towards it; and, I being then his Ambaſſador and Commander in chief abroad, he directed me to propoſe it to them, with an aſſurance, that they ſhould have no other ſtoppage made from their pay: This they readily agreed to, and her Majeſty was afterwards pleaſed to confirm it by her warrant, upon my acquainting her with the uſe it was intended for; and it has accordingly been applied from time to time for intelligence and ſecret ſervice, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, next to the bleſſing of God on the bravery of our troops, we may, in a great meaſure, attribute moſt of the advantages of the war in this Country to the timely and good advices procured with the help of this money. And now, Gentlemen, as I have laid the whole matter very fairly before you, and that I hope you will allow, I have ſerved my Queen and Country with that zeal and faithfulneſs which becomes an honeſt man, the favour, I am to intreat of you, is, that, when you make your report to the Parliament, you will lay this part before them in its true light, ſo as that they may ſee this neceſſary and important part of the war has been provided for and carried on without any other expence to the public than the ten thouſand pounds a year; and I flatter myſelf, that, when the accounts of the army in *Flanders* come under your conſideration, you will be ſenſible the ſervice on this ſide has been carried on with all the œconomy and good huſbandry that was poſſible. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient, humble Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

Anne R.

1711. *ber*, the Queen declared in Council, 'that, being informed, an information againſt the Duke of *Marlborough* was laid before the Houſe of Commons, by the Commiſſioners of the public accounts, ſhe thought fit to diſmiſs him from all his employments, that the matter might take an impartial examination.' This declaration was entered in the Council-books, and the day following it was notified to the Duke, by a letter under her own hand, 'that her intention was to reſume all the employments, ſhe had intruſted him with; complaining, at the ſame time, of the treatment ſhe had met with.' This appears from the Duke's anſwer, which he ſent by the Counteſs of *Sunderland*, one of his daughters:

Madam,

'I am very ſenſible of the honour your Majeſty does me, in diſmiſſing me from your ſervice by a letter of your own hand; though I find by it, that my enemies have been able to prevail with your Majeſty to do it in the manner, that is moſt injurious to me. And, if their malice and inveteracy againſt me had not been more powerful with them than the conſideration of your Majeſty's honour and juſtice, they would not have influenced you to impute the occaſion of my diſmiſſion to a falſe and malicious inſinuation contrived by themſelves, and made public, when there was no opportunity for me to give in my anſwer; which, they muſt needs be conſcious, would fully detect the falſehood and malice of their aſperſions, and not leave them that handle for bringing your Majeſty to ſuch extremities againſt me. 1711.

But I am much more concerned at an expreſſion in your Majeſty's letter, which ſeems to complain of the treatment you had met with. I know not how to underſtand that word, nor what conſtruction to make of it. I know I have always endeavoured to ſerve your Majeſty faithfully and zealouſly through a great many undeſerved mortifications. But if your Majeſty does intend by that expreſſion, to find fault with my not coming to the Cabinet Council, I am very free to acknowledge, that my duty to your Majeſty and my Country would not give me leave to join in the counſel of a man, who, in my opinion, puts your Majeſty upon all manner of extremities. And it is not my opinion only, but the opinion of all mankind, that the friendſhip of *France* muſt needs be deſtructive to your Majeſty, there being in that Court a root of enmity irreconcileable to your Majeſty's Government, and the Religion of theſe Kingdoms. I wiſh your Majeſty may never find the want of ſo faithful a ſervant, as I have always endeavoured to approve myſelf to you. I am, with the greateſt duty and ſubmiſſion,

Madam,

Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful,

and obedient ſubject,

MARLBOROUGH.

The

Anne R.

'Right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, we greet you well. Whereas, purſuant to the direction you have received in that behalf, you have agreed, with the perſons authorized to treat with you, for the taking into our ſervice a certain number of foreign troops, to act in conjunction with the forces of our Allies, that there be reſerved two and a half *per cent.* out of all monies payable to, and for the ſaid troops, as well for their pay and entertainment, as on any other account, towards defraying ſuch extraordinary contingent expences relating to them, as cannot otherwiſe be provided for. Now, we do hereby approve and confirm all ſuch agreements as you have, or may hereafter make, for reſerving the ſaid two and a half *per cent.* accordingly; and do likewiſe hereby authorize and direct the Pay-maſter General of our forces for the time being, or his Deputy, to make the ſaid deduction of two and a half *per cent* purſuant thereunto, out of all monies he ſhall be directed to iſſue, for the uſe of the foreign troops in our pay, and thereupon to pay over the ſame, from time to time, according to ſuch warrants, and in ſuch proportions as you ſhall direct, for which this ſhall be to you, and to all others whom it may concern, a ſufficient warrant and direction.

Given at our Court at *St. James*'s, this ſixth day of *July* 1702, and in the firſt year of our Reign.

By her Majeſty's Command,

C. HEDGES.

To our right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, *John*, Earl of *Marlborough*, our Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary to the *States-General* of the *United-Provinces*, and Captain-General of our land-forces.

That on this letter and warrant they obſerved, 'That, ſo far as they had been capable of being informed, the great ſums, annually paid to the Duke on account of the contracts for bread, could never be eſteemed legal or warrantable perquiſites: Nor did they find, that any other *Engliſh* General in the *Low-Countries*, or elſewhere, ever claimed or received ſuch perquiſites: And, if any inſtance ſhould be produced, they apprehended it would be no juſtification of it, becauſe the public, or the troops, muſt neceſſarily ſuffer, in proportion to every ſuch perquiſite; and how agreeable this practice was to that œconomy, with which the ſervice in *Flanders* was ſaid to be carried on, remained yet to be explained. That the great caution and ſecrecy, with which this money was conſtantly received, gave reaſon to ſuſpect, that it was not thought a juſtifiable perquiſite; for Mr. *Cardonnel*, the Duke's Secretary, and Auditor of the bread-account, had declared on oath, that he never knew or heard of any ſuch perquiſite, till the late rumour of Sir *Solomon de Medina*'s evidence before the Commiſſioners. That, by the contracts for bread and bread-waggons, the General appeared to be the ſole check on the Contractors; he was to take care, that the terms of theſe contracts were duly performed; he was to judge of all deductions to be made from allowance to the Contractors: And whether in ſuch circumſtance he could receive any gratuity or perquiſite from the Contractors, without a breach of his truſt, they did not preſume to determine. That the General might with equal reaſon claim a perquiſite for every other Contractor relating to the army, as for thoſe of the bread and bread-waggons; but, his Grace being ſilent as to this, the Commiſſioners ought to ſuppoſe he had not received any ſuch allowance'. As to the deduction of two and a half *per Cent.* from the foreign troops, the Commiſſioners obſerved: 'That the warrant for it had been kept dormant for nine years, and the deduction concealed ſo long from the knowledge of Parliament; for which his Grace had not aſſigned ſufficient reaſons. That the calling it a *Free Gift* was inconſiſtent with the words of the warrant, which expreſs an agreement, and with that part of his Grace's letter, which took notice, that

1711. The removal of the Duke of *Marlborough* was thought very extraordinary, after ſuch long and eminent ſervices; and was ſo little expected, that thoſe, who looked for precedents, could find none ſince the diſgrace of *Beliſarius* in *Juſtinian*'s time. The only thing pretended to excuſe it was, his being conſidered as the head of thoſe, who oppoſed the peace, on which the Court ſeemed to ſet their hearts.

A reſolution to remove the Duke of Somerſet *put off.*

The Duke of *Somerſet* continuing to oppoſe the ſchemes of the new Miniſters, it was alſo reſolved, in a conſultation about the middle of *December*, to remove him. But the great friendſhip between the Queen and his Ducheſs (who was Groom of the Stole, and firſt Lady of the Bed-chamber) prevented that reſolution from being then put in practice (1). The Duke was not removed till the 26th of *January*, and, though endeavours were uſed to the contrary, his Ducheſs was by the Queen continued in her places, which ſhe offered to reſign.

The Duke of *Marlborough*'s diſgrace was attended with other removes, and made way for ſeveral promotions. The Duke of *Ormond*, with the firſt regiment of foot-guards, was appointed Commander in chief of all the forces in *Great-Britain*, and ſoon after, upon the Elector of *Hanover*'s refuſal to command the Queen's forces in *Flanders*, Captain-General of all her forces at home and abroad. The Earl *Rivers* was made Maſter-general of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the Royal regiment of horſe-guards. The Duke of *Beaufort* was appointed Captain of the Band of Penſioners, and Brigadier *Hill* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, in the room of Lieutenant-general *Cadogan*. The Counteſs of *Sunderland* and the Lady *Rialton*, two of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s daughters, reſigned their places of Ladies of the Bed-chamber. 1711.

Twelve new Peers made. Burnet.

The Miniſters, finding the majority of the Houſe of Lords could not be brought to favour their deſigns, reſolved to make an experiment, which none of our Princes had ventured on in former times. A reſolution was taken up very ſuddenly of making twelve Peers all at once, which was accordingly done on the laſt day of *December*, by calling up by writ to the Houſe of Lords *James* Lord *Compton*, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Northampton*, and *Charles* Lord *Bruce*, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Aileſbury*; and creating by patent ten new Peers of *Great-Britain*; *George Hay*, or Lord *Duplin*, of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Lord-Treaſurer's ſon-in-law, Baron *Hay* of *Bedwarden* in the County of *Hereford*; the Lord Viſcount *Windſor* of *Ireland*, Baron *Montjoy*, of the Iſle of *Wight*, in the County of *Southampton*; *Henry Paget*, ſon to the Lord *Paget*, Baron *Burton*, of *Burton*, in the County of *Stafford*; Sir *Thomas Manſel*, Baron *Manſel*, of *Margam*, in the County of *Glamorgan*; Sir *Thomas Willoughby*, Baron *Middleton*, of *Middleton*, in the County of *Warwick*; Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Baron *Trevor*, of *Bromham*, in the County of *Bedford*; *George Granville*, Baron *Lanſdowne*, of *Biddeford*, in the County of *Devon*; *Samuel Maſham*, Baron *Maſham*, of *Oates*, in the County of *Eſſex*; *Thomas Foley*, Baron *Foley*, of *Kidderminſter*, in the County

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he, being Ambaſſador and General, ſtipulated for this very ſtoppage by the late King's order. That therefore they were of opinion, that a deduction, ſo made, was public money, and ought to be accounted for in the ſame manner as other public money. That the ten thouſand pounds granted yearly for the *Contingencies* of the army was at firſt intended by Parliament for the ſervice of forty thouſand men, without diſtinction; and was ſo far from having always been thought exempt from account, as the Duke had ſuggeſted, that in a Privy-Seal, dated *March* 5, 1706, there was a clauſe to releaſe and diſcharge the Duke of *Marlborough* from a ſum of ſeven thouſand, four hundred and ninety nine pounds, nineteen ſhillings and ten pence, part of this money; which ſhewed, he would otherwiſe have been accountable for it. But that they no where met with any mention of this deduction of two and a half *per Cent.* and therefore preſumed, the reaſon, why it had never been brought to an account, was, what his Grace ſuggeſted, that *he never conſidered it as public money.* In the next place, the Commiſſioners ſubmitted it to the Houſe, whether the warrant, produced to juſtify this deduction, was legal, and duly counterſigned? Or, whether, admitting it to be ſo, either the ſtoppage, or the payment, had been regularly made? That the warrant directed, that it ſhould be ſtopped in the hands of the Pay-maſter, or his Deputy, and iſſued thence by the Duke's order only. But this method did not appear, by the Pay-maſter's accounts, to have been at all purſued; ſo far otherwiſe, that the payments to the foreign troops were always made complete, and their receipts always taken in full, without any notice of a deduction. That when any part of the ten thouſand pounds, Contingent-money, was drawn out of the Pay-maſter's hands, for any ſecret ſervice, the General's warrant, and his Secretary's receipts, were the Pay-maſter's vouchers. But that Mr. *Cardonnel*, as he declared on oath, never gave any receipt for any part of that two and a half *per Cent.* nor did Mr. *Bridges*, as he alſo declared on oath, ever ſee any warrant for that purpoſe, or know any thing, as Pay-maſter-general, of this deduction. That, if Mr. *Sweet*, at *Amſterdam*, had taken upon himſelf to tranſact the diſpoſition of his two and a half *per Cent.* with the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Commiſſioners were of opinion, that he ought to have tranſmitted conſtant accounts of it to Mr. *Bridges*, whoſe agent he only was; and not to have negotiated ſo large ſums of public money in ſo clandeſtine a manner. That, by the warrant, this deduction was reſerved for the defraying extraordinary contingent expences of the troops, from whom it was ſtopped: And, if the whole had been employed in ſecret correſpondence and intelligence, there muſt have been ſome neglect of the other ſervices, for which it was originally deſigned: And ſuch a diſpoſition, being in no ſort authorized by the warrant, was a miſapplication of it. Beſides, the Commiſſioners apprehended, that the article for ſecret ſervice, to which this deduction was pretended to have been applied, was always included in the ten thouſand pounds above-mentioned, for the contingencies of the army; and, if ſo, the whole remained to be accounted for; which, on a computation made from the whole ſum of eleven millions, two hundred ninety four thouſand, ſix hundred and fifty-nine pounds, four ſhillings, and a penny half-penny, paid by *Great-Britain*, to, and for all the foreign forces, ſince the 23d day of *December*, 1701, amounted to two hundred eighty-two thouſand three hundred ſixty-ſix pounds, nine ſhillings, and ſeven-pence. And on a computation made from the ſum of ſeven millions, one hundred and ſeven thouſand, eight hundred ſeventy-three pounds, eighteen ſhillings, and eleven pence half-penny, paid to, and for the foreign forces ſince the time aforeſaid (excluſive of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*) amounted to one hundred, and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand, ſix hundred ninety-five pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings, and three farthings.

(1) However, to ſhew their reſentment to the Duke for oppoſing their meaſures, a pamphlet (ſaid to be penned by Lord-Keeper *Harcourt*, and called, *Advice*

1711. County of *Worceſter*; and *Allen Bathurſt*, Baron *Bathurſt*, of *Battleſden*, in the County of *Bedford*. Sir *Miles Wharton* had been offered a Peerage; but he thought it looked like the ſerving a turn, and that, whereas Peers uſed to be made for ſervices, which they had done, he ſhould be made for ſervices to be done by him; and therefore excuſed himſelf from accepting it; and the favourite's husband, Mr. *Maſham*, was put in his room. And whereas formerly *Jefferies* had the vanity to be made a Peer, while he was Chief-Juſtice, which had not been practiſed for ſome ages; yet the precedent ſet by him was followed, and *Trevor*, Chief-Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, was now advanced to be a Peer. This creation of Peers was looked upon as an undoubted part of the prerogative; ſo that there was no ground in law to oppoſe the receiving the new Lords into the Houſe; nor was it poſſible to raiſe in the antient Peers a ſenſe of the indignity, which was now put upon their Houſe; ſince the Court did by this openly declare, that they were to be kept in abſolute ſubmiſſion and obedience.

1711-12. *The Queen's meſſage to the Lords to adjourn diſputed, but obeyed. Pr. H. L. Burnet.*

On the ſecond of *January* the twelve new Peers were introduced into the Houſe of Lords without any oppoſition; and, the Court-party having by this reinforcement, and by the coming up of the *Scots* Lords, got the majority, the Houſe acquieſced in the Queen's ſullen anſwer to their late addreſs, importing, 'That her Majeſty thought her ſpeech to both Houſes would have given ſatisfaction to every body; and, that ſhe had given inſtructions to her Plenipotentiaries, according to the deſires of that addreſs.' This done, the Lord-Keeper delivered to the Houſe a meſſage from the Queen, 'That, having matters of great importance to communicate to both Houſes of Parliament, ſhe deſired the Lords to adjourn immediately to the 14th, the ſame day, to which the Commons had adjourned themſelves.' This occaſioned a very warm debate. It was ſaid, that the Queen could not ſend a meſſage to any one Houſe to adjourn, when the like meſſage was not ſent to both Houſes: That the pleaſure of the Prince in convening, diſſolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of Parliaments, was always directed to both Houſes, but never to any one Houſe, unleſs the ſame intimation was made at the ſame time to the other. That the conſequence of this, if allowed, might be the ordering one Houſe to adjourn, while the other was left ſtill to ſit; and this might end in a total diſjointing of the Conſtitution. The reſolution however was carried for adjourning by the weight of the twelve new Peers. It is true, the odds were thirteen; but that was, becauſe one of the Peers, who

1711-12.

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to the October *Club*) was publiſhed, wherein he and his Ducheſs are both abuſed and inſulted. It is there ſaid, 'It would have been a maſter-piece of prudence, in this caſe, to have made a friend of an enemy: But, whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to inquire. All accommodation was rendered deſperate, by an unlucky proceeding ſome months ago at *Windſor*, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous, for that ſituation of affairs, and, I am told, was not approved by a certain great Miniſter *. It was obvious to ſuppoſe, that in a particular, where the honour and intereſt of a † huſband were ſo cloſely united with thoſe of a wife, he might be ſure of her utmoſt endeavours for his protection, though ſhe never loved nor eſteemed him. The danger of loſing power, favour, profit, and a ſhelter from domeſtic tyranny, were ſtrong incitements to ſtir up a working brain, early practiſed in all the arts of intriguing.'

* *The Lord Treaſurer.* † *The Duke and Ducheſs of Somerſet.*

This pamphlet is lately reprinted in Vol. VII. of *Swift*'s *Miſcellanies*, to which is prefixed a preface, ſetting forth: 'That about the year, when her late Majeſty, of bleſſed memory, thought proper to change her Miniſtry, and brought in Mr. *Harley*, Mr. *St. John*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, and ſome others, the firſt of theſe being made an Earl and Lord-Treaſurer, he was ſoon after blamed by his friends, for not making a general ſweep of all the Whigs, as the latter did of their Adverſaries upon her Majeſty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of Parliament-men, amounting to above two hundred, grew ſo warm upon the ſlowneſs of the Treaſurer in this part, that they formed themſelves into a body, under the name of *the October Club*, and had many Meetings, to conſult upon ſome methods, that might ſpur on thoſe in power, ſo that they might make a quicker diſpatch, in removing all of the Whig leaven from the employments they ſtill poſſeſſed. To prevent the ill conſequences of this diſcontent among ſo many worthy Members, the reſt of the Miniſtry joined with the Treaſurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide thoſe, who were in greater haſte than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the ſuppoſed Author ‡ met a conſiderable number of this Club in a public houſe, where he convinced them very plainly of the Treaſurer's ſincerity, with many of thoſe very reaſons, which are urged in the following diſcourſe, beſides ſome others, which were not ſo proper to appear at that time in print. The Treaſurer alledged in his defence, that ſuch a treatment would not conſiſt with prudence, becauſe there were many employments to be beſtowed, which required ſkill and practice: That ſeveral Gentlemen, who poſſeſſed them, had been long verſed, very loyal to her Majeſty, had never been violent Party-men, and were ready to fall into all honeſt meaſures for the ſervice of their Queen and Country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her Majeſty ſuch Gentlemen, whoſe principles, with regard both to Church and State, his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus, the Earl proceeded in procuring employments for thoſe, who deſerved them by their honeſty, and abilities to execute them. However, the Gentlemen of this Club ſtill continued uneaſy, that no quicker progreſs was made in removals, until thoſe, who were leaſt violent, began to ſoften a little, or, by dividing them, the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty, we have been aſſured, that the following diſcourſe was very ſeaſonably publiſhed with great ſucceſs, ſhewing the difficulties, that the Earl of *Oxford* lay under, and his real deſire, that all perſons in employment ſhould be true loyal Churchmen, zealous for her Majeſty's honour and ſafety, as well as for the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, if the Queen ſhould happen to die without iſſue.'

‡ Harcourt.

The principal Members of the *October Club*, who met at the *Bell-Tavern* in *Weſtminſter*, were theſe:

John Aiſtaby,	Sir *Juſtinian Iſham*,
Francis Anneſley,	*George Lockhart*,
William Bromley,	Sir *Roger Moſtyn*,
Robert Byerley,	Sir *John Packington*,
Henry Campion,	*Francis Scobel*,
Charles Cæſar,	*William Shippen*,
Sir *Robert Davers*,	Sir *Thomas Thorold*,
Charles Eversfield,	*John Trevanion*,
Ralph Freeman,	Sir *William Whitlocke*,
Sir *Thomas Hanmer*,	Sir *William Windham*.
John Hungerford,	

(1) This

1711-12. who had a proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the proxies were called for (1).

The Court having received no news of the opening the Congreſs, Councils were held on *Saturday* and *Sunday* the 12th and 13th of *January*, in which it was debated, Whether the Parliament ſhould ſit, or be deſired further to adjourn themſelves? And, it being carried for the adjournment, a meſſage was on the 14th ſent to both Houſes, importing, "That her Majeſty "fully determined to have been perſonally pre- "ſent in Parliament that day; but, being pre- "vented by a ſudden return of her gout, her "Majeſty, in hopes ſhe might, by the bleſſing "of God, be able to ſpeak to both her Houſes "of Parliament on *Thurſday* next, the 17th of "this inſtant *January*, deſired them to adjourn "to that day." Both Houſes readily complied with this meſſage; but, before the ſame was delivered by Mr. *St. John* to the Commons, they ordered their Speaker to iſſue out writs, for the electing nine members in the room of thoſe called up to the Houſe of Peers.

Prince Eugene *comes to* England. Burnet. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

At this time Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* was ſent by the Emperor to *England*, to try, if it was poſſible to engage our Court to go on with the war, offering a new ſcheme, by which his Imperial Majeſty took a much larger ſhare of it on himſelf, than the late Emperor would bear. The Prince having reſolved to embark for *England*, notwithſtanding the endeavours uſed at the *Hague* to keep him on the other ſide of the water, he applied to the Earl of *Strafford*, who wrote the following letter to Captain *Desborough*, Commander of the *Fubs* Yatcht:

SIR,

The Earl of Straſford's *letter to the Captain of the* Fubs *Yatcht.* Jan. 3. N. S.

"Prince *Eugene* having deſired my orders to "you to carry him over, you know, I do not "pretend to command any of her Majeſty's "Yatchts, without her ſpecial command. You "know your orders, and how far they autho- "rize you to carry over the Prince. You know "the reſpect and conſideration due to the Prince, "and his great merit; therefore, it is needleſs "for me to tell you what reſpect and conſidera- "tion you ought to ſhew him. I can aſſure "you, I have a particular reſpect and eſteem for "him; and I ſhall always be glad to do the "Prince all the ſervice, that lies in my power." 1711-12. "I am"

Your moſt humble Servant,
STRAFFORD.

Though this letter rather implied a tacit prohibition than a poſitive order, yet, the Captain being left to his own diſcretion, he thought it his duty, as he could not but eſteem it an honour, to carry over ſo great a man as Prince *Eugene*, who, on the 8th of *January*, *N. S.* embarked at the *Brill* (with his Nephew, the Chevalier *de Savoye*, Son to the Count *de Soiſſons*, Count *de la Corſana*, and Count *Cornelius* of *Naſſau*) and on the 1ſt of *January*, *O. S.* arrived off *Harwich*, where being informed, that he could not eaſily get all the neceſſary carriages for his attendants, he was perſuaded to go up the *Thames*. The next day he received, on board the Yatcht, near the *Buoy* of the *Nore*, an account of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s being removed from all his employments, at which he was extremely concerned. Upon advice, that he was coming up by water, the Government ſent down Mr. *Drummond*, a broken Merchant or Stock-Jobber, a creature of the Lord-Treaſurer, and Mr. *Brinſden*, an Oculiſt, a private agent to Mr. *St. John*, to attend, or rather to be ſpies upon the Prince. *Brinſden* being detained at *Greenwich* by an accidental ſprain of his foot, *Drummond* only waited on the Prince with a barge, which carried him from *Graveſend* to *Whitehall*; from whence he went in an hackney-coach to *Leiceſter-Houſe*, which Count *Gallas*, before his departure, had prepared for his reception. Immediately, upon his arrival, the Prince cauſed it to be notified to the Treaſurer, the Secretaries of State, and the foreign Miniſters; and ſome of theſe waited upon him the ſame evening; as did the Duke of *Marlborough*, to whom the Prince ſhewed a diſtinguiſhed reſpect, and with whom he afterwards paſſed moſt of his time, notwithſtanding the caution, which Mr. *Drummond* had given him, either from himſelf, or from thoſe, who ſent him, *That the leſs he ſaw the Duke of* Marlborough, *the better:* To which the Prince anſwered, 'That, as the Miniſtry might depend upon it, he would not cabal againſt them; ſo he hoped they did not expect, he ſhould forbear his uſual familiarity with his good friend the Duke of *Marlbo-*

(1) This meſſage for adjourning ſeems only to have been ſent to try the ſtrength of both parties, Mr. Secretary *St. John* having been heard to ſay in the Court of Requeſts, as ſoon as the debate was over, 'That, if thoſe twelve had not been enough, they would have given them [*the Whigs*] another dozen.' However, very ſtrong reflections were made, both in print and in moſt converſations, on that ſtep, many not ſcrupling to ſay, 'That, though the Queen had an undoubted right to create as many Peers as ſhe pleaſed, yet her Miniſters might be called to an account for adviſing her to abuſe that right. That peace and war were alſo the prerogatives of the Crown; and yet the engaging in a ruinous war, or making a treacherous peace, are things, which no Miniſter ever did, and eſcaped uncenſured or unpuniſhed. That the creating twelve Peers, to ſerve a turn, was, in effect, making a Houſe of Peers a property to the Court, and taking away a negative upon the Crown; which would render our liberties precarious. That it could not be denied, that the new-made Peers were men of noble fortunes; and that ſome of them had ſhewn a commendable zeal for the preſent Eſtabliſhment; but who would ſecure us, that hereafter ſuch a number ſhould not be made of men of a quite different character? And, in ſhort, that this was a precedent, which might be made uſe of to inſlave the Nation, and to introduce a Popiſh Pretender, or the Popiſh Religion. That if in the Reign of ſuch a Queen this abuſe of the prerogative was ſo much exclaimed againſt, how much greater would the cry have been, had it been in a ſuſpicious Reign? Whereas now they have an unexceptionable inſtance to produce, to ſilence any clamour or noiſe. That it was impoſſible for men, who owed ſo much to her Majeſty for her ſhare in the late Revolution, to oppoſe a prerogative, that had never been diſputed, becauſe never uſed in that manner: But had any Prince, who had merited leſs of his Country, began ſuch a thing, it would, no doubt, have been oppoſed, and perhaps denied him.' But, after all, the ſevereſt reflection upon the twelve new Peers was made by the Earl of *Wharton*, who, the ſame day they were introduced, when the queſtion about adjourning was going to be put, aſked one of them, *Whether they voted by their Foreman?* Thereby comparing them to a Petty Jury. *Boyer.*

(1) The

1711-12. *Marlborough.*' On the 6th of *January* the Prince received a compliment from the Treaſurer, which he inſtantly returned by the Baron *de Hohendorf*. The ſame morning, after a viſit from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, Count *Maffei*, Monſieur *Hoffman*, and ſome other foreign Miniſters, the Duke of *Montague*, the Earl of *Hertford*, the Generals, *Lumley*, *Webb*, *Palmes*, *Harvey*, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, waited upon him. The ſame afternoon he ſent a Gentleman with a compliment to the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Ormond*, Earl *Pawlet*, and ſome other Officers of State; and about ſeven o'clock in the evening went to *St. James's-Houſe*, where he was introduced by Mr. *St. John*, to a private audience of the Queen, at which none were preſent but the Treaſurer and Mr. Secretary. After a ſhort compliment, which her Majeſty anſwered very graciouſly, he delivered to her a letter from the Emperor, which he deſired her to peruſe, becauſe it contained the ſubſtance of his errand. After reading the letter, the Queen told the Prince, 'That ſhe was ſorry the ſtate of her health did not permit her to ſpeak with his Highneſs as often as otherwiſe ſhe ſhould be glad to do; but that ſhe had ordered thoſe two Gentlemen (*there preſent*) to receive his propoſals, and confer with him as frequently as he ſhould think proper.' In the mean time people were variouſly affected by his coming to *England* at this critical juncture. All the Whigs, as well as ſome Tories, who began to be *jealous*, that a peace would be concluded upon diſhonourable terms, were very glad of his arrival, hoping, that, by the propoſals he was ſaid to bring from the Emperor, he would prevail, if not to break off the preſent Negotiation, at leaſt to engage *Great-Britain* to make early preparations to carry on the war, as the moſt effectual means to obtain a ſafe and honourable peace. Upon this conſideration, and the great fame of his actions, 1711-12. multitudes of people crowded to ſee him, and with loud acclamations attended him wherever he went. On the other hand, the friends of *France*, and of the Pretender, who were equally deſirous of a peace, upon any conditions, being apprehenſive, that he would blaſt their expectations, could not forbear ſhewing their diſcontent; and a rude rabble committed ſome diſorders in *Leiceſter-Fields*, the ſecond night after his arrival. A more flagrant inſtance of the malice of that party was ſeen on the 8th of *January* in the *Poſt-Boy*, where an advertiſement was inſerted, infamouſly reflecting on the Counteſs of *Soiſſons*, the Prince's Mother; which ſcandalous affront the Prince overlooked with his uſual magnanimity; and by his diſcreet carriage convinced all, that he was not come to meddle with inteſtine diviſions, but rather to endeavour to bring the leading men of both parties to ſuch a temper, as might conduce to remove any difficulties, that might obſtruct the carrying on the common cauſe. This indeared him to every body, and gained him more reſpect, than was ever ſhewn in *England* to any foreign Prince, ſo that, for two whole months, the Nobility and Gentry of both parties vied with one another, who ſhould entertain him (1).

The Queen's meſſage to the Parliament. Jan 17. Pr. H. C.

By this time, the Parliament being met again, a meſſage from the Queen was delivered to both Houſes. That to the Commons was as follows:

'I. Her Majeſty not having recovered ſtrength enough, ſince the return of the gout, to be preſent that day in perſon; and being unwilling, that the public buſineſs ſhould receive any delay, thinks fit to communicate to them the ſubſtance of what ſhe intended to have ſpoke.

II. At

(1) The perſons, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this generous emulation, were the Dukes of *Marlborough*, *Ormond*, *Buckingham*, *Montague*, *Schomberg*, *Devonſhire*, *Shrewsbury*, *Richmond*, and *Grafton*; the Earls *Pawlet*, *Sunderland*, *Portland*, *Oxford*, *Rivers*, *Wharton*, *Berkley*, *Stair*, and *Orkney*; the Lords *Lexington*, *Aſhburnham*, *Halifax*, and *North* and *Grey*; Sir *Thomas Hanmer*; the honourable Mr. *Henry Boyle*; Mr. Secretary *St. John*; General *Palmes*; the foreign Miniſters then in *London*; Dr. *Garth* and Dr. *Radcliffe*, two of the moſt eminent Phyſicians. It was then currently reported, that, when the Prince dined with the Lord-Treaſurer, the latter, among other compliments, told his Highneſs, 'That he looked upon that day as the happieſt in the whole courſe of his life, ſince he had the honour to ſee in his houſe the greateſt Captain of this age.' To which the Prince replied, 'That, if he were, he was obliged to his Lordſhip for it;' alluding to the Earl's being the author of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s diſgrace, which rid him of a competitor in military glory.' It was obſerved the Prince was not entertained by the Lord *Dartmouth*.

On the 14th of *January*, Sir *Alexander Cairnes*, Bart. and Sir *Theodore Janſſen*, two of the moſt eminent Merchants of the City of *London*, who had contributed moſt to the Loan made ſome years before to the Emperor, upon the ſecurity of his revenues in *Sileſia*, for the uſe of the Prince of *Savoy*, waited upon him with a compliment from that Company. The Prince gave them a very kind reception, and told them, 'He was very much obliged to them, ſince the raiſing of the ſiege of *Turin*, and the ſucceſſes that followed, were, under God, chiefly owing to the ſeaſonable ſupply he received from *England*.' Thoſe Gentlemen anſwered, 'That, when they made that Loan, they had not ſo much in view the improvement of their money, as the honour of being ſerviceable to the common cauſe, and of having an opportunity to ſhew their reſpect for a Prince of ſo great a reputation; and as they accounted themſelves particularly obliged to his Highneſs's integrity for the punctual payment of their intereſt and principal; ſo, if, in the courſe of this war, his Highneſs ſhould have occaſion for any greater ſums, their Company would readily advance them upon his Highneſs's ſingle ſecurity.' They concluded with deſiring him to accept of a ſmall entertainment, which their Company deſigned to give him in the City, and to fix a day, when it ſhould beſt ſuit with his convenience; which he promiſed to do. The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, having notice of this invitation, and deſigning likewiſe to ſhew their reſpect to the Prince, it was propoſed amongſt them, on the 15th of *January*, that, ſince moſt of their Court were concerned in the *Sileſian* Company, they ought, for greater magnificence ſake, to make but one united entertainment. The motion was approved; but one of the Court having ſuggeſted, 'That they would do well to know, how the Queen would take ſuch an invitation to Prince *Eugene*;' it was thought proper to ſend two Aldermen to the Earl of *Dartmouth*, to know the Queen's pleaſure; but, there being, it ſeems, ſome want of formality in the meſſage, his Lordſhip wrote the following letter to the Lord-Mayor:

My Lord, *Whitehall*, *Jan.* 15, 1711-12.

"Two of the Court of Aldermen having brought a "verbal meſſage to be delivered to her Majeſty, which

1711-12. II. At the opening of this Seſſion, her Majeſty acquainted the Parliament, that both time and place were appointed for the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries of all the Confederates, to treat with thoſe of the enemy concerning a general peace; and alſo expreſſed the care, which ſhe intended to take of all her Allies, and the ſtrict union, in which ſhe propoſed to join with them, in order to obtain a good peace, and to guaranty and ſupport it, when obtained.

III. Her Majeſty can now tell them, that her Plenipotentiaries are arrived at *Utrecht*, and have begun, in purſuance of their inſtructions, to concert the moſt proper ways of procuring a juſt ſatisfaction to all in Alliance with her, according to their ſeveral treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*.

IV. You may depend on her Majeſty's communicating to her Parliament the terms of peace, before the ſame ſhall be concluded.

V. The world will now ſee, how groundleſs thoſe reports are, which have been ſpread abroad by men of evil intentions, to ſerve the worſt deſigns, as if a ſeparate peace had been treated, for which there has not been the leaſt colour given.

VI. Her Majeſty's Miniſters have directions to propoſe, that a day may be fixed for the finiſhing, as was done for the commencement of this treaty; and, in the mean time, all the preparations are haſtening for an early campaign.

VII. The zeal, which this Houſe has already expreſſed, was a ſure pledge, that they will proceed in giving the neceſſary diſpatch to the Supplies.

VIII. Her Majeſty finds it neceſſary to obſerve, how great licenſe is taken in publiſhing falſe and ſcandalous libels, ſuch as are a reproach to any Government. This evil ſeems to be grown too ſtrong for the laws now in force; it is therefore recommended to you to find a remedy equal to the miſchief.'

The meſſage, the Queen ſent to the Houſe of Lords, was exactly the ſame with that ſent to the Commons; except only, that inſtead of the ſeventh paragraph, about the Supply, her Majeſty took notice of the affair relating to the *Scotch* Peers, in the following words: 'There is one thing in which her Majeſty's ſubjects of the North part of this Kingdom are extremely concerned: The diſtinction ſuch of them who were Peers of *Scotland* before the Union muſt lie under, if the prerogative of the Crown is ſtrictly barred againſt them alone. This is a matter which ſenſibly affects her Majeſty, and ſhe therefore lays it before this Houſe, earneſtly deſiring their advice and concurrence in finding out the beſt method of ſettling this affair, to the ſatisfaction of the whole Kingdom.' 1711-12.

The Houſe of Lords agreed to an addreſs, thanking her Majeſty for communicating theſe things to them, and for the promiſes ſhe had made them, repeating the very words in which they were made. It was moved to add the words, *conform to her Alliance*; but it was ſaid, that the Queen aſſured them of that, and therefore the repeating theſe words would ſeem to intimate a diſtruſt, ſo that was not carried. But, becauſe there ſeemed to be an ambiguity in the mention made of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*, the Houſe expreſſed in what ſenſe they underſtood them, by adding theſe words: *Which are of ſo great concern to the Safety and Commerce of your Majeſty's Kingdoms.* The Commons made an addreſs to the ſame purpoſe, in which they only named *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*. *The Lords and Commons addreſs of thanks.* Pr. H. Pr. H.

The Duke of *Devonſhire*, purſuant to the motion he had made before the receſs, having prepared a bill for giving precedence to the Duke of *Cambridge*, the Lord-Treaſurer was reſolved to prevent him, and offered *January* 17 a bill, giving precedence to the whole Electoral Family, as the children and nephews of the Crown; and it was intimated, that bills relating to honours and precedence ought to come from the Crown: The Duke of *Devonſhire* would make no diſpute on this head; if the thing paſſed, he acquieſced in the manner of paſſing it, only he thought it lay within the authority of the Houſe. On this occaſion, the Court ſeemed, even to an affectation, to ſhew a particular zeal in promoting this bill; for it paſſed through both Houſes in two days. Notwithſtanding this haſte, the Court did not ſeem to deſign any ſuch bill, till it was propoſed by others, out of whoſe hands they thought fit to take it. The act was ſent over to *Hanover*, by Mr. *Thomas Harley*, in order to raiſe favourable thoughts there of the Miniſtry. But that Court ſaw through theſe thin diſguiſes, which were contradicted by the open countenance to thoſe who were no well-wiſhers to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and the diſcouragement to its beſt friends. The Lords entered upon the conſideration of the paragraph in the Queen's meſſage, relating to the Peers of *Scotland*. The Court propoſed that an expedient might be found that the Peers of *Scotland* ſhould not ſit among them by Election, but by Deſcent, in caſe the reſt of the Peers of that nation ſhould conſent to it. A debate followed concerning the articles of the Union, which of them were fundamental and not alterable; it was ſaid, that by the Union no private right could be taken away, but by the conſent of the perſons concerned; therefore no alteration could be *A bill giving precedence to the Houſe of Hanover.* Pr. H. Burnet. *Debate concerning the Scots Peers.*

" was, that the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen,
" and ſeveral Citizens of the beſt rank, deſired to treat
" Prince *Eugene*, and ordered them to attend me, to
" know the Queen's pleaſure; and being asked by the
" Lords of the Council, whether they had their meſ-
" ſage in writing, anſwered, that they had no order
" or meſſage in writing, but that they came upon a
" minute taken at the Court of Aldermen, of which
" they had no copy: They were thereupon told,
" That the Queen had commanded the Lords to ac-
" quaint them, That her Majeſty would return no
" anſwer to any meſſage, which is not brought to her
" with the ſame reſpect, as has always been paid by
" the City of *London* to her Predeceſſors. To pre-
" vent any miſtake in repeating what was ſaid to them,
" I ſend your Lordſhip this account; and am,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhips moſt obedient

and moſt humble ſervant,

DARTMOUTH.

Upon the receipt of this letter, the Court of Aldermen did not think fit to make any further ſteps in that matter, to the great diſappointment and mortification of moſt of the Citizens.

(1) This

1711-12. be made in the right of the Peers of *Scotland*, unleſs they conſented to it. It was afterwards debated, whether an alteration might be made with this condition, in caſe they ſhould conſent to it; or whether the firſt riſe to any ſuch alteration ought not to be given, by a previous deſire. This was not ſo ſubject to an ill management; the Court ſtudied to have a ſubſequent conſent received as ſufficient; but a previous deſire was inſiſted, as viſibly fairer and juſter.

The Scots Lords are promiſed ſatisfaction. Burnet.

The *Scotch* Lords, ſeeing no redreſs to their complaint, but that the Peers adhered to their late judgment, ſeemed reſolved to come no more to ſit in the Houſe of Lords; but the Court was ſenſible, that their ſtrength, in that Houſe, conſiſted chiefly in them and the new Peers; for which reaſon pains were taken, and ſecret forcible arguments were uſed to them, which proved ſo effectual, that after a few days abſence they came back, and continued, during the Seſſion, to ſit in the Houſe. They gave out, that an expedient would be found, that would be to the ſatisfaction of the Peers of *Scotland*; but, nothing of that appearing, it was concluded, that the ſatisfaction was private and perſonal. The great arrear, into which all the regular payments, both of the houſhold and of ſalaries and penſions, was left to run, made it to be generally believed, that the income for the Civil-Liſt, though it exceeded the Eſtabliſhment very much, was applied to other payments, which the Miniſters durſt not own. And, though ſecret practice on Members had been for a great while too common, yet it was believed, that it was at this time managed with an extraordinary profuſion.

Mr. Walpole's caſe and cenſure. Ibid.

The Houſe of Commons entered on the obſervations of the Commiſſioners for taking the public accounts, which had been laid before them on the 21ſt of *December*; and they began with what related to Mr. *Walpole*, whom they reſolved to put out of the way of diſturbing them in the Houſe. The charge againſt him was thus: Mr. *Walpole*, as Secretary of War, had contracted with ſome perſons for forage to the horſe that lay in *Scotland*. He, finding the Contractors made ſome gain by it, named a friend of his own to be joined with them, that he might have a ſhare of the gain: But the others were unwilling the ſecret of their management ſhould be known; ſo, inſtead of admitting him, offered him five hundred guineas for his ſhare, which he accepted, and the money was remitted. But the Contractors, not knowing how to direct to him, addreſſed their bill to Mr. *Walpole*, who endorſed it, and the perſon concerned received the money; this was found out, and *Walpole* was charged with it as a bribe, that he had taken for his own uſe, for making the contract. Both the perſons that remitted the money, and he who received it, were examined, and affirmed, that *Walpole* was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the matter; but the Houſe inſiſted upon his having endorſed the bill, and not only voted this a corruption, but ſent him to the *Tower*, and expelled him the Houſe. Not content with this, when Mr. *Walpole* was afterwards choſen again for *Lynn Regis*, the Commons, upon a petition againſt his election, reſolved, 'That *Robert Walpole*, Eſq; having been, this Seſſion of Parliament, committed a priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*, and expelled this Houſe, for an high breach of truſt in the execution of his Office, and notorious corruption, when Secretary of War, was, and is incapable of being elected a Member to ſerve in this preſent Parliament (1). 1711-12.

The cenſure put on the Duke of Marlborough. Pr. H. C. Burnet.

The next attack was on the Duke of *Marlborough*. On the 24th of *January*, his affair was debated. The money received from Sir *Solomon Medina* was ſaid to be a fraud, and the deduction out of the pay of the foreign troops was ſaid to be public money, and to be accounted for. The debate held long. It appeared, that, during the former war, King *William* had fifty thouſand pounds a year for contingencies; which were often reckoned to have coſt much more. The contingency was that ſervice, which could be brought to no certain head, and was chiefly for procuring intelligence. The Duke of *Marlborough* had only ten thouſand pounds, for the contingencies; which, with all the other *items* joined together, amounted but to thirty thouſand pounds, a ſum much inferior to what had been formerly given; and yet, with this moderate expence, he had procured ſo good intelligence, that he was never ſurprized, and no party he ſent out was ever intercepted or cut off. By means of this intelligence, all his deſigns were ſo well concerted, that he ſucceeded in every one of them; and by many inſtances the exactneſs of his intelligence was fully demonſtrated. It was proved, both by witneſſes, and by formal atteſtations from *Holland*, that, ever ſince the year 1672, the *Jews* had made the like preſent to the General of the *States* army; and it was underſtood as a perquiſite belonging to that command. No bargain was made with the *Jews* for the *Engliſh* troops, that made by the *States* being applied to them; ſo that it appeared, that the making ſuch a preſent to the General was cuſtomary; but that was denied. So it was reſolved at laſt by two hundred and ſeventy voices againſt a hundred and ſixty-five, 'That the taking ſeveral ſums of money annually, by the Duke of *Marlborough*, from the Contractors for furniſhing the bread and bread-waggons for the army in the *Low-Countries* was unwar-

(1) This proceeding againſt him was examined in the *Poſtſcript* to the ſecond edition of Mr. *Walpole*'s *Caſe in a letter from a Tory Member of Parliament to his friend in the country*. The author of this piece conſiders, 'Whether Mr. *Walpole* was, at the time of his election, incapable of being elected a Member to ſerve in Parliament; and, if he was capable, how far a ſecond expulſion was juſt and reaſonable:' And then ſhews, that ſuch an incapacity cannot ariſe either from the tenour and words of the writ, nor from Mr. *Walpole*'s being a priſoner in the *Tower*, nor from his having been expelled the Houſe. And, upon the whole, he declares, that if Mr. *Walpole* 'was to be tried by the law of the land, or by the law and uſage of Parliament, or by any known rules of reaſon and juſtice, there was no foundation to declare, that he was incapable of being elected a Member to ſerve in the preſent Parliament: And that it will be thought an hardſhip of the firſt impreſſion, that for a ſlight offence, proved by no direct evidence, vindicated by poſitive evidence upon oath, a Gentleman ſhould be cenſured in the ſtrongeſt terms, impriſoned, and expelled the Houſe, and afterwards expelled again.'

(1) Among

1711-12. unwarrantable and illegal.' After which, tho' the Duke had the Queen's warrant to receive it, they alſo voted, that the two and a half *per Cent.* deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops was unwarrantable, and to be accounted for. Theſe reſolutions being laid before the Queen, ſhe anſwered, 'I have a great regard for whatever is preſented to me by my Commons, and will do my part to redreſs what you complain of.' To colour this cenſure, the Commons voted 'that the two and a half *per Cent.* which had, or ought to have been made from the pay for foreign forces, be continued for the year 1712, and applied for the ſervice of the war.' And it is obſervable, that though ſome of the foreign Princes, who had troops in the Queen's pay, did ſome time after order their Miniſters in *London* to repreſent, 'that the two and a half *per Cent.* was their own money, but they were willing to allow it as a free gift to the Duke of *Ormond*, as they had done to the Duke of *Marlborough*;' which repreſentation ſeemed to be a full juſtification of the latter: The Queen however was prevailed upon to ſend an order to the Attorney-General to proſecute the Duke, for the fifteen thouſand pounds, which was deducted yearly out of the pay of the foreign troops, for the receiving whereof he had her own warrant.

Many libels againſt the Duke of Marlborough. Burnet.

The Court eſpouſed theſe reſolutions of the Commons with great zeal, and paid well for the great majority by which they were carried. Upon this, many virulent Writers (whether ſet on to it, or officiouſly ſtudying to merit by it, did not appear) threw out, in many defamatory libels, a great deal of malice againſt the Duke of *Marlborough*: They compared him to *Cataline*, to *Craſſus*, to *Antony*, and ſtudied to repreſent him as a robber of the Nation, and as a public enemy. This gave indignation to all, who had a ſenſe of gratitude, or a regard to juſtice. In one of theſe ſcurrilous papers, penned on deſign to raiſe the rabble againſt him, a period began thus, *He was perhaps once fortunate.* This paſ-

* *By* Burnet.

ſage being mentioned * to Prince *Eugene*, he pleaſantly ſaid, it was the greateſt commendation could be given him, ſince he was always ſucceſsful: So this implied, that in one ſingle inſtance he might be fortunate, but that all his other ſucceſſes were owing to his conduct. It was anſwered, that ſingle inſtance muſt then be, his eſcaping out of the hands of the party, who took him as he was going down the *Maeſe* in a boat (1).

His innocence appeared evidently. Burnet.

Secret inquiries were made, in order to the laying more load on the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to ſee whether poſts in the army, or in the guards were ſold by him; but nothing could be found: He had ſuffered a practice to go on, that had been begun in the late King's time, of letting Officers ſell their Commiſſions; but he had never taken any part of the price to himſelf: Few thought that he had been ſo clear in that matter; for it was the only thing, in which now his enemies were confident, that ſome diſcoveries would have been made to his prejudice; ſo that the endeavours uſed, to ſearch into thoſe matters, producing nothing, raiſed the reputation of his incorrupt Adminiſtration, more than all his well-wiſhers could have expected. 1711-12.

In this whole tranſaction was ſeen a new ſcene of ingratitude acted in a moſt imprudent manner; when the man, to whom the Nation owed more than it had ever done in any age to any ſubject, or perhaps to any perſon whatever, was, for ſome months, purſued with ſo much malice. He bore all with ſilence and patience, appearing always calm and chearful: And, though he prepared a full vindication of himſelf, yet he delayed publiſhing it, till the Nation ſhould return to its ſenſes, and be capable of examining thoſe matters in a more impartial manner.

The Barrier treaty. Burnet.

Another affair of a more public nature was now taken into conſideration by the Commons, namely, the *Barrier Treaty* with the *States*. Both Houſes had, in the year 1709, agreed in an addreſs to the Queen, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion might be ſecured by a guaranty in the treaty of peace; and this was ſettled at the *Hague* to be one of the preliminaries. But, when an end was put to the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*, the Lord *Townſhend* was ordered to ſet on a treaty with the *States* to that effect. They entertained it very readily; but at the ſame time propoſed, that *England* ſhould enter into a guaranty with them, to maintain their Barrier, which conſiſted of ſome places, which they were to garriſon, the Sovereignty of which was ſtill in the Crown of *Spain*; and of other places, which had not belonged to that Crown at the death of King *Charles* the ſecond, but had been taken in the progreſs of the war; for, by their agreements with *Great-Britain*, they bore the charge of the ſieges, and ſo the places taken were to belong to them. Theſe were chiefly *Liſle*, *Tournay*, *Menin*, and *Doway*, and were to be kept ſtill by them. But as for thoſe places, which, from the time of the treaty of the *Pyrenees* belonged to the *Spaniards*, they had been ſo ill-looked after by the *Spaniſh* Governors of *Flanders*, who were more intent upon inriching themſelves, and keeping a magnificent Court at *Bruſſels*, than on preſerving the country, that neither were the

(1) Among the libels againſt the Duke was publiſhed, by either *Prior* or *Swift*, *A Fable of the Widow and her Cat*, the laſt Stanza of which is as follows:

IX. *So flagrant is thy inſolence,*
So vile thy breach of truſt is,
That longer with thee to diſpenſe,
Were want of power, or want of ſenſe:
Here, Towzer,——*Do him juſtice.*

It is no wonder the Duke of *Marlborough* was thus uſed, ſince the Earl of *Nottingham* himſelf did not eſcape for oppoſing the Negotiations of peace. It was not only ſaid, that he did ſo, becauſe he was refuſed the Privy Seal, but the following advertiſement was inſerted in the *Poſt-Boy*, of *December* 6, *viz.* 'Whereas a very tall, thin, ſwarthy complectioned man, between ſixty and ſeventy years of age, wearing a brown coat, with little ſleeves, and long pockets, has lately withdrawn himſelf from his friends, being ſeduced by wicked perſons to follow ill courſes: Theſe are to give notice, That whoever ſhall diſcover him, ſhall have ten ſhillings reward; or, if he will voluntarily return, he ſhall be kindly received by his friends, who will not reproach him for paſt follies, provided he give good aſſurances, that, for the future, he will firmly adhere to the Church of *England*, in which he was ſo carefully educated by his honeſt parents.' There were alſo lampoons, and other libels, both in verſe and proſe, publiſhed againſt the ſame Peer.

(1) Dr.

1711-12. the fortifications kept in due repair, nor the magazines furniſhed, nor the ſoldiers paid; ſo that, whenever the war broke out, the *French* made themſelves very eaſily maſters of places ſo ill kept. The *States* had therefore propoſed, during this war, that the Sovereignty of thoſe places ſhould continue ſtill to belong to the Crown of *Spain*; but they ſhould keep garriſons in the ſtrongeſt and the moſt expoſed, in particular thoſe, that lay on the *Lys* and the *Scheld*; and, for maintaining this, they aſked a hundred thouſand pounds a year from thoſe Provinces; by which they would be kept better and cheaper than ever they had been, while they were in the hands of the *Spaniards*. They aſked likewiſe a free paſſage for all the ſtores, that they ſhould ſend to thoſe places. This ſeemed to be ſo reaſonable, that, ſince the intereſt of *England*, as well as the *States*, required, that this frontier ſhould be carefully maintained, the Miniſtry were ready to hearken to it. It was objected, that, in caſe of a war between *England* and the *States*, the trade of thoſe Provinces would be wholly in the hands of the *Dutch*: But this had been ſettled in the great truce, which, by the mediation of *France* and *England*, was made in 1609, between the *Spaniards* and the *States*. There was a proviſional order therein made for the freedom of trade in thoſe Provinces; and that was turned into a perpetual one by the peace of *Munſter*. King *Charles* of *Spain* had agreed to the main of the Barrier; ſome places on the *Scheld* were not neceſſary for a frontier, but the *States* inſiſted on them, as neceſſary to maintain a communication with the frontier. The King of *Pruſſia* excepted likewiſe to ſome places in the *Spaniſh Guelder*. The Lord *Townſhend* thought, that theſe were ſuch inconſiderable objections, that, though his inſtructions did not come up to every particular, yet he ſigned the treaty, known by the name of the *Barrier Treaty*, on the 29th of *October* 1709; by which the *States* bound themſelves to maintain the Queen's title to her Dominions and the Proteſtant Succeſſion with their whole force; and *England* was reciprocally obliged to aſſiſt them in maintaining this Barrier. 1711-12.

The mercenary Writers, who were hired to defend the peace then projected with *France*, attacked this treaty with great virulence (1) and by arguments, that gave juſt ſuſpicions of black deſigns. They ſaid, it was a diſgrace to this nation, to engage any other State to ſecure the Succeſſion among us, which perhaps we might ſee cauſe to alter; whereas by this Treaty the *States* had an authority given them to interpoſe in our counſels. It was alſo ſaid, that, if the *States* were put into poſſeſſion of all thoſe ſtrong towns, they might ſhut us out from any ſhare of trade in them, and might erect our manufactures in Provinces very capable of them. But it was anſwered, that this could not be done, as long as this treaty continued in force, unleſs the Sovereign of the country ſhould join with them againſt us. Some objected to the ſettlement made at *Munſter*, as a tranſaction, when we were in ſuch confuſion at home, that we had no Miniſter there; but that treaty had only rendered the *That treaty complained of*

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(1) Dr. *Swift* in particular publiſhed a piece, intitled, *Some remarks on the Barrier-Treaty between her Majeſty and the States-General, to which are added the ſaid Barrier-Treaty, with two ſeparate articles; part of the counter-project; the ſentiments of Prince* Eugene *and Count* Zinzendorf *upon the ſaid Treaty; and a repreſentation of the* Engliſh *Merchants at* Bruges. He attacked likewiſe the ſame Treaty in his *conduct of the Allies and of the late Miniſtry*; but his remarks upon it were confuted in the *ſecond part of Dr.* Hare's *Allies and the late Miniſtry defended againſt* France, *and the preſent friends of* France. On the ſame ſide was alſo publiſhed a piece in *Octavo*, called, *The* Dutch *Barrier ours: Or the intereſt of* England, *and* Holland *inſeparable*. But the moſt conſiderable treatiſe upon this ſubject was publiſhed at *London*, in 1712, in *Octavo*, under the title of *The Barrier Treaty vindicated*, which is ſuppoſed to have been written by the Lord *Townſhend*, Mr. *Stephen Poyntz*, Dr. *Samuel Clarke*, and Dr. *Hare*. This piece begins with repreſenting the fatal conſequences of ſubmitting to a Popiſh Prince, and the neceſſity of ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion: That the Proteſtant Succeſſion, under the circumſtances of it at that time, could no otherwiſe be effectually ſecured, than by a foreign aſſiſtance; ſince the *French* King's promiſe, of not ſupporting the Pretender, could not be depended upon, and ſince *England* alone was not ſufficient to defend herſelf againſt *France*. That no Alliance was ſo uſeful, in order to ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as that of the *States-General*, whether we conſider their ſituation, ſtrength, religion, or intereſt, and the nature of their trade compared with our own. That, with regard to the barrier, it is in itſelf, and apart from all other conſiderations, the true intereſt of *England*, that there ſhould be a good and ſufficient barrier againſt *France* on the ſide of the *Netherlands*: That no barrier could be ſufficient, that was not at leaſt equal to that ſtipulated in the barrier treaty: That the barrier inſiſted, on in the *Preliminaries* of 1709, was not ſufficient for the defence of the *Low-Countries*, becauſe it conſiſted but of one ſingle line or chain of towns; whereas what might further be claimed, by virtue of the barrier treaty, was far from being more than neceſſary for that end: That the defence of the barrier ought to be committed to the *States*, ſince it could not be preſerved by Treaties with *France*, nor by defenſive Alliances againſt her, nor by the Houſe of *Auſtria*; nor by troops lent for the defence of the barrier, nor by *England*, but only by the *States*. That, for the defence of the barrier in the hands of the *States*, it was neceſſary they ſhould have a ſafe and free communication with it, and reaſonable, that the country of the barrier ſhould contribute towards the charge of maintaining it. That the *Dutch* had a right to a ſufficient barrier, and to have themſelves the defence of it, was acknowledged by the Allies previous to the barrier treaty: That the *States* having a barrier purſuant to the preſent treaty, was far from expoſing *Great-Britain* to any danger from them: That their barrier was granted them under ſuch regulations and reſtrictions, that they could not attempt any thing to the prejudice of the trade of *Great-Britain*, without a direct violation of the Treaty, and an open rupture with our Nation: That they were to have only the military command in the barrier towns, without any power of impoſing duties, prohibiting trade, or making any orders relating to commerce: That they were bound by the Treaty to aſſiſt her Majeſty, in caſe any others ſhould attempt to put our trade on a worſe foot than that of the Nations the moſt favoured: That, even in caſe of a rupture with us, the *States* could not obſtruct our trade in the *Netherlands*, without breaking at the ſame time with the Emperor alſo: That if, the fear of obſtructing our trade was an objection againſt truſting the ſtrong towns in the *Netherlands* in the hands of the *States*, it was a ſtrong objection againſt truſting them in any other hands whatſoever. That, when the barrier was once put into the hands of the *States*, it would be more their intereſt than ever to avoid breaking with *England*. That ſuppoſing the *States* ſhould be ſo imprudent, as to break with *England*, their barrier would be ſo far from making them more rich or formidable, that it

1711-12. the truce and the provisional settlement made before, by the mediation of *England*, perpetual; and we had since acquiesced in that settlement for above sixty years. By examining into the particulars of the Treaty, it appeared that, in some inconsiderable matters, the Lord *Townshend* had gone beyond the letter of his instructions, in which he had so fully satisfied the late Ministry, that though, upon his first signing it, some exceptions had been taken, yet these were passed over, and the Treaty was ratified in form.

But the new Ministry had other views: They designed to set the Queen at liberty from her engagements by these Alliances, and to disengage her from Treaties. The House of Commons went now very hastily into several resolutions that were very injurious to the *States*. They pretended the *States* had been deficient in their quota's for sea-service, some years two thirds, and generally more than half their quota. That the forces supplied by the *States* for the service of *Spain* from 1705, to 1708, were no more than twelve thousand two hundred men, and they had since sent thither no forces at all. That the *States*, during the course of the war, had furnished less than their proportion in *Flanders*, twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven men. That the Queen had paid in Subsidies more than her proportion three millions one hundred and fifty-five crowns. Then they fell on the Barrier-Treaty. They gave out that the old Ministry designed to bring over an army from *Holland*, whenever they should, for other ends, pretend that the Protestant Succession was in danger; whereas it was urged, that there was no need of any foreign assistance to maintain it. In the debate, it was insisted on, that it could be maintained safely no other way: It was not to be doubted but the King of *France* would assist the Pretender. *England* was not inclined to keep up a Standing-army in time of peace to resist him; so that we could not be so safe any other way, as by having the *States* engaged to send over their army, if it should be necessary. But reason is a feeble thing to bear down resolutions already taken, so the Commons voted, I. 'That in the Treaty between her Majesty and the *States-General*, for securing the Succession to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and for settling a Barrier for the *States-General* against *France*, under colour of securing the Protestant Succession, and providing a sufficient Barrier to the *States-General* against *France*, there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of *Great-Britain*, and therefore highly dishonourable to her Majesty. II. That the Lord Viscount *Townshend* had not any orders or authority for negotiating or concluding several articles in that Treaty. III. That the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, who negotiated and signed, and all those, who advised the ratifying of that Treaty, were enemies to the Queen and Kingdom.'

Resolutions injurious to the States. Pr. H. C. Feb. 4.

The Barrier treaty condemned.

These Votes were carried by a great majority, and were looked on as strange preludes to a Peace. When the *States* heard what exceptions were taken to the Barrier-Treaty, they wrote a very respectful letter to the Queen, setting forth their just claim to, and the necessity of the Barrier for the security of *England* as well as *Holland*; concluding, 'That if there were some articles, which, without affecting the essentials of the treaty, might be thought to want explanation, her Majesty should find them willing and ready to treat thereupon, and with all the facility and condescension that could be required of them, whatever should not be of the last importance for the security and preservation of their State. Intreating, withal, her Majesty to continue towards them that very precious friendship and good-will, with which she had hitherto honoured them.' How much soever disinterested people might be affected with this letter, it made no impression on the Ministry, and the Managers of the House of Commons got all their votes to be digested into a well-composed inflaming representation, which was laid before the Queen *; by it all the Allies, but most particularly the *States*, were charged with having failed in many particulars, contrary to their engagements: They also laid before the Queen the Votes they had made, with relation to the Barrier treaty; and that they might name a great sum, that would make a deep impression on the Nation (which was ready to receive all things implicitly from them) they said *England* had been, during the war, overcharged nineteen millions, beyond what they ought to have paid; all which was cast on the old Ministry.

* See the Votes of the House of Commons, Vol. II. 263.

The *States*, resenting these proceedings, drew up a large memorial, in which every particular in the representation was examined and fully answered. The two first heads of this Memorial, which related to the service at Sea and in *Flanders*, were printed here, and published in *English* in the *Daily-Courant*, of *April* 7, containing a full answer to all that was charged on them, as to those matters; to the ample conviction of all who examined the particulars. The House of Commons saw the effect this was like to have; and therefore they voted the pretended (as they called it) Memorial, to be a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon

The States justify themselves.

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it would rather exhaust and weaken them, with respect to *England*; because the whole revenue of the *Spanish Netherlands* had never been sufficient, since the *Pyrenean* Treaty, to keep them in a tolerable posture of defence; and therefore much less can that portion, assigned the *States* by the Treaty, be sufficient. That with regard to the great objection, founded on the fifteenth article of the Treaty, that it was highly prejudicial to the commerce of *Great-Britain*, to submit our trade in the *Spanish* dominions to an equality with that of *Holland* and other Nations; this is confuted by these considerations: That the trade of *England* and *Holland* to the *Spanish* Dominions had always stood upon an equal foot, not only by virtue of their respective treaties with the Crown of *Spain*, but likewise *in fact*; and that the Crown of *England* had been so far from not submitting to the advantages granted the *Dutch* by the treaty of *Munster*, that it actually first procured them for the *States*, and, by a particular express treaty, became guarantee for the performance: And that her Majesty was laid under no engagement by the fifteenth article of the Barrier Treaty, but what she was previously obliged to by the *Grand Alliance*, as appears from the eighth article of that Alliance. In the *Observations* on the *Treaty and Counter Project*, it is shewn, that there was not one variation of any moment throughout the whole treaty, but what was either pursuant to former treaties, or necessary to the rendering the barrier complete and effectual; and, on that account, as much for the interest of *England*, as of *Holland* itself.

4 (1) The

upon the reſolutions of the Houſe, and that the printing of it was a breach of privilege. And, to ſtop the printing of the other heads, Mr. *Samuel Buckley*, the Writer and Printer of the *Daily-Courant*, was taken into cuſtody. This was a confutation, to which no reply could be made; yet it ſeemed to be a confeſſion that their repreſentation could not be juſtified, when the anſwer to it was ſo carefully ſtifled. It was then generally reported, that the chief handle for this cenſure was a ſuppoſition that the Memorial was not genuine; which appeared ſoon after to be entirely groundleſs, for the Memorial had not only been printed at the *Hague*, but delivered by their Envoy *Van Borſelen* to the Queen, by whoſe order Mr. *St. John* wrote a ſhort anſwer (1).

The Houſe of Commons proceeded next to the repeal of the Naturalization-Act, which had paſſed the laſt Parliament in favour of the Proteſtant Foreigners. A bill for the repeal of this act had been thrown out by the Lords the laſt year, but it now paſſed both Houſes, and received the Royal aſſent.

Thoſe, who were ſuſpected of having bad deſigns, applied themſelves with great induſtry to drive on ſuch bills as they hoped would give the Preſbyterians in *Scotland* ſuch alarms, as might diſpoſe them to remonſtrate that the Union was broken.

To this end ſeveral bills were brought into the Houſe of Commons: They began with propoſing one for a Toleration for the Epiſcopal Clergy to uſe the Liturgy of the Church of *England*. This ſeemed ſo reaſonable that no oppoſition was made to it: However the Kirk of *Scotland* being alarmed at the deſign of ſetting up the Church of *England*'s Liturgy and Worſhip in *North-Britain*; and upon the firſt notice, that a bill for that purpoſe was brought into the Houſe of Commons, the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly drew up a large repreſentation to the Queen, ſetting forth, 'That the ſixth act of Parliament in 1707, *for ſecuring the Proteſtant Religion and Preſbyterian Government*, (whereby all other acts in favour of the ſame are ratified and approved) is declared to be *an eſſential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union, without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any ſort, for ever, even beyond the Reach of Parliament*. That they could not but expreſs their ſurprize and deep affliction, to hear of a bill offered for ſuch a large and almoſt boundleſs Toleration, not only threatening the overthrow of their Church, but giving a large licenſe almoſt to all errors and blaſphemies, and throwing up all good diſcipline, to the diſhonour of God, and the ſcandal and ruin of the true Chriſtian Religion, and the infallible diſturbance of the quiet, and to the confuſion of that Church and Nation: And therefore with all humility, but with the greateſt earneſtneſs, they did beſeech, nay obteſt her Majeſty, by the ſame mercy of God, that reſtored that Church, and raiſed her Majeſty to the Throne, to interpoſe for the relief of that Church, and the maintenance of the preſent Eſtabliſhment, againſt ſuch a manifeſt and ruining incroachment, in ſuch manner, as in her Royal wiſdom and juſtice ſhe ſhould think needful.' Notwithſtanding this repreſentation (which was preſented to the Queen by Mr. *Carſtairs*, Principal of the College of *Edinburgh*) the act went on, and a clauſe was put in it, that occaſioned great complaints; the Magiſtrates, who by the laws were obliged to execute the ſentences of the Judicatories of their Kirk, were by this act required, to execute none of them. It was reaſonable to require them to execute no ſentences, that might be paſſed on any, for doing what was tolerated by this act; but

1711-12.

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(1) The anſwer was as follows:

'The Queen having maturely conſidered the memorials of the 3d of *April*, which were preſented to her Majeſty by the Sieur *Van Borſelen*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Lords the *States-General*, and the reſolution of the ſaid *States* of the 22d of the ſame month, which was communicated to her Majeſty by the Earl of *Strafford*, her Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary in *Holland*, has ordered me to give this anſwer in few words: That her Majeſty is ſurprized to find, that far from giving the deſerved praiſes to the efforts, which her Majeſty has made in *Spain*, and *Portugal*, two theatres of the war, that have been abandoned by the *States* for ſo many years, the ſaid efforts are looked upon only as Quota's, which the Queen was obliged to furniſh according to the rule of proportion, which has not the leaſt foundation. Her Majeſty agrees, that, according to the principles laid down in the reſolution abovementioned, *Great-Britain* will never contribute enough, nor the *United-Provinces* too little.

There it is advanced as a maxim, that the power of each of the Allies is the only rule and meaſure of the efforts they are to make; and, after this, the *States* ſet up for judges, as well of the power of her Majeſty's Kingdom, as of that of their own State. It is not difficult to perceive how far this ſort of logic would carry us: But her Majeſty, far from being obliged by the memorial mentioned in the reſolution of the 22d of *April* to change her ſentiments, thinks fit to renew the declarations, which the Earl of *Strafford* made by her order, and in her name. Theſe are not points, which the Queen propoſes as a ſubject of Negotiation, but a communication to her Allies of the reſolution ſhe has taken, and of the rule laid down, that they may thereupon concert their meaſures.

The Houſe of Commons, which is compoſed of Members ſent from each County of the Kingdom, and who are competent judges of what burden the people are able to bear, have only granted ſubſidies for the current year, according to the proportions, and under the conditions, which have been imparted to the *States-General*.

Her Majeſty has declared to the Houſe, that ſhe thought theſe conditions reaſonable, and has given her orders according to the plan, in which, by conſequence, there is not the leaſt alteration to be expected.

The Queen looks upon an union betwixt herſelf and the *States* to be the ſtrongeſt ſupport of the common cauſe; and for that reaſon has done all that ſhe could to traverſe the deſigns of thoſe factious ſpirits, which tended to break that union. The propoſals, which have been made by her Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries to the Miniſters of the *States General*, do uncontrovertibly manifeſt the Queen's ſincere deſire to entertain a good correſpondence and ſtrict union with the *States*. Theſe are all the ſteps, which her Majeſty could take for that end. Her Majeſty flatters herſelf, that they will have the effect, which ſhe ought to expect from them; and that they will diſſipate all thoſe vain fears and ill grounded jealouſies, which have been diſperſed with ſo much induſtry throughout the ſeven Provinces. But, however that be, her Majeſty will have this comfort, that ſhe has neglected nothing of what was in her power to contribute towards the ſatisfaction of the *States-General*, without abandoning the intereſt of her own Kingdoms,'

Done at *Whitehall*,
May, $\frac{7}{17}$, 1712.

H. St. John.

(1) When

1711-12. but the carrying this to a general clauſe took away the civil ſanction, which in moſt places is looked on as the chief, if not the only, ſtrength of Church Power. Thoſe, who were to be thus tolerated, were required, by a day limited in the act, to take the oath of Abjuration; it was well known, that few, if any of them, would take that oath; ſo, to cover them from it, a clauſe was put in this act, requiring all the Preſbyterian Miniſters to take it; ſince it ſeemed reaſonable, that thoſe of the legal Eſtabliſhment ſhould be required to take that, which was now to be impoſed on thoſe, who were only to be tolerated. It was well underſtood, that there were words in the oath of Abjuration, to which the Preſbyterians excepted. In the act of Succeſſion, one of the conditions, on which the Succeſſor was to be received, was, his being of the Communion of the Church of *England*; and, by the oath of Abjuration, the Succeſſion was ſworn to, as limited by that act: The word, *Limitation*, imported only the entail of the Crown; but it was ſuggeſted, that the particle, *As*, related to all the conditions in that act. This was ſpread among ſo many of that perſuaſion, that it was believed a great party among them would refuſe to take it: So a ſmall alteration was made by the Houſe of Lords of theſe words, *As was limited*, into words of the ſame ſenſe, *Which was limited*; but thoſe, who intended to excuſe the Epiſcopal party, who they knew were in the Pretender's intereſts, from taking the oath, were for keeping in thoſe words, which the Preſbyterians ſcrupled. The Commons accordingly diſagreed to the amendment made by the Lords; and, they receding from it, the bill paſſed, as it had been ſent up by the Commons (1). By this act the Epiſcopal Clergy, provided they have been ordained by a Proteſtant Biſhop, and taken the oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration, are permitted to uſe in their Meetings the Liturgy of the Church of *England* without moleſtation. By the ſame act the Miniſters of the Eſtabliſhed Church of *Scotland* are alſo obliged to take the oaths.

Another act paſſed for diſcontinuing the Courts of Judicature, during ſome days in *Chriſtmas*, though the obſerving of Holidays was contrary to the principles of the Preſbyterians (2). But this was intended only to exaſperate them.

Patronages reſtored. Pr. H. C. Burnet.

Some time after the Toleration-Act, a bill was brought in for the reſtoring of Patronages. It was eſtabliſhed by the Preſbyterians from the time of the Reformation, as a principle, that Pariſhes had, from warrants in ſcripture, a right to chuſe their Miniſters: And therefore they had always looked on the right of Patronage as an invaſion of their principles, and had aboliſhed it by law as a grievance. This right having been reſtored with Epiſcopacy in 1661, continued till 1690, when Preſbyterian Church-Government was again eſtabliſhed, and the right of Patronage taken away. But it was now reſolved that it ſhould be reſtored. It was urged in oppoſition to it, that ſince, by the act of Union, Preſbytery, with all its rights and privileges, was unalterably ſecured, and ſince their Kirk-Seſſion was a branch of their Conſtitution, the taking from them the right of chuſing their Miniſters was contrary to that act: Yet the bill paſſed through both Houſes, a ſmall oppoſition being only made in either. By theſe ſteps the Preſbyterians were alarmed, when they ſaw the ſucceſs of every motion that was made, on deſign to weaken and undermine their Eſtabliſhment. 1711-12.

The ſelf-denying bill for limiting the number of Officers ſitting in the Houſe of Commons was brought in, and, as was uſual, it eaſily paſſed there: The ſcandal of corruption was now higher than ever; for it was believed men were not only bribed for a whole Seſſion, but had new bribes for particular votes. The twelve new Peers, being brought into the Houſe of Lords, had irritated ſo many there, that, for two days, by all the judgments that could be made of the Houſe, the bill was likely to have paſſed that Houſe: But, upon ſome prevailing arguments, ſecretly and dextrouſly applied to ſome Lords, an alteration was made in it, by which it was loſt: For whereas the bill, as it ſtood, was to take place after the determination of the preſent Parliament, this was altered, ſo as that it ſhould take place after the demiſe of the Queen; ſo it was no more thought on. The bill &c. Ibid.

Prince *Eugene* ſtill continued in *England*, and was treated very civilly by the Queen, though not with that diſtinction that was due to his high merit: Nor did he gain any ground with the Miniſtry.

He had preſented a memorial to the Queen (which he publiſhed in *February*) containing an account of the Emperor's conduct in the war; concluding, with a propoſal in relation to the war in *Spain*. Some days paſſed before any notice was taken of this memorial, but, at laſt, Mr. *St. John* acquainted the Commons, 'That he had received her Majeſty's command to communicate to that Houſe a propoſition made to her Majeſty by Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, in the name of the Emperor, for the ſupport of the war in *Spain*; viz. *His Imperial Majeſty judges, that forty thouſand men will be ſufficient for this ſervice; and that the whole expence of the war in* Spain *may amount to four millions of crowns, towards which his Imperial Majeſty offers to make up the troops, which he has in that country, to thirty thouſand men, and to take one million of crowns upon himſelf.* It was obſerved, that no Member ſaid any thing to this meſſage; which made the Prince very uneaſy about the ſucceſs of a Negotiation, which had detained him ſo long from other important affairs on the Continent. On the other hand, the courſe of the public entertainments, to which he was daily invited, was by this time interrupted by the death of his nephew, the *Chevalier de Savoye*, who, being taken ill of the ſmall-pox the 20th of *February*, died four days after, in the 21ſt year of his age; and his corps was depoſited, without any funeral pomp, in the vault belonging to the Dukes of *Ormond*, in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*.

Prince

(1) When the Commons read this bill the third time, Sir *David Dalrymple* ſaid, 'Since I ſee the Houſe is reſolved to make no alterations in the body of the bill, I acquieſce, and only deſire, the title of it may be this: *A bill for eſtabliſhing* Jacobitiſm *and* Immorality.' *Pr. H. C.* Vol. IV.

(2) The title of this act is, *An act for diſcharging the* Yule Vacance.

1711-12. *Prince Eugene leaves England.*

Prince *Eugene* having delayed his departure as long as poſſible, in hopes of ſucceeding in his Negotiation, had his audience of leave the 13th of *March*. He embarked the 17th, and, two days after, arrived at the *Hague* in the *Peregrine* yatcht. Biſhop *Burnet*, whilſt the Prince was in *England*, was admitted ſeveral times to much diſcourſe with him, and, from what appeared to him, the Prince had a moſt unaffected modeſty, and ſcarcely bore the acknowledgements that all the world paid him: He deſcended to an eaſy equality with thoſe with whom he converſed, and ſeemed to aſſume nothing to himſelf, while he reaſoned with others.

Falſe report of Mohocks. Hiſt. of Eur.

During Prince *Eugene*'s ſtay in *England*, upon occaſion of ſome frolicks and diſorders committed in the night-time, either by town-rakes, or drunken ſoldiers, a report was induſtriouſly ſpread, 'That there were great numbers of diſaffected perſons, who, under the name of *Mohocks* or *Hawkubites*, had combined together to diſturb the public peace; and who, in an inhuman manner, without any provocation, aſſaulted and wounded thoſe, whom they met with in the ſtreets, ſlitting or flatting people's noſes; gagging or diſtending their mouths with iron inſtruments, and committing many other extravagant cruelties.' At the ſame time printed liſts were handed about of many perſons, ſaid to have been taken up and committed to ſeveral priſons, upon account of theſe barbarities, amongſt whom ſome men of figure and titles were inſinuated to be; which gained ſo ſtrong a belief, and ſtruck ſuch a terror among the vulgar, that, as ſoon as night drew on, many were deterred from going about on their lawful occaſions. Hereupon the matter being laid before the Queen, her Majeſty, by the advice of her Privy-Council, iſſued a proclamation, 'for the ſuppreſſing of riots, and the diſcovery of ſuch as had been guilty of the late barbarities within the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and parts adjacent; charging and commanding, that the offenders be proſecuted with the utmoſt ſeverity and rigour of the law, and promiſing a reward of one hundred pounds for the diſcovery and apprehending of any perſon, who, ſince the firſt day of *February* laſt, had, without any provocation wounded, ſtabbed, or maimed, or who ſhould, before the firſt day of *May*, wound, ſtab, or maim, any of her Majeſty's ſubjects.' Though this proclamation at firſt confirmed the belief of the barbarities and riots, for the ſuppreſſing of which it was intended; yet the conſequence of it ſhewed, upon what ſlight grounds that belief had been entertained. For when people, under ſecurity of this proclamation, came to inquire calmly and cooly into the matter, it was found, that no other diſorders had happened of late, but ſuch as are uſual, and almoſt unavoidable, in populous Cities. But it was remarkable, that *Brinſden*, the Oculiſt, and other agents of the men in power, were ſhrewdly ſuſpected of having raiſed and improved the report of this pretended combination of *Mohocks* and *Hawkubites*, in order to throw the odium of it upon the Whigs, whom, by all poſſible means, they endeavoured to render obnoxious to the people. However, to colour theſe proceedings, two common pick-pockets were tried, found guilty, and ſeverely fined for form ſake. And the Lord *Hinchinbrooke*, then a youth, and an officer of the army, who, at the deſire, and in company of a Conſtable, went out one night in queſt of the pretended *Mohocks*, were afterwards likewiſe arraigned and tried, as diſturbers of the public peace: But, their innocence manifeſtly appearing, the notion of *Mohocks* and *Hawkubites* was univerſally exploded. 1712.

Petition of the French Refugees.

The *French* Refugees having preſented a petition to the Queen for her interpoſition at the treaty of *Utrecht* in favour of their brethren under perſecution in *France*, and for the reſtitution of their eſtates in that Kingdom, of which they had been ſo unjuſtly deprived; the Earl of *Dartmouth* wrote a letter to Monſieur *Du Bourdieu* and *Graverole*, two *French* Proteſtant Miniſters, agents for the reſt; aſſuring them, that the Biſhop of *Briſtol* and the Earl of *Strafford* were already under the ſtricteſt orders to ſupport the intereſt of the *French* Refugees at the Negotiations of peace. Accordingly, the Queen appointed *Armand de Bourbon*, Marquiſs *de Miremont*, nephew to the Earl of *Feverſham*, to go to *Utrecht*, and, in her Majeſty's name, to take particular care of the intereſt of the *French* Refugees. Notwithſtanding all this, they ſoon found that their intereſts were either but faintly ſupported by *Great-Britain*, or the Court of *France* ſhewed no regard to the Queen's interceſſion.

The Supplies granted.

The Supplies demanded were given by the Commons, in all about ſix millions. There were two Lotteries of one million eighteen hundred thouſand pounds each, for which a fund was created to pay both principal and intereſt in thirty-two years. Among the duties for raiſing this ſum, was a ſtamp-duty at two-pence a ſheet on News-Papers and Pamphlets. A motion was made for a clauſe to be put into one of the Lottery-bills, for appointing Commiſſioners to examine the value and conſideration of all the grants made ſince the Revolution. The Miniſters apprehending the difficulty of carrying a Money-bill, with a tack to it, through the Houſe of Lords, becauſe of their former reſolution againſt ſuch a practice, and the Treaſurer promiſing ſome leading men, that he would uſe his intereſt to procure the paſſing a Grant-bill, ſingle, in the Houſe of Peers, they prevailed to have it ſeparated from the Money-bill, and, when paſſed, it was ſent up to the Lords. Thoſe, who continued to pay a reſpect to the memory of King *William*, thought it was a very unbecoming return to him, who had delivered the Nation from Slavery and Popery, to caſt ſo particular an indignity on his grants. The bill made all its ſteps through the Houſe of Lords, to the laſt, with a ſmall majority of one or two. On the third reading of the bill, a warm debate aroſe, in which the Duke of *Argyle* ſaid, 'That, if for the eaſe of the public it was found proper to reſume the grants of the Crown, he would readily give his vote for it, provided they would go ſo far back, as the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second. But he could never agree to limit the bill to grants of King *William*, becauſe ſuch an act would be injurious to the memory of the Deliverer of *Great-Britain*, and all *Europe*; which ought to be had in reverence by all honeſt men.' The Earl of *Wharton*, the Lord *Cowper*, and Lord *Halifax* ſpoke, with great force and eloquence, againſt the partial diſtinction between grants ſince the *Revolution*, and thoſe before it; adding, that ſuch a diſtinction gave too much credit to a Miniſtry, who by the paſſing

Motion for a Grant-bill.

1712. of the bill would have the means in their hands, to ruin and oppreſs thoſe, who had not the good luck to pleaſe them. The Earl of *Nottingham*, who had been abſent the firſt two days, ſpoke on this occaſion, and ſaid, He always thought thoſe grants were too large, and very unſeaſonably made, but he thought there ought to be an equal way of proceeding in that matter; they ought either to reſume them all, or to bring all concerned in them to an equal compoſition: He therefore could not approve of this bill, which, by a very clear conſequence, would put it in the power of a fellow-ſubject, to reſume or to cover grants, at his pleaſure; and ſo it would put the perſons, concerned in the grants, into too great a dependance on him. To this the Lord-Treaſurer anſwered, 'That no one had reaſon to be alarmed at the bill, ſince the intent of it was only to examine the value of the grants made by King *William*, and upon what conſiderations they were given; but that, as it was preſumed, thoſe, who enjoyed them, had rendered very ſignal ſervice to their Country, ſo it was not to be doubted, but the Parliament would confirm the ſame.' The Earl of *Wharton* replied, 'That it was alſo to be preſumed, that thoſe, who enjoyed the grants of King *Charles* the Second, and King *James* the Second, might have likewiſe done important ſervice to the Nation: Wherefore it would be very proper to look into the motives of all thoſe grants, in order to confirm them to thoſe, who had deſerved them.' The Earl of *Oxford* ſaid, 'That he had been informed, that the Commons had no deſign abſolutely to reſume the grants of King *William*, but only to make the poſſeſſors pay the value of four or five years rent, for which they ſhould have the grants confirmed to them for ever:' To which the Earl of *Wharton* again replied, 'That he would not call in queſtion what a Lord of ſuch probity and ſincerity had advanced; but that the reſumption of all the grants of *Ireland* ſufficiently ſhewed, that the Commons had not been content with a part.' Several other ſpeeches, that were made on both ſides, prolonged the debate till between ſix and ſeven in the evening, when the queſtion being put, that the bill do paſs, it appeared upon the gathering of the votes, that there were ſeventy-eight voices on each ſide, fifty-three preſent, and twenty-five proxies for the affirmative; and fifty-two preſent, and twenty-ſix proxies for the negative; ſo the votes being equal, by the rule of the Houſe, the negative carried it, to the great diſappointment of the enemies of the Revolution. It was obſerved, that the loſs of this bill was in a great meaſure owing to the vigilance of the late Duke of *Portland*. He being informed, that the Lord *Colepepper* had ſent his proxy to the Earl of *Sunderland*, who, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, could not produce it, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to the Lord *Colepepper*, and he ſent his proxy to another Lord time enough to create part of the negative. On the other hand, many were of opinion, that, had not the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Strafford* abſented themſelves from the Houſe, the bill had certainly paſſed.

May 22. The Queen three days after came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal aſſent to the Money-bills and others. As the Earl of *Strafford* was now in *London*, it was expected, the Queen would have laid before the Parliament a ſtate of the Negotiations of peace which had been carrying on at the *Hague*. But, ſome points not being yet ſettled between the *Britiſh* and *French* Courts, ſhe did not think fit to make a ſpeech to both Houſes. However, the Speaker, at preſenting the Lottery-bill, ſaid in his compliment to the Queen, 'Your faithful Commons are in hopes, that what they have ſo chearfully given, for your Majeſty's occaſions, will enable your Majeſty to put an end to the preſent war by a ſafe and honourable peace.' There being no account come of any peace, as ſoon as the Commons were returned to their Houſe, Mr. *Benſon*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, afterwards Lord *Bingley*, moved, that the call of the Houſe (which had been ſeveral times put off) might be adjourned to the 4th of *June*, when he did not doubt, but the Queen would lay before them the reſult of the preſent Negotiations. Mr. *Hampden*, complained, ſaying, 'Notwithſtanding all the promiſes given from time to time to the Commons, we have an *unactive and lazy Campaign*, and *a trifling Negotiation of peace*; ſo that we are amuſed by our Miniſters at home, and tricked by our Enemies abroad.' Mr. Secretary *St. John* had too great a ſhare in the management of affairs not to reſent theſe inſinuations; and ſaid with ſome emotion, 'That they highly reflected on her Majeſty, and her Miniſters. But though ſome Members, had been ſent to the *Tower* for leſs offences, and that he, who ſpoke laſt, might be fond of that honour; yet he hoped the Houſe would be of another opinion.' Sir *Richard Onſlow* replied, 'That to ſuppoſe her Majeſty, or her Miniſters to have any influence on the deliberations of that Houſe, was injurious to her Majeſty, and a violation of the privileges of that Houſe. In which he was ſeconded by Mr. *Lechmere*. But the debate went no further, in conſideration, as the friends of the prevailing party ſuggeſted, that, the Seſſion drawing to an end, the commitment of a Member at that time would rather be a pride than a mortification to him. And ſo, according to the motion of the Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, the call of the Houſe was put off till the 4th of *June*.

A great change happened in the affairs of *France*, at the very time their Plenipotentiaries were negotiating at *Utrecht*. The Dauphin, the only ſon of the King of *France*, who died, in the 50th year of his age, of the ſmall-pox on the 14th of *April*, *N. S.* 1711, left behind him three ſons, the Duke of *Burgundy*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Berry*. On the 12th of *February* 1711-12, *N. S.* the Dauphineſs, *Mary Adelaida* of *Savoy*, died at *Verſailles* in the 26th year of her age, having been taken ſuddenly ill of a ſurfeit, as it was given out, three days before: And the Dauphin himſelf, *Lewis*, late Duke of *Burgundy*, ſurvived his ſpouſe but ſix days, dying at *Marly* on the 18th of the ſame month, in the 30th year of his age: And, in a few days after him, his eldeſt ſon, who was five years old, died likewiſe; and his ſecond ſon, then but two years old, was thought to be in a dying condition. Theſe deaths, coming ſo quick one after another, ſtruck the *French* Court. The King himſelf was for ſome days ill, but he ſoon recovered. Such repeated ſtrokes were looked upon with amazement. Poiſon was ſuſpected, as is uſual upon all ſuch occaſions; and the Duke of *Orleans* was generally charged with it. He

Death of the two Dauphins Burnet. Daniel.

was

1712. was believed to have dealt much in Chemiſtry, and was an ambitious Prince. While he was in *Spain* at the head of King *Philip*'s army, he formed a project to ſet him aſide; and to make himſelf King of *Spain*, in which, as the Lord *Townſhend* told Biſhop *Burnet*, he went ſo far, that he tried to engage Mr. *Stanhope*, to preſs the Queen and the *States-General* to aſſiſt him, promiſing to break with *France*, and to marry King *Charles*'s Dowager (1). This being diſcovered, he was upon that called out of *Spain*; and it was thought, that the only thing, that ſaved him, was the King's kindneſs to his natural daughter, whom he had married. The King not only paſſed it over, but ſoon after obliged the Duke of *Berry* to marry his daughter; ſuch care had the old King taken to corrupt the blood of *France*, with the mixture of his ſpurious iſſue. King *Philip* was not at all pleaſed with the Alliance; but wrote to his elder brother, expoſtulating with him for not oppoſing the marriage more vigorouſly; with which he profeſſed himſelf ſo diſpleaſed, that he could not be brought to congratulate upon it. This letter was ſent from *Madrid* to *Paris*, but was intercepted, and ſent to *Barcelona*, and from thence to the *Hague*.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, when he became Dauphin upon his father's death, had been let into the underſtanding the ſecrets of government; and, as was given out, he had on many occaſions expreſſed a deep ſenſe of the miſeries of the people, with great ſentiments of juſtice. He had likewiſe, in ſome diſputes, which Cardinal *de Noailles* had with the Jeſuits, eſpouſed his intereſts, and protected him. It was likewiſe believed, that he retained a great affection to the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, whoſe fable of *Telemachus* carried in it the nobleſt maxims poſſible for the conduct of a wiſe and good Prince, and ſet forth that ſtation in ſhining characters, but which were the reverſe of *Lewis* the XIVth's whole life and reign. Theſe things gave the *French* a juſt ſenſe of the loſs they had in his death; and the apprehenſions of a minority, after ſuch a reign, ſtruck them with great conſternation. Theſe deaths, in ſo critical a time, ſeemed to portend, that all the vaſt ſchemes, which the *French* King had formed with ſo much perfidy and bloodſhed, was in a fair way to be ſoon blaſted. But his affairs were ſoon retrieved by the enſuing peace, to the Negotiations of which it is now time to turn.

The treaty of Utrecht opened Hiſt. of Eur. Burnet. Lamberti. Rec. of the Com. of Secr.

The place appointed for the Congreſs was the City of *Utrecht*; and the day named for opening it, was the firſt of *January* 1711-12, *O. S.* The firſt Miniſter that appeared at the place of treaty was Dr. *Robinſon*, Lord Privy-Seal, one of the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries, who came there the 15th of *January*; and, two days after, arrived the other *Britiſh* Plenipotentiary, the Earl of *Strafford*. On the 18th came alſo two of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries (2), who were followed, the next morning, by the three *French* Plenipotentiaries, the Marſhal *d'Uxelles*, the Abbot *de Polignac*, and Monſieur *Meſnager* (3). The Emperor and the Empire ſent their Miniſters very late and unwillingly; but they ſubmitted to the neceſſity of their affairs. Yet, upon this condition (poſitively given them by the Earl of *Strafford*, and confirmed to Prince *Eugene* by the *Britiſh* Court) that the ſeven preliminaries offered by *France*, and ſigned by *Meſnager*, ſhould be only bare propoſals, and ſhould not be admitted as the baſis of the treaty. To ſave the loſs of time in ſettling the ceremonial, it was alſo agreed, that the Plenipotentiaries ſhould aſſume no character of dignity, till all matters were adjuſted, and made ready for ſigning. At the ſame time, it was likewiſe agreed, that the general Conferences ſhould begin on *Friday* the 29th of *January*, *N. S.* and ſhould afterwards be held on *Wedneſdays* and *Saturdays* at ten in the morning. 1712.

Theſe things being ſettled, the firſt Conference was opened on the day appointed, by eight Miniſters of the Allies, namely, the two *Britiſh*, four of the *States-General*, two of the Duke of *Savoy*'s, and the three Plenipotentiaries of *France*. The Lord Privy-Seal, (who appeared in a black velvet-gown, adorned with gold loops, with a long train borne up by two pages in aſh-coloured coats, laced with ſilver orris, and waiſtcoats of green velvet) addreſſed himſelf to the Miniſters of *France* in the following ſpeech:

Gentlemen,

" We are this day met together, in the name " of God, to lay the foundation of a general " peace between the High Allies and the King " your Maſter. We bring ſincere intentions, " and alſo poſitive orders from our Principals, " to concur in every thing on their part, which " may tend to the furtherance and happy con- " cluſion of ſo beneficial and Chriſtian-like a " work.

" On the other hand, we are in hopes, Gen- " tlemen, that you are of the ſame mind, and " that your inſtructions are ſo full, as to inable " you

(1) This is the project hinted at by the author of the manuſcript account of the campaigns in *Spain* (See *p.* 11. of this volume) which was made to Lord *Galway*, who ſent Mr. *Stanhope* to the Duke of *Orleans* to hear his offers. But the author of the Duke of *Orlean*'s life gives a different account of the Duke's project. He ſays, *Lewis* XIV. being obliged by the ſucceſſes of the Allies to promiſe to abandon his grandſon *Philip* King of *Spain*, the *Spaniards* offered to place the Duke of *Orleans* upon the Throne in his room, to which he conſented. But, this conſent of his being afterwards miſrepreſented to the King of *France*, as a ſcheme to have uſurped the *Spaniſh* Crown from King *Philip*, the Duke was for ſome time in diſgrace at the Court of *France*. *La vie de* Philippe *d'*Orleans, *Vol.* II. *p.* 93.

(2) The Plenipotentiaries named by the *States*, were, Monſieur *Ranawick*, for the province of *Guelderland*; Monſieurs *Buys* and *Vanderduſſen*, for that of *Holland*; Monſieur *de Moermont*, for *Zealand*; Monſieur *de Renſwoude*, for *Utrecht*; Monſieur *de Goſtinga*, for *Friezland*; the Count *de Rechteren*, for *Over-Yſſel*; and the Count *de Tu* and *Kniphuyſen*, for *Groningen*.

(3) As *France* had named three Plenipotentiaries, and Monſieur *Meſnager* in particular, to take care of commercial affairs; the Court of *Great-Britain* had a mind to add Mr. *Prior*, to their two Miniſters at *Utrecht*, for the ſame purpoſe; but the Earl of *Strafford*, having abſolutely refuſed to be joined in commiſſion with a perſon of ſo mean extraction, and threatening to lay down his imployment, the buſineſs of trade was committed to the Lord Privy-Seal; who, not being verſed in thoſe matters, was obliged to direct himſelf by the lights he received from Mr. *Arthur Moore*.

(1) Theſe

1712. " you to anſwer, without loſs of time, the " expectation of the High Allies, in explaining " yourſelves *clearly* and *roundly* upon the points, " which are to be ſettled in theſe Conferences: " And that you will do it in ſo plain and parti- " cular a manner, that all and every of the " Confederate Princes and States may find a " juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction upon their re- " ſpective pretenſions." The Marſhal *de Uxelles*, firſt Plenipotentiary of *France*, anſwered, " That it could not be doubted, but his moſt " Chriſtian Majeſty had a ſincere and ardent de- " ſire to give peace to *Europe*;" adding, " That with this view his Majeſty had furniſh- " ed his Plenipotentiaries with ample inſtructi- " ons, and a full power to come to the conclu- " ſion of ſo beneficial a work, which was ſo " earneſtly deſired by all *Europe*." The Earl of *Strafford* took occaſion to declare, that the Queen had received the general propoſitions as a foundation for a Negotiation of peace; but that they were binding to *France* only, and not to the Allies; to which the *French* Miniſters readily aſſented. But it is to be obſerved through the whole proceeding, that this is meant of the propoſitions ſigned by *Meſnager* only, the Congreſs not having the leaſt notice or cognizance of what was ſigned, both on the part of *France* and *England* too; which had been hitherto concealed, and, upon all occaſions, publickly diſowned. The Plenipotentiaries of the *States* and Duke of *Savoy* made likewiſe ſpeeches ſuitable to the occaſion; after which, the Aſſembly broke up. The next day, the Miniſters of the Allies agreed to meet at the *Town-Houſe* twice a week during the Congreſs, in order to preſerve union amongſt them, and to take the neceſſary meaſures for promoting the intereſt of the reſpective Princes and States they repreſented. At one of theſe meetings, becauſe the *French* Miniſters had in their ſpeeches promiſed to deliver in writing the intentions of their Court, it was reſolved to deliver to them, in the next Conference, a declaration, " That the " Miniſters of the High Allies, already there, " expected, according to the offers of the Mi- " niſters of *France*, the plan or ſcheme they " had promiſed; and would not fail to return an " anſwer thereto, for what concerned the parti- " cular intereſt of their Principals; and as to " the Miniſters of ſuch of the Allies, who were " ſtill abſent, they had reaſon to believe, that " they would forthwith repair thither, to concur " with them in their anſwer."

This paper being delivered to the *French* Miniſters in the ſecond Conference on the 3d of *February*, they promiſed to give in their offers for a general peace; but declared they wiſhed, that all the Miniſters of the Allies were preſent, that they might, at the ſame time, receive a counter-project or anſwer from all the members of the grand Alliance. Accordingly little was done at the third Conference, but at the fourth, *Feb.* 10. *N. S.* the Imperial Miniſters being arrived, a warm diſpute aroſe between them and the *French* Plenipotentiaries. 'The Marſhal *de Uxelles* ſaid, the King, his Maſter, had moſt ſincere intentions to end this war to the ſatisfaction of the Allies: That, in order to that, they ought to deal roundly and fairly. That he hoped a good ſucceſs of this Negotiation, ſince the Ambaſſadors of the Houſe of *Auſtria* had at laſt reſolved to come to the Congreſs;' and thereupon he deſired the Miniſters of the Allies to deliver the propoſals they had to make. Count *Zinzendorf* anſwered, 'That the Emperor, his Maſter, had no leſs ſincere intentions to contribute all that lay in his power towards ſo deſirable a bleſſing, as a general peace: But that it ſeemed Monſieur *de Uxelles*, inſtead of dealing roundly and fairly, began, on the contrary, with a fetch *, ſince he could not be a ſtranger to the demands of the Allies, nor have forgot where the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg* broke off: That there was nothing more for them to do now, than to find out ways and means to remove the difficulties, that had obſtructed that Negotiation: And, ſince the King, their Maſter, had deſired this Congreſs of the Allies, they had reaſon to expect, that he had given his Miniſters neceſſary inſtructions for that end.' By this he inſinuated, that the Allies inſiſted on the firſt Preliminaries ſigned at the *Hague* in the year 1709. Count *Zinzendorf* likewiſe took notice of this expreſſion, *The Ambaſſadors of the Houſe of* Auſtria, as derogatory to his Imperial Majeſty. The Abbot *de Polignac* replied, " That they ought to talk " no more of the affair of *Gertruydenberg*, ſince " the King had fixed a time for the Allies to " accept his propoſal; which they not having " done, he was under no engagement." This occaſioned a high debate; and *d'Uxelles* having, in relation to the affairs of *Spain*, ſaid, " That " they ought to wait the arrival of the Ambaſ- " ſador of that Crown"; Count *Zinzendorf* replied, " He was preſent, and himſelf was the " perſon." The Marſhal returned, " That he " acknowledged none but King *Philip*'s"; which inflamed the diſpute; and the Marſhal having likewiſe advanced, in relation to a point in debate, " That the Queen of *England* had " engaged her promiſe"; the Lord Privy-Seal ſaid, " There was no ſuch thing in his in- " ſtructions." At laſt, the *French* Miniſters conſented to deliver their propoſals in writing, which they did, *February* 11, in a very high ſtrain.

1714.

* Demur.

They promiſed, that at the ſigning of the treaty they would own the Queen and the Succeſſion to the Crown, as ſhe ſhould direct; *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* were to remain with King *Philip*; the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Iſlands, except *Sicily*, were to go to the Emperor, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands* to the Elector of *Bavaria:* The trade was to be regulated, as it was before the war; ſome places in *Canada* were to be reſtored to *England*, with the freedom of fiſhery in *Newfoundland*; but *Placentia* was to remain with the *French: Dunkirk* was offered to be demoliſhed; but *Liſle* and *Tournay* were to be given for it: The *States* were to have their demands for the Barrier; and the frontier between *France*, the Empire, and *Italy*, was to be the ſame, that it was before the war; by which *Landau*, *Feneſtrella*, and *Exiles* were to be reſtored to *France* (1). Theſe demands

The French propoſals.

(1) Theſe propoſals at large were as follows:

A ſpecific explanation of the offers of France *for a general peace, to the ſatisfaction of all the parties concerned in the preſent war.*

" The King will acknowledge, at the ſigning of " the

1712. demands (which were called a ſpecific explanation of the offers of *France* for a general peace, to the ſatisfaction of all the Allies) were as extravagant as any the *French* King could have made, in the moſt proſperous ſtate of his affairs. They filled the Allies with indignation, and heightened the jealouſy they had of a ſecret underſtanding, between the Courts of *England* and *France*. This indignation had ſuch an effect, that the Earl of *Strafford*, in his letter of the 16th of *February* 1711-12, ſays, "The *French* "Miniſters were mortified at the general diſcon- "tent theſe offers gave; and ſeemed to wiſh, "they had put in *Tournay* for the *Dutch*; and "*St. Venant* to be demoliſhed, to have ſoften- "ed the matter at its firſt coming out." Nor were the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries without their uneaſineſs. They had done all they could, as the Earl of *Strafford* ſays in his letter of the 12th of *February*, to perſuade the *French* to be as ample in the explication as they could, "ſee- "ing that is what will have a great effect, and "ſtrike the minds of unthinking people, and "make ſome work for reflection for the faction." The *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries complained, that they were under great difficulties on all hands, for both *Buys* and *Meſnager* thought they came ſhort of what had been told them in *England*; and, the Allies then forming their reſpective demands in concert with each other, they wanted further orders. Theſe Plenipotentiaries were likewiſe at a great loſs how to behave about *Spain*, both in regard to the particular advantages, that were to be aſked on the behalf of *Great-Britain*, and the general diſpoſition of it. But Mr. Secretary *St. John* ſoon ſent them words of comfort, in a letter of the 16th of *February*, that Mr. *Harley*, Secretary of the Treaſury, would ſet out in a few days, who is fully inſtructed in all the Queen's views and deſires: "That it were to be wiſhed this Gentleman "could have been ſooner ſent; but the hurry, "ſays he, which we have been in for ſome "time, is inexpreſſible; and he was too uſeful "to be ſpared, till the Houſe of Commons "were perfectly ſecured to the Queen's intereſt, "and to the meaſures of peace. I think I may "ſay, they are abſolutely ſo now. The Secre- "tary confeſſed the *French* plan to be too 1712. "ſcanty; and obſerved, that they muſt let the "*French* Miniſters know, that the whole turn- "ed upon their manner of proceeding, her Ma- "jeſty having gone further than could have "been expected from her in promoting the "peace."

They are received with ſcorn in England.

The ſpecific explanation raiſed no leſs indignation among true *Engliſhmen*, than among the Allies; more particularly the putting off the owning the Queen, till the treaty came to be ſigned: The Lord-Treaſurer, to ſoften this, ſaid, He ſaw a letter, in which the King of *France* acknowledged her Queen; this was a confeſſion, that there was a private correſpondence between them; yet the doing it by a letter was no legal act. In excuſe of this it was ſaid, that the late King was not owned by the *French*, till the treaty of *Ryſwick* came to be ſigned: But there was a Mediator in that treaty, with whom our Plenipotentiaries only negotiated; whereas there was no Mediator at *Utrecht*: So that the Queen was now, without any interpoſition, treating with a Prince, who did not own her right to the Crown. The propoſitions made by the *French* were treated with the greateſt ſcorn, nor did the Miniſters pretend to ſay any thing in excuſe for them. The Lord *Halli-fax* made a motion in the Houſe of Peers, for preſenting an addreſs to the Queen, about the ſpecific offers of *France*, which his Lordſhip called, *trifling*, *arrogant*, *and injurious to her Majeſty and her Allies*. He was ſeconded by ſeveral Peers, of both parties, who ſaid in ſubſtance, 'That thoſe propoſitions ought to be rejected with the utmoſt ſcorn and indignation; that it plainly appeared, *France* had no other deſign in view, than to amuſe the Allies; and, in particular, that it was derogatory to her Majeſty's honour, to enter into any Negotiation with that Crown, before her Majeſty's juſt title was acknowledged.' Some endeavours were uſed to adjourn the debate at leaſt till the next day, by ſuggeſting, 'That the offers that were handed about, having yet no other authority, than their being inſerted in the *Holland Gazettes*, might not be genuine; and therefore the Lords ought not to take any notice of them, till ſuch time

Addreſs againſt them by the Lords. Feb. 16. Pr. H. C.

"the peace, the Queen of *Great-Britain* in that qua- "lity; as alſo the Succeſſion of that Crown, accord- "ing to the preſent ſettlement, and in the manner her "*Britannic* Majeſty ſhall pleaſe.

"His Majeſty will cauſe all the fortifications of "*Dunkirk* to be demoliſhed immediately after the "peace, provided an equivalent be given him to his "ſatisfaction.

"The iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*, *Hudſon's-Bay*, and "freight of that name, ſhall be yielded up intire to "*Great-Britain*; and *Acadia*, with *Port-Royal*, and "the Fort, ſhall be reſtored intire to his Majeſty. "As to the iſland of *Newfoundland*, the King offers to "yield up that alſo to *Great-Britain*, reſerving only "to himſelf the Fort of *Placentia*, and the right of "catching and drying fiſh, as before the war. It "ſhall be agreed to make a treaty of commerce before "or after the peace, as *England* ſhall chuſe, the con- "ditions of which ſhall be made as equal between the "two Nations, as they can poſſibly.

"The King will conſent at the ſigning of the peace, "that the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, which are made over "and given to the Elector of *Bavaria* by the King "of *Spain*, ſhall ſerve for a barrier to the *United-Ne-* "*therlands*; and, to augment it, he will join thereto "*Furnes*, and the *Furnes Ambaught*, or diſtrict, *Knock*, "*Ypres*, and the caſtellany of *Menin* with its *Verge*. "In exchange, his Majeſty demands to form the bar- "rier of *France*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, *Bethune*, *Douay*, "and their dependencies. If the *States-General* are "deſirous to keep garriſons in the fortified places "of the barrier ſo formed of the dominions transferred "to his Electoral Highneſs, and of what *France* adds "thereto of its own; his Majeſty conſents, that they "ſhall put their troops into them in as great number "as they pleaſe: And beſides, that they ſhall be main- "tained at the expence of the country.

"In conſideration of this ceſſion, and of this con- "ſent, the King on his ſide demands, as an equiva- "lent for the demoliſhing of *Dunkirk*, the towns and "citadels of *Liſle*, and *Tournay*, with their caſtellanies "and dependencies.

"The barrier thus regulated between *France* and "the *States-General*, the King will grant for augment- "ing the commerce of their ſubjects what is ſtipulated "by the treaty of *Ryſwick*, and the advantageous "Tariff of 1664, with an exception only of ſix ſorts "of merchandize, which ſhall be agreed on, and which "ſhall remain charged with the ſame duties, that are "paid at this time; as alſo the exemption of 50 ſols

1712. time as the Queen had communicated them to the Houſe.' But this, and other arguments, were over-ruled; and an addreſs was made to the Queen, expreſſing a juſt indignation at ſuch a proceeding, promiſing her all aſſiſtance in their power, in carrying on the war, till ſhe could obtain a ſafe and honourable peace (1).

Whilſt this paſſed in *England*, the propoſitions of *France*, which were quickly diſperſed in print in all the *United-Provinces*, were received with the utmoſt indignation by people of all ranks, the multitude not forbearing to vent the ſevereſt reproaches againſt thoſe, from whom they ſuppoſed the *French* Court had received incouragement. Theſe offers, however, had this good effect, that thoſe among the *Dutch*, who before were moſt eager for a peace, particularly the Regency of *Utrecht*, reſolved to ſpend their laſt penny to carry on the war.

Copies of the ſpecific explanation being ſent by all the Miniſters of the Allies to their reſpective Principals, the Earl of *Strafford*, at the next general Conference, told the Miniſters of *France*, purſuant to what had been agreed at a meeting of the other Miniſters, "That they found it "neceſſary to take time till the 5th of *March*, "*N. S.* to give in the ſpecific demands of the "parties engaged in the war." To which the *French* Miniſters readily agreed. In the mean time, the Miniſters of the Allies communicated to each other their reſpective demands, agreed upon the manner in which they were to deliver them in, and, at a meeting on the 3d of *March*, 171 reſolved, that a clauſe of mutual guarantee, importing, *that a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction ſhould be given to all the Allies, according to Treaties, Ingagements, and other Conventions*, ſhould be inſerted among their demands.

The Miniſters of the Proteſtant Allies were ſeveral times in Conference together, to concert ſuch meaſures as might be proper to be taken, during the courſe of this Congreſs, for the ſecurity of their Religion, and particularly an abolition of a clauſe in the fourth article of the treaty of *Ryſwick*, prejudicial to the ſame: As likewiſe the making ſome proviſion, in their Negotiations with the Miniſters of *France*, for the relief of the Proteſtants of that Kingdom. But, though theſe particulars were mentioned in the demands of the Proteſtant Allies, yet they were afterwards but faintly inſiſted on; and it was obſerved, that in this Negotiation, as in moſt former treaties, the Proteſtants ſhewed not an equal zeal for their religious concerns, as they did for their temporal intereſts.

On the 4th of *March*, the Miniſters of the Allies met again, and Count *Zinzendorf* again inſiſted, That the reſtitution of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſhould be expreſsly mentioned. The *Dutch* declared, They were reſolved to make good all their treaties, made on occaſion of this war, as well thoſe that related to *Spain* and the *Indies*, as thoſe made with *Portugal*; but the *Britiſh* were the only Miniſters, that did not

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"*per* tun on the *Dutch* ſhipping, that came into *France* "from the *United-Provinces*, and foreign countries.

"As to the commerce of *Spain*, and the *Indies*, "the King will engage, not only to the *States-Gene-* "*ral*, but likewiſe to her *Britannic* Majeſty, and to "all other Potentates, by virtue of the power he has "in this particular, that the ſaid commerce ſhall be al- "lowed exactly, and carried on in the very ſame man- "ner as it was under the reign, and till the death of "*Charles* II. and will promiſe, that the *French* ſhall "ſubmit, as all the other Nations, to the antient laws "and regulations made by the Kings, his Catholic "Majeſty's predeceſſors, with reſpect to the commerce "and navigation of the *Spaniſh Indies*.

"His Majeſty further conſents, that all the Poten- "tates of *Europe* may enter into the guaranty of this "promiſe. His Majeſty promiſes, that the King his "grandſon ſhall renounce, for the ſake of the peace, "all pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and *Sar-* "*dinia*, as well as to the Duchy of *Milan*; in whoſe "name he will conſent, that the part of that Duchy, "which is made over to the Duke of *Savoy*, ſhall re- "main to his Royal Highneſs; provided, that in con- "ſideration of this ceſſion, the Houſe of *Auſtria* do in "like manner deſiſt from all pretenſions to the other "parts of the Monarchy of *Spain*, from whence that "Houſe ſhall withdraw their troops immediately after "the peace.

"The frontiers on both ſides upon the *Rhine* ſhall "be ſettled in the ſame condition, as they were before "the preſent war.

"In conſideration of all the terms above ſpecified, "the King demands, that the Electors of *Cologne* and "*Bavaria* ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in the full and intire "poſſeſſion of their Dominions, Dignities, Preroga- "tives, Goods moveable and immoveable, which "they enjoyed before the preſent war: And recipro- "cally his Majeſty will recognize in *Germany*, and in "*Pruſſia*, all the titles, which he has not yet acknow- "ledged.

"The King will reſtore the Duke of *Savoy* what "he has taken from him during this war; as in like "manner his Royal Highneſs ſhall reſtore to him what "he has taken from *France*; ſo that the limits on "both ſhall be the ſame they were before the declara- "tion of war.

"All things as to *Portugal* ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, "and remain on the ſame foot in *Europe*, that they "were before the preſent war, as well with regard to "*France* as to *Spain*: And as to the Dominions, "which that Crown has in *America*, if there be any "differences to ſettle, endeavours ſhall be uſed to "agree them amicably.

"The King will conſent freely, and *bona fide*, to "take in concert with the Allies all the moſt juſt "meaſures for hindering the Crowns of *France* and "*Spain* from being ever united on the ſame Head; "that is to ſay, that one and the ſame Prince ſhall "never be at once King of both.

"All preceding treaties, that is, thoſe of *Munſter*, "and others, that have been made ſince, ſhall be re- "peated and confirmed, to remain in their force and "virtue, excepting only ſuch articles, from which the "treaty of peace, now to be made, ſhall derogate or "alter ſomething:"

Signed, UXELLES.

It may be obſerved, that the King of *France* here makes, as well as in the ſpecial Preliminaries, his firſt offers in the name, and by virtue of powers from his grandſon as King of *Spain*. But how the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries could reconcile this to their inſtructions, and how their behaviour upon it was to be juſtified, is not very clear. *See report of the committee of ſecrecy.*

(1) The addreſs was as follows:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament "aſſembled, beg leave humbly to repreſent to your "Majeſty the juſt indignation of this Houſe, at the "diſhonourable treatment of your Majeſty by *France*, "in having propoſed to acknowledge your Majeſty's "title to theſe Realms, no ſooner, than when the

"peace

1712. not make any mention of *Spain* and the *Indies*, contenting themſelves with a general declaration concerning the juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for the Queen's Allies, in Conformity to her Alliances. However, it is obſervable, that a few days after, upon the earneſt inſtances of the Imperial Miniſters, the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries made a declaration (which was regiſtered in the *Protocol*, kept by Monſieur *Buys*) importing, That by the clauſe of mutual guarantee, or claim, agreed to on the 3d, and inſerted in their reſpective demands, *they underſtood the reſtitution of* Spain *and the* Indies *to the Houſe of* Auſtria.

At the general Conference held the next day, the Miniſters of the Allies delivered in writing their ſpecific demands which ran as high as the *French* explanation, another way. The Emperor asked the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy; *England* asked the reſtoring *Newfoundland*, and the demoliſhing of *Dunkirk*; the *States* asked their whole barrier; and every Ally asked ſatisfaction to all the other Allies, as well as to himſelf: *England* and the *States* declared, that they demanded *Spain*, and the *Weſt-Indies* for the Emperor; ſo the high pattern ſet by the *French*, in their demands, was to the full imitated by the Allies. The *French* Plenipotentiaries declared they could not give in ſpecific anſwers to ſo many demands of the Allies, till they had received new inſtructions from *Paris* and *Madrid*, and therefore deſired till the 30th of *March*, *N. S.* to deliver them in, to which no objection was made (1).

When the 30th of *March* came, ſuch of the Miniſters of the Allies, as were not in the ſecret, were full of expectation, that the *French* Plenipotentiaries would give in a ſpecific anſwer to their demands; but they were not a little ſurpriſed, when, inſtead of offering an anſwer in writing, Marſhal *d'Uxelles* propoſed to enter into verbal Conferences on the demands made on both ſides. This indeed had been practiſed in treaties where Mediators interpoſed, but that was not done till the main points were ſecretly agreed to. The Miniſters of the Allies rejected this propoſal, and demanded 'ſpecific anſwers in writing.' Upon *Polignac*'s ſaying, they would not anſwer in writing, their inſtructions being only to treat verbally, one of the *Dutch* Miniſters propoſed to break up the Congreſs: But he was ſoon taken down by the *Britiſh* Miniſters, who could not agree with the *Dutch* in that particular; but ſaid on the contrary, they would enter into a Negotiation by way of dictating, as was done at the *Hague*, in the Conference with the Deputies of the *States*. However, the next day, at a meeting among themſelves, they unanimouſly agreed upon a declaration, wherein they inſiſted 'That an anſwer be delivered them in writing.' But at the next general Conference the *French* Miniſters refuſed ſtill to comply with this declaration, which was delivered to them by Monſieur *Buys*. 1712.

This refuſal of the *French* raiſed a very great heat in the Aſſembly; and ſome Miniſters gave it as their opinion, that ſuch trifling was a ſufficient ground to diſſolve the Congreſs; for, the *French* Plenipotentiaries refuſing to anſwer in the method all the Miniſters of the Allies had agreed on, it would be fruitleſs, as well as diſhonourable, for the latter to remain at *Utrecht*. However, the *Britiſh* Miniſters were of opinion, that the Negotiations might be managed on the foot propoſed by *France*; but, when they obſerved, that the tide ran too ſtrong againſt them, and that the generality were of contrary ſentiments, they concurred with the reſt, and declared, that they had poſitive inſtructions to conform themſelves to the general opinion of the Miniſters of the Congreſs. According to this reſolution, Mr. *Buys* delivered a ſecond declaration in the name of all the Allies, wherein they perſiſted to demand an anſwer in writing to their *ſpecific demands*. In anſwer to this, the *French* Miniſters declared, "That, as they had poſitive inſtruc- "tions not to engage themſelves in a Negoti- "ation in writing, they could not do it with- "out new orders from the King their Maſter; "to which end they would immediately diſ- "patch a Courier, to acquaint him with this laſt "reſolution of the Allies." Some of the Miniſters of the Allies replied, "That they had rea- "ſon to have expected, that they had not want- "ed ſuch inſtructions; but, however, they were "willing a longer time might be taken, if it "were deſigned with purpoſe to anſwer effec- "tually." The *French* Miniſters replied, "That "they could promiſe no more than to follow the "inſtructions they ſhould receive, ſince they "did not expect the Allies would have dealt "with them in ſo tyrannical a manner:" adding, "That they pleaded for no more than was "practiſed at the treaties of *Munſter*, *Nimeguen*, "and

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"peace ſhall be ſigned. And we cannot forbear ex- "preſſing our utmoſt reſentment at the terms of peace "offered to your Majeſty, and your Allies, by the "Plenipotentiaries of *France*: And we do, with the "greateſt zeal and affection, aſſure your Majeſty, "that this Houſe will ſtand by, and aſſiſt your Ma- "jeſty with our lives and fortunes, in carrying on this "war, in conjunction with your Allies, till a ſafe and "honourable peace can be obtained for your Majeſty "and your Allies."

The Queen's anſwer was to this effect:

My Lords,

"I return you my hearty thanks for the zeal you "expreſs for my honour, and for the aſſurance you "give of ſupporting me." *Pr. H. L.*

(1) The *French* Miniſters and their Partiſans exclaimed againſt the demands of the Allies as *unreaſonable* and *exorbitant*; but they excepted in a particular manner againſt the pretenſions of the Allies in favour of the *French* Proteſtants. The Abbot *de Polignac*, who had a Cardinal's Hat in view, and therefore could not fail on all occaſions to ſhew his zeal for the *Romiſh* Church, appeared the moſt obſtinate on that article; and diſcourſing one day with *Vanderduſſen*, one of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, about the demand, "That "the *French* Proteſtants in the gallies, or detained in "priſon, ſhould be ſet at liberty," asked him, "Whe- "ther the *States* would ſet at liberty the people detain- "ed in their *Spin-houſe*, and *Raſp-houſe*, if the *French* "King ſhould demand it?" *Vanderduſſen*, juſtly reſenting that odious compariſon, told him, "That if "the *French* Court would own the people detained in "thoſe Houſes for their brethren, as the *States* owned "for ſuch the Proteſtants in the gallies, whom they "interceded for, he did not queſtion but their High- "Mightineſſes would ſet at liberty thoſe malefactors." The *French* Abbot, being confounded with this anſwer, turned off the diſcourſe to other matters.

1712. " and *Ryſwick*." But their aſſertion was proved to be wrong with reſpect to theſe treaties, where every thing was not altogether tranſacted by word of mouth, without writing. Beſides, it was urged, that there were Mediators at thoſe treaties, whereas there was none at *Utrecht*, which made this an irregular ſort of a Congreſs. The Marſhal *de Uxelles* anſwered, " That they " had no reaſon to deliver any thing in writing, " ſince the Confederates made a bad uſe of the " laſt, to inflame the people againſt them." To which one of the Imperial Miniſters replied, " That the *French* had no more to do, but to " give in juſt and reaſonable propoſals in writ- " ing; and then it would inflame the people " againſt the Allies, if they refuſed to accept " them." One of the *Dutch* Miniſters having been ſo plain, as to tell the Marſhal *d'Uxelles*, that the *French* Court would be deceived, if they expected a peace by tampering with ſome of the Allies, in order to divide them from the reſt; the Marſhal warmly replied, " That not only " the preſent King of *France*, but even the " whole Royal Family would enter into a vow " to be revenged upon the *Dutch*, if they ob- " ſtructed the peace." To which, one of the Confederate Miniſters anſwered, " That ſuch " menacing diſcourſes would only ſerve to keep " the *Dutch* on their guard, and arm them a- " gainſt all future revenge, by inducing them to " lay hold on this opportunity to cruſh that " power, which now threatened them." When theſe heats were over, the *French* Miniſters promiſed again to write to the King, their Maſter, in order to know his pleaſure on the ſubject in hand, in which the Miniſters of the Allies were obliged to acquieſce. But it was agreed, that, unleſs ſome extraordinary occaſion required it, no general Conference ſhould be held on the 9th of *April*. On the 13th, another general Conference was held, in which nothing material was done; and the *French* Miniſters, whoſe only buſineſs, it ſeems, was to gain time, propoſed, that the next general Conference, which was to be held the 16th, might be put off, as had been done before, unleſs the Allies had ſomething particular to offer. This propoſal not being agreed to, the general Conference was held, as uſual, on the 16th, and the Miniſters of the Allies inquiring again of thoſe of *France*, whether they were ready to give *ſpecific anſwers* in writing, the *French* Plenipotentiaries ſtill excuſed themſelves, on pretence of their not being yet fully inſtructed from the King, their Maſter, on that ſubject. The truth is, they knew very well, that their buſineſs was not to be done at *Utrecht*, but by a Negotiation carried on directly between *London* and *Verſailles*. And it appears from the *Report of the Committee of Secrecy*, that the refuſal of the *French* to give no anſwer in writing was no ſurprize to the *Britiſh* Miniſters, whom they had beforehand adviſed with. The Earl of *Strafford*, in his Letter to Mr. Secretary *St. John* of the 25th of *March*, expreſſed himſelf thus: " I cannot help ſaying, I believe the " *French* have taken the wiſeſt part not to anſwer " in writing, tho' moſt of the Miniſters of the Al- " lies will be ſurprized, expecting they ſhould." And he ſaid further; " I believe it is beſt they " ſhould firſt begin in the open Congreſs to rea- " ſon upon ſome of the Allies demands, which " will occaſion ſo much difficulty, that the " Miniſters of the Allies will propoſe debating " ſeparately, which had better come from them " than any elſe." And, when his Lordſhip ſent an account, that a reſolution was taken at the *Hague*, upon the *French* Miniſters continuing obſtinate, Mr. *St. John*, in his letter of *April* 5, expreſſed himſelf in this manner: " That he " hoped the reſolution, taken at the *Hague* to " carry things to an extremity, was the laſt " convulſive pang of an expiring faction." And yet this reſolution was no more than to inſiſt on a demand, in which all the Allies were unanimous, and in which the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries had themſelves concurred. But what made the *French* thus perſiſt in the reſolution of giving no anſwer in writing, is accounted for in the Earl of *Strafford*'s letter of the 27th of *March*, wherein he ſays, That the Penſionary was extremely deſirous, that the *French* would anſwer in writing, which, it was his Lordſhip's opinion, they would evade, till they ſaw what ſucceſs the Abbot *Gaultier* had at *London*: And, in his letter of the 30th, he ſaid, " The " *French* will avoid giving their anſwer in " writing, till they ſee all agreed betwixt their " Court and ours." And to ſhew, that the *French* were very well ſatisfied with the method, which their buſineſs was in, the Plenipotentiaries, in their letter of *April* 15, ſay, " They " do not find the *French* are much convinced " of the neceſſity of diſpatch; and, when any " thing is let fall of breaking off the Confe- " rences, they ſeem to take it with a great air " of indifference, well-knowing their buſineſs " was not to be done at *Utrecht*, but by a Ne- " gotiation carried on directly between *London* " and *Verſailles*." About the beginning of *April*, Mr. *Thomas Harley* and the Abbé *Gaultier* arrived at *Utrecht*. For whoſe uſe and ſervice Mr. *Harley* had been ſo well employed at home, as has been already obſerved, and was now ſent abroad, cannot be a doubt, ſince Mr. Secretary *St. John* thought it neceſſary to give Monſieur *de Torcy* an immediate account of his ſucceſsful endeavours at home, and the buſineſs he was ſent abroad to manage. In his letter of *March* the 4th, he tells Monſieur *de Torcy*, " That he " had deferred writing of late, till he might " write with certainty; till the neceſſary diſpo- " ſitions were made among our people at home; " and till the Queen had taken the only reſolu- " tion, which could bring us, in a ſhort time, " to a good and ſolid peace. I have now the " ſatisfaction to tell you, that this reſolution is " taken; and that Mr. *Harley* will carry with " him this night or to morrow-morning the fi- " nal inſtructions of the Queen to her Plenipo- " tentiaries. I refer myſelf to Monſieur *Gaul- " tier*, to explain to you more at large the ſub- " ject of this Gentleman's Commiſſion, and " what the Queen hopes his moſt Chriſtian " Majeſty will do to co-operate with her." Theſe inſtructions of Mr. *Harley* do not appear; but it ſeems, the ſubject of them was not proper to be committed to writing; for which reaſon, as in almoſt all matters relating to the Pretender, it is referred to Monſieur *Gaultier* to explain them. But what was meant by *the neceſſary diſpoſitions made among our people here at home*, is pretty well explained by Monſieur *de Torcy*, in a memorial dated the 28th of *March* 1712, in anſwer to what was brought by Monſieur *Gaultier*, wherein he commends the prudent conduct of the Court of *Great-Britain*, in

1712. in managing the Houſe of Commons, and in particular their wiſe conduct in making known to the Houſe of Commons, that the Nation was abuſed by its Allies; and ſays, "The "King of *France* aſſures himſelf, that thoſe, "who now manage with ſo much capacity the "affairs of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, know "how to curb the paſſion of the turbulent "party in the other Houſe." A few days after Mr. *Harley*'s and the Abbé *Gaultier*'s arrival at *Utrecht*, the *French* Plenipotentiaries communicated to the Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Strafford*, a plan for a general peace, to which they had added by way of marginal notes, in a diſtinct column, what they were told would be abſolutely neceſſary in order to a general peace. But this was intruſted to them under the higheſt obligation of ſecrecy, to diſcover nothing of it to the reſt of the Allies. The *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries accepted this plan as a mark of the great confidence, which *France* had in them, and readily engaged, that the Allies ſhould not be permitted to know a word of it; and under the ſame caution ſent it to Mr. Secretary *St. John*. But there was no room to doubt, but this plan, that was tranſmitted to *England* as a great diſcovery, was concerted here, and ſent by Mr. *Harley* to *Utrecht*, and by *Gaultier*, to *France*.

Mr. Secretary *St. John*, being much concerned at the behaviour of the Allies, and the *Dutch* in particular, thought it proper to make one attempt more, as he called it, to gain them; and therefore ordered the Plenipotentiaries, in a letter of the 12th of *April*, to acquaint them, "That her Majeſty would conſent to their hav- "ing *Dendermond* and *Ghent*, and, at the ſame "time, depart from her pretenſions to *Oſtend*; "and was willing, that the trade to *Spain* and "the *Spaniſh Indies* be ſettled upon the ſame "foot, as it ſubſiſted at the death of the late "King of *Spain*, in all reſpects, except the "*Aſſiento*: And their Lordſhips were ordered to "tell them in very plain terms, that her Ma- "jeſty's meaſures would be taken according to "the return they ſhould make to the Queen on "this occaſion." But, at the ſame time, no communication at all was made to the *States* of the general plan of peace laſt delivered by the Abbé *Gaultier*, as there never had been of any other, although, in this laſt, the intereſts of all the Allies were ſettled and determined between *Great-Britain* and *France*. And, to ſhew how candidly the Queen's *good Friends and Allies*, the *Dutch*, as her Majeſty was pleaſed to ſtile them, were dealt with, the 15 *per cent.* upon all the goods and manufactures of *Great-Britain*, which was offered at firſt as one of the chief bribes to *England* to come into this deſtructive peace, Monſieur *Meſnager* had now explained away, and confined to ſuch goods, as were carried, not to *Spain*, but to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* only; and, our Miniſters finding, that *France* would not make this effectual, Mr. *Harley* was ordered to let it drop. But to ſee the uſe, that was to be made of this inſincerity of the *French*; at the ſame time, that Mr. Secretary *St. John* acquainted the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries with her Majeſty's conſent to give this up, he told them, in his letter of *April* 5, "But you will take "care to do this in ſuch a manner, as not only "to get ſomething for it another way, but alſo "to render this conceſſion of the Queen's a "means of bringing the *Dutch* to reaſon, and "to a compliance with her Majeſty's meaſures." 1712.

The Lord Privy-Seal, on the 29th of *April*, acquainted Mr. Secretary *St. John*, that the Negotiation was at a ſtand, till the *French* Miniſters were ready to return one anſwer or another: And, on the 10th of *May*, the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries ſay, "The *French* tell us, they can- "not think of giving in their anſwer to the "Allies, till they hear from *England* the ſuc- "ceſs of Monſieur *Gaultier*; and you may be- "lieve we wait for it with no leſs impatience "than they do."

The Secretary, on the 3d of *May*, acquainted their Excellencies: "I hope in a few days my "diſpatches will become more material, and, "that we ſhall be able either to ſatisfy our "friends at *Utrecht*, or not have reaſon to be "much concerned at their uneaſineſs." This ended in Lord *Strafford*'s being ſent for into *England*; and the following orders were ſent, on the 16th of *May*, to the Lord Privy-Seal for his farther conduct: "You are to ſtop all inſtances "for procuring the Tariff of 1664 to the "*Dutch*: You are to decline abſolutely to con- "fer any further with them upon any matter, "till you receive the Queen's plan from hence; "and that you will not, I hope, be long in "expectation of: And her Majeſty finds ſo ill "a return made by the *States* to her condeſcen- "ſion towards them, that ſhe likewiſe orders your "Lordſhip to take the firſt ſolemn opportunity "of declaring to the *Dutch* Miniſters, that all "her offers for adjuſting our differences were "founded upon this expreſs condition, that they "came immediately into the Queen's meaſures, "and acted openly and ſincerely with her; and "that ſhe looks upon herſelf, from their con- "duct, now to be under no obligation whatſo- "ever to them."

Summary of the proceedings at Utrecht.

The ſummary then of this whole proceeding at *Utrecht*, in one ſhort view, appears to be this: A Conference for general Conferences was neceſſary to be opened, that the Allies might in appearance, agreeable to the Grand Alliance, have the opportunity of treating and adjuſting their ſeveral pretenſions. The *Britiſh* Miniſters were by their inſtructions to act in concert with the Allies; but they really acted in concert with the *French* Plenipotentiaries. The Allies giving in their ſpecific demands was not to be avoided; but the *French* were to gain as much time as they poſſibly could, by unneceſſary delays, and at laſt inſiſt upon ſuch a method of anſwering theſe demands, as they knew the Allies could not comply with. In the mean time the Negotiations were carrying on directly between *England* and *France*; or rather all the conditions dictated and preſcribed by *France*, whilſt the Allies were amuſed with a diſpute about the method of anſwering, from which *France* would not, and they could not poſſibly depart; in which *England* agreed with the reſt of the Allies. All particulars, that concerned even the intereſt of the Allies, were tranſacted betwixt the Miniſters of *England* and *France*, under the higheſt obligations of ſecrecy. The *Dutch* were preſſed to come into the Queen's meaſures, without being acquainted what the Queen's meaſures were. And, becauſe they would not conſent to they knew not what, as ſoon as it was reſolved to ſend orders to the Duke of *Ormond* not to engage in either ſiege or battle, and the great projects were ready to be executed on the other ſide

1712. of the water, the Queen declared ſhe looked upon herſelf now, from their conduct, to be under no obligation whatſoever to the *States-General:* And thus the Alliance betwixt *Great-Britain* and her principal Ally was declared to be diſſolved and cancelled, before any thing was finally agreed and concluded betwixt *Great-Britain* and *France*, or the former had any ſecurity for its own trade and commerce, or any other advantages, that were to accrue to it.

Preparations for the campaign. Burnet.

During the Congreſs at *Utrecht*, the preparations for the campaign were carried on by the Emperor and the *States* with all poſſible vigour: Prince *Eugene*, after having ſtaid (as hath been related) three months in *England* in a fruitleſs Negotiation, was ſent back with general and ambiguous promiſes. The *States* gave him the ſupreme command of their army, and aſſured him, that, in the execution of the project that was concerted among them, he ſhould be put under no reſtraint by their Deputies or Generals, and that no ceſſation of arms ſhould be ordered, till all was ſettled by a general peace. The Duke of *Ormond* followed him in *April*, well ſatisfied both with his inſtructions and his appointments; for he had the ſame allowances, that had been lately voted criminal in the Duke of *Marlborough*.

At this time the Pretender was taken ill of the ſmall-pox: He recovered of them; but his Siſter, who was taken with the ſame diſeaſe, died of it: She was, by all that knew her, admired as a moſt extraordinary perſon in all reſpects; inſomuch that a very great character was ſpread of her, by thoſe who talked but indifferently of the Pretender himſelf: Thus he loſt a great ſtrength, which ſhe procured to him, from all who ſaw or converſed with her.

Before we proceed to the operations of the Campaign, it will be proper to give an account of the Convocation, which was held with this Seſſion of Parliament.

Proceedings in Convocation.

There was a doubt ſuggeſted, whether the Queen's licenſe did ſtill ſubſiſt, after a prorogation by a Royal writ: The Attorney-General gave his opinion, that it was ſtill in force; upon which, the Biſhops went on with the reſolution, in which the former Seſſion had ended, and ſent back to the Lower-Houſe a paper, which had been ſent to them from that Houſe in the former Seſſion, with ſuch amendments, as they thought proper: But then *Atterbury* ſtarted a new notion, That as, in a Seſſion of Parliament, a prorogation put an end to all matters not finiſhed, ſo that they were to begin all anew; the ſame rule was to be applied to Convocations, in purſuance of his favourite notion, that the proceedings in Parliament were likewiſe to be obſerved amongſt them. The Biſhops did not agree to this; for, upon ſearching their books, they found a courſe of precedents to the contrary: And the ſchedule, by which the Archbiſhop prorogued them, when the Royal writ was ſent him, did, in expreſs words, continue all things, in the ſtate in which they were then, to their next meeting. Yet this did not ſatisfy *Atterbury* and his party; ſo the Lower-Houſe ordered him to lay the matter before the Attorney-General for his opinion; he did that very partially, for he did not ſhew him the paper ſent down by the Biſhops; he only gave him a very defective abſtract of it: Whereupon the Attorney-General gave him ſuch an anſwer as he deſired, by which it was very plain, that he was not rightly informed about it. The Biſhops reſolved to adhere to the method of former Convocations, and not to begin matters afreſh, that had been formerly near finiſhed. By this means they were at a full ſtop, ſo that they could not determine thoſe points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen: But they entered upon new ones. As an act had paſſed for building fifty new Churches, an office was prepared for conſecrating Churches and Church-yards. 1712.

Cenſure on Whiſton's book not confirmed by the Queen.

The cenſure that paſſed on *Whiſton*, in the former Seſſion, was (as hath been ſaid) laid before the Queen for her approbation. But, at the opening of this Seſſion, in *December*, the Biſhops, finding no return was come from the Throne, ſent two of their number to receive her Majeſty's pleaſure in that matter. The Archbiſhop was ſo ill of the gout, that he came not to the Convocation all the winter. The Queen had put the cenſure into the hands of ſome of her Miniſters, but could not remember to whom ſhe gave it: So a new extract was ſent to her, and ſhe ſaid, ſhe would ſend her pleaſure upon it very ſpeedily: But none came this Seſſion. So all further proceedings were ſtopped, ſince the Queen did not confirm what was done.

There appeared at this time an inclination, in many of the Clergy, to a nearer approach towards the Church of *Rome*; *Hicks*, an ill-tempered man, who was now at the head of the Jacobite party, had in ſeveral books promoted a notion, that there was a proper ſacrifice made in the Euchariſt, and had on many occaſions ſtudied to leſſen our averſion to Popery: The Supremacy of the Crown in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, and the method, in which the Reformation was carried, was openly condemned; one *Brett* had preached a Sermon, in ſeveral of the Pulpits of *London*, which he afterwards printed; in which he preſſed the neceſſity of prieſtly Abſolution, in a ſtrain beyond what was pretended to even in the Church of *Rome:* He ſaid no Repentance could ſerve without it, and affirmed, that the Prieſt was veſted, with the ſame power of Pardoning, that our Saviour himſelf had. A motion was made in the Lower-Houſe of Convocation, to cenſure this; but it was ſo ill ſupported, that it was let fall. Another conceit was taken up, of the invalidity of Lay-baptiſm, on which ſeveral books have been writ; nor was the diſpute a trifling one, ſince, by this notion the Teachers among the Diſſenters paſſing for Lay-men, this went to the re-baptizing them and their congregations (1).

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(1) *Dodwell* gave the riſe to this conceit; he was a very learned man, and led a ſtrict life; he ſeemed to hunt after paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few; he thought none could be ſaved, but thoſe who, by the Sacraments, had a federal right to it; and that theſe were the Seals of the Covenant: So that he left all, who died without the Sacraments, to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the Sacraments, but thoſe who were commiſſioned to it; and theſe were the

1712.

The Biſhops thought it neceſſary to put a ſtop to this new and extravagant doctrine; ſo a declaration was agreed to, firſt againſt the irregularity of all Baptiſm by perſons, who were not in Holy Orders; but that yet, according to the practice of the Primitive Church, and the conſtant uſage of the Church of *England*, no Baptiſm (in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt) ought to be reiterated. The Archbiſhop of *York* at firſt agreed to this; ſo it was reſolved to publiſh it, in the name of all the Biſhops of *England*; but he was prevailed on to change his mind; and refuſed to ſign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular Baptiſm: So the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with moſt of the Biſhops of his province, reſolved to offer it to the Convocation. It was agreed to in the Upper-Houſe, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* only diſſenting: But, when it was ſent to the Lower-Houſe, they would not ſo much as take it into conſideration, but laid it aſide; thinking that it would encourage thoſe, who ſtruck at the dignity of the Prieſthood. This was all that paſſed in Convocation.

The Earl of Strafford's Conferences at the Hague.

On the 26th of *April*, the Earl of *Strafford* went from *Utrecht* to the *Hague*, and, in ſeveral Conferences he had with the Penſionary and other Miniſters, earneſtly preſſed the *States* to come into the Queen's meaſures. This, together with the ſecret methods, that were uſed to hinder the States of *Brabant* from ſupplying the Imperial troops, that were marching into the *Netherlands*, with bread and forage, did not a little increaſe the jealouſies of the *States*, who two days after thought fit to ſend a ſolemn deputation to the Earl of *Strafford*, to know what the Queen's meaſures were? The Earl not having yet orders to explain himſelf, and being under an engagement of ſecrecy with the *French* Plenipotentiaries, made no ſcruple to declare, in conformity to a late letter from the Queen to the *States*, "That her Majeſty's intentions "were, that her troops ſhould act with the ſame "vigour againſt *France*, as if there were no ne-"gotiation on foot." This declaration the Earl repeated the ſame evening in another long Conference with Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, Count *Zinzendorf*, the *States* Deputies, and the Council of State; and on the 21ſt of *April* returned to *Utrecht*. Several other Miniſters, who went to the *Hague*, to confer with Prince *Eugene*, returned alſo to the place of Congreſs, in order to aſſiſt at the general Conference, which was held there the 23d of the ſame month. The Miniſters of the Allies having again inquired of thoſe of *France*, whether they were yet ready to give their anſwer in writing; and being anſwered in the negative; it was propoſed and agreed to, that the general Meetings ſhould for ſome time be ſuſpended, till the *French* Plenipotentiaries ſhould give notice, that they were prepared. In the mean time the Confederate Miniſters held ſome intermediate Conferences among themſelves, and made frequent journies from *Utrecht* to the *Hague*, and from the *Hague* to *Utrecht*; not without a well-grounded jealouſy of the intimacy and cloſe correſpondence, which appeared to be between the Miniſters of *France* and thoſe of *Great-Britain*; the effects of which were ſoon after manifeſted to the amazement of all Chriſtendom.

The Allies take the field. Cond. of the D. of Orm. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

About the middle of *April* the Confederate forces began to march into the field, and Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* ſet out from the *Hague* on the 22d of that month, in order to put himſelf at the head of the army. The Duke of *Ormond*, being appointed to command the Queen's forces in *Flanders*, received his inſtructions on the 7th of *April*, whereby he was ordered "to repair "with all poſſible diligence to the *Hague*, and "to acquaint the Penſionary, that he had re-"ceived her Majeſty's orders to ſee him, before "he went to put himſelf at the head of her "Majeſty's troops, and to expreſs to him her "reſolution of puſhing the war with all poſſible "vigour, until the enemy ſhould agree to ſuch "terms of peace, as might be ſafe and honour-"able for Herſelf and her Allies; to aſſure him, "that he was prepared to live in a perfect and "good correſpondence with all the Generals of "the Allies, and particularly with thoſe of the "*States*; and to deſire the Penſionary to inform "him, what plan had been agreed upon for the "operations of the Campaign: And as ſoon as "he arrived at the Frontier, to meet with "Prince *Eugene*, and ſuch others of the Generals, "as ſhould be in the ſecret, and with them to "concert the proper meaſures for entering upon "action." The Duke left *London* on the 9th of *April*, and in three days arrived at the *Hague*, where having viſited the Penſionary, he gave him, according to his inſtructions, all the aſſurances of carrying on the war with vigour, and acting in confidence with all the Allies, and more eſpecially the *Dutch*: Which were received with the greateſt profeſſions of duty and reſpect to her Majeſty.

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the Apoſtles, and after them Biſhops and Prieſts ordained by them: It followed upon this, that Sacraments adminiſtered by others were of no value. He purſued theſe notions ſo far, that he aſſerted that the ſouls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by baptiſm, given by perſons Epiſcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which carried the Epiſcopal function ſo high, he did not lay the original of that Government, on any inſtruction or warrant in the Scripture: But thought it was ſet up, in the beginning of the ſecond Century, after the Apoſtles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the time, in which the canon of the New Teſtament was ſettled; he thought it was not before the ſecond Century, and that an extraordinary inſpiration was continued in the Churches to that very time, to which he aſcribed the original of Epiſcopacy. This ſtrange and precarious ſyſtem was in great credit among us; and the neceſſity of the Sacrament, and the invalidity of Eccleſiaſtical functions, when performed by perſons, who were not Epiſcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applauſe: This made the Diſſenters paſs for no Chriſtians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: And ſeveral little books were ſpread about the Nation, to prove the neceſſity of re-baptizing them, and that they were in a ſtate of damnation till that was done; but few were, by theſe arguments, prevailed upon to be re-baptized: This ſtruck even at the Baptiſm by Midwives in the Church of *Rome*; which was practiſed and connived at here in *England*, till it was objected in the Conference, held at *Hampton-Court*, ſoon after King *James* the Firſt's Acceſſion to the Crown, and Baptiſm was not till then limited to perſons in Orders: Nothing of this kind was ſo much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the Nation had been baptized by Diſſenters; but it was now promoted with much heat. *Burnet*, Vol. II. 604.

(1) The

1712. Majeſty. He had alſo a Conference with the Council of State, who told him, "That there was "no particular reſolution taken as to the operati- "ons of the campaign, but they left it to their "Generals, who with their Deputies were to act "in concert with the Generals of the Allies: And "that they had given orders to their Generals "to live in a good correſpondence with his "Grace." The Preſident of the week made many excuſes for their having given the command of their army to Prince *Eugene*; but however he ſaid, "That, as to the point of "command, his Grace and the Prince were now "upon an equal foot." About this time the Duke received a letter from Mr. *Cadogan*, who had been ſome time before left out of the eſtabliſhment of Lieutenant-Generals, deſiring his intereſt for being employed under him this Campaign. The Duke readily complied with his requeſt, and ſoon obtained the Queen's leave for his ſerving in that poſt. The Duke reſolving to take the field as ſoon as poſſible, left the *Hague*, and arrived at *Ghent* the 3d of *May*; and after a ſtay there of two or three days, and ſecuring the Government of the Citadel in *Engliſh* hands, went on to *Tournay*, where he met Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the *States*. All the *Engliſh* forces, for ſome weeks, had been in the field, and lay cantoned along the road between this City and *Liſle*. And the reaſon of drawing them out of their quarters ſo early was, that there had been a project formed to take poſt at *Oiſy*, on the *Senſette*, which would have ſecured the march over the *Scheld*, and might have given the Allies an opportunity of ſeizing *Cambray*. Lieutenant-General *Cadogan* did not in the leaſt queſtion the ſucceſs of it. But, the *Dutch* making many difficulties and delays in this affair, *Villars* had prevented the deſign, and taken poſſeſſion of *Oiſy*, and of all the paſſes on the *Senſette*.

On the 17th of *May*, Prince *Eugene* and Monſieur *Vegelin* came to the Duke of *Ormond*, and it was agreed between them to paſs the *Scheld* near *Bouchain*, in order to incamp at *Aveſne le Sec*, and ſee whether the Confederates could attack the enemy without great diſadvantage; or, ſhould the enemy be too ſtrongly poſted, it was propoſed to inveſt *Queſnoy*, which, being a little place, could not hold out above three weeks at moſt after the opening of the trenches: In order to theſe motions, the proportion of the two Armies to be commanded by the Prince and Duke being ſettled (1), the neceſſary directions were given for aſſembling all the troops, paſſing the *Scarpe*, and forming the armies on the 21ſt between *Doway* and *Marchiennes*, where Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Ormond* deſigned to join their reſpective forces, and there concert ſuch further meaſures, as might be requiſite for carrying on the ſervice of the campaign.

The Duke had, ſome days before, received two expreſſes from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, who, 1712. in his letter of the 16th of *April*, told his Grace, "That he found, by very certain intel- "ligences from *Holland*, that the *Dutch* Mi- "niſters were not without their fears of their "new General: That they began to conſider, "he was a Papiſt, and a *German*, at leaſt in in- "tereſt: That the Emperor, his Maſter, had "nothing to loſe on the ſide of the *Nether- "lands*: That a battle won might give ground "for inſiſting on higher terms than the Houſe "of *Auſtria* was now likely to obtain: That a "battle loſt might ſtill contribute to prolong "the war; and that, in either caſe, the expence "of blood would fall to the ſhare of the Queen "and *States*: That he was of opinion, that "theſe reflections had occaſioned private direc- "tions to their Generals, to uſe more caution "than the Prince would perhaps approve: And "that his Grace might ſee, that this meaſure "was not very conſiſtent with the compliment "of an unlimited command, made to that "Prince by Mr. *Lathmer*, in the name of the "*States*." And, on the 25th of *April*, O. S. (which was before it was known, that *France* had agreed ſo much as to propoſe to the King of *Spain* the alternative of the two Monarchies, which was not till the 18th of *May*) Mr. Secretary *St. John* began to give the Duke of *Ormond* ſome diſtant hint of the ſcene, which was afterwards to be opened, and told him, "That the "Queen inclined to be of opinion, that all the "troops, whether ſubjects or foreigners, be- "longing to her, ſhould be immediately un- "der his Grace's command. That there might "have been formerly reaſons for uſing a dif- "ferent method; but there ſeemed at preſent "to be ſome of a very ſtrong nature for "taking this; and perhaps theſe might every "day grow ſtill ſtronger. That there could be "no need for him to enter into the grounds, "which they had, in this conjuncture, to be "jealous of Prince *Eugene*'s conduct: His "Grace would ſee and know them all better "than they could be repeated; but that on this "occaſion the Queen directed him to inform his "Grace, that ſhe thought, he was to be more "cautious, for ſome time, of engaging in any "action, unleſs in the caſe of a very apparent "and conſiderable advantage, becauſe he would "daily be ſtrengthened by the arrival of the "Imperial troops: And it was but juſt, theſe "ſhould have their part, if any thing of that "kind was to happen. That the great article "of preventing the Union of the two Monar- "chies was not yet intirely ſettled; the expedi- "ents were hard of digeſtion to the *French* "ſtomachs; but, if this was got over, he did not "ſee any formidable difficulty in the way." The Duke returned an anſwer to theſe diſpatches, wherein he gave an account, what the *Dutch* had done in regard to the point of command: "That he was intirely of the Secretary's opi- "nion,

(1) The Duke had under him the following troops, conſiſting of thoſe in the Queen's pay, and of thoſe paid jointly by her Majeſty and the *States*, together with a regiment of *Huſſars*: *Engliſh*, 22 battalions and 19 ſquadrons; *Danes*, 9 battalions and 21 ſquadrons; *Pruſſians*, 10 battalions and 36 ſquadrons; *Saxons*, 7 battalions and 12 ſquadrons; *Hanoverians*, 14 battalions and 29 ſquadrons; *Holſtein*, 2 battalions and 8 ſquadrons; *Wolfenbuttle*, 2 battalions; *Walloons*, 4 ſquadrons; *Anſpach*, 2 battalions and 4 ſquadrons; *Naſſau Dillenburg*, 1 battalion; *Ottinghen*, 1 battalion; and *Huſſars*, 5 ſquadrons: In all 70 battalions, and 138 ſquadrons.

1712. " nion, that a battle, either loſt or won, would " at this time make very great alterations in the " treaties now on foot. But that the Secretary " might remember, that in his *Inſtructions* he " was ordered to act in conjunction with the " Allies, *in proſecuting the war with vigour*; ſo " that, ſhould there happen a fair opportunity " to attack the enemy, he could not decline it, " if propoſed by the Prince and *States:* But he " hoped to hear from him by a meſſenger, be- " fore the armies were formed, which would be " on the 21ſt." The Duke added, in a ſecond letter of *May* the 20th, " That, if there were a " good opportunity to attack the enemy, and " get into *France*, by the way of *Champagne*, he " was ſure, the Prince and the *States* would " preſs it, unleſs they heard from *England*, that " the peace was near being concluded: That he " wiſhed it very heartily; but, if it were de- " layed, he hoped, he ſhould have the good " fortune to force the *French* to comply with the " Queen's demands."

The armies having marched on the day appointed, the Duke took his quarters at *Marchiennes*, where, in concert with Prince *Eugene*, and the foreign Generals, he reſolved to go nearer the enemy; and it was agreed, that the two armies ſhould paſs the *Scheld*, and incamp, the right of Prince *Eugene*'s at *Neufville*, and the left of the Duke of *Ormond*'s at *Solemes*, where they had the river *Selle* in their rear. But, on the 24th of of *May*, in the evening an expreſs came from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with a letter dated *May* 10, *O. S.* to acquaint the Duke, " That, ſince " her Majeſty had reaſon to believe, that ſhe " ſhould come to an agreement upon the great " article of preventing the Union of the two " Monarchies, as ſoon as a Courier ſent from " *Verſailles* to *Madrid* could return, it was her " Majeſty's *poſitive command, that he ſhould avoid* " *engaging in any ſiege, or hazarding a battle*, till " he received further orders from *England*." The Secretary acquainted the Duke likewiſe, " That the Queen would have him diſguiſe the " receipt of this order; and that ſhe thought " he could not want pretences for conducting " himſelf ſo, as to anſwer her ends, without " owning that, which might at preſent have an " ill effect, if it was publickly known. That " ſhe could not think with patience of ſacrificing " men, when there was a fair proſpect of ob- " taining her purpoſe another way; nor would " ſhe ſuffer herſelf to be expoſed to the re- " proach of having retarded, by the events of " the Campaign, a Negotiation, which might " have been as good as concluded in a few days." He added, " That this order was communicated " at the ſame time to the Court of *France*; ſo " that, if the Marſhal *de Villars* ſhould take any " private notice of it, the Duke was to anſwer " accordingly."

On the 25th of *May*, *N. S.* the Duke wrote two letters to Mr. Secretary *St. John*, a private and a public letter. In the firſt, which was his private letter, and all written with his own hand, he " acknowledged the receipt of the Secretary's " orders, not to engage in ſiege or battle; to " which he promiſed an exact obedience, and " to keep ſecret his having received any ſuch " command; and that he would endeavour to " hinder its being ſuſpected. But that Prince " *Eugene* and the *States* having propoſed to " attack the enemy; or, if that be found too " hazardous, to beſiege *Queſnoy*, he feared it " would be very difficult for him to diſguiſe the " true reaſon of oppoſing all propoſals, that " ſhould be made for undertaking any thing, ha- " ving no excuſe for delays, all the troops expect- " ed and the heavy cannon, being to be there on " *Saturday*. And that, if he could have found " forage there, he would have made ſome pre- " tence to delay the march, though the diſpo- " ſitions of it were made before he received this " letter." But, on the ſame day, the Duke wrote another public letter to the Secretary, after he had received the letter of the 10th, wherein he took no notice of his orders, not to engage in ſiege or battle, but ſpoke of his having reviewed the *Engliſh* troops, and found them in ſo good a condition, as muſt convince all the Allies, how groundleſs the complaints were, that had been made of our backwardneſs, " of which, " he ſaid, I believe you will now hear no more." And he added, " If we find an opportunity to " bring the enemy to a battle, we ſhall not de- " cline it." On the 28th of *May*, *N. S.* the Duke in his letter to the Secretary ſaid, " Yeſ- " terday Prince *Eugene*, and the *States-Deputies* " deſired, that I would conſent to ſend the " Quarter-maſters to view the *French* Camp; " which I could not refuſe, without giving them " ſome ſuſpicion of what I am ordered to diſ- " guiſe; but I was ſure, that nothing of action " could happen, the enemy being behind the " *Scheld*. The detachment, that went with " them, were forty ſquadrons, and all the gre- " nadiers of my army to ſupport them, and " make good their retreat, ſhould the enemy " have endeavoured for to have attacked them. " They went as far (I mean the horſe) as *Cate-* " *let*, where the right of the enemy's army " lies, and are come back without ſeeing any of " the *French* on our ſide the *Scheld*. The diſ- " tance between the head of the *Somme*, and that " of the *Scheld*, is not above a league and a half, " which is a plain, and the enemy have not yet " offered to throw up any retrenchment. May " be to-morrow they will begin to work, ſince " they have ſeen our troops reconnoitring that " way." Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies being to dine with the Duke the next day, he was under apprehenſions, that they would preſs him to undertake ſomething immediately, which it would be very hard to conceal the true reaſon of his refuſing, having no reaſonable excuſe for it. In this letter he gave an account of a letter, which he had received from the Marſhal *Villars*, and the anſwer, which he had written to the Marſhal. For *May* the 25th, *N. S.* the Marſhal acquainted the Duke, " That he had the King's " orders, and the Queen's conſent, to write to " him, as ſoon as he received the Courier; and, " whatever glory was to be acquired againſt a " General, whoſe valour was ſo well known a- " mong them, he deſired him to be aſſured, " that he never received more agreeable news, " than that they were to be no longer enemies: " And that it was the King's particular injunc- " tion to him to keep this matter with an in- " violable ſecrecy." The Duke, according to the intimation given him by Mr. *St. John*, an- ſwered, " That he had received orders on that " ſubject from the Queen, and ſhould be ſure " to conform himſelf punctually to them: But " the keeping the ſecret injoined would very " much depend on the meaſures the Marſhal " him-

1712. " himſelf ſhould take. The Duke, on his part, " let him know, that the march, he ſhould be " obliged to make, was chiefly for the ſubſiſt- " ance of the troops; and that the Marſhal " need not be in any apprehenſions on that ac- " count; at leaſt, the Duke would anſwer for " the army, which he had the honour to com- " mand." It is impoſſible to account for this tranſaction, unleſs the Duke had orders, not only not to act againſt *France*, but to give the *French* General intelligence of all that was deſigned in the Confederate army. The report being made by the Quarter-Maſters-General, who went with the detachment to view the *French* Camp, and they all agreeing, that the ground was as advantageous as could be, their ſituation being ſuch, as gave an opportunity of falling upon their flank and rear, it was propoſed to the Duke to march without delay to the enemy, and to attack them. What the Duke did upon this occaſion appears from his letter of *May* the 29th, *N. S.* to Mr. *St. John*: " You may " eaſily imagine, *ſays he*, the difficulty, that I " was under to excuſe the delaying a matter, " which, according to the informations I had " from the Quarter-Maſters-General, and ſeve- " ral other General Officers, that went out with " the detachment, ſeemed to be ſo practicable. " The beſt excuſe I could make was Lord *Straf-* " *ford*'s ſudden voyage to *England*, which gave " me reaſon to believe there muſt be ſomething " of conſequence tranſacting, which a delay of " four or five days would bring to light: And " therefore I deſired they would defer this under- " taking, or any other, till I ſhould receive freſh " letters from *England*, ſince ſo ſhort a delay " could not be of any ill conſequence." Upon which both Prince *Eugene*, and the *States* Deputies, told the Duke plainly, " That his an- " ſwer was agreeable to the ſuſpicions they had " for ſome time entertained, particularly ſince " the expreſs of the 24th, which they knew had " brought him letters from *England*." And they were the more confirmed in theſe ſuſpi- cions, becauſe Marſhal *Villars*, " who had on " all occaſions ſhewn himſelf very vigilant, did " not ſend out a man to obſerve their motions, " nor take any other precautions to ſecure his " Camp, where it lay ſo much expoſed; and he " could not be ignorant, how ſtrong a detach- " ment had been abroad on that ſide." The Duke could not divert the propoſal, which had been made to fall upon the *French* army, by of- fering to undertake a ſiege; ſince *Queſnoy*, the place to be attacked, was within leſs than three leagues of the army, and all things neceſſary for a ſiege were already at *Marchiennes*; ſo that the conſequence of this offer would have been the immediate inveſting of that place, which was as contrary to the Queen's laſt orders, as a battle. Prince *Eugene*, and the Deputies ſeemed extreme- ly diſſatisfied with the Duke's anſwer, and ſaid, " They were obliged to give an account of what " had paſſed, and of the delays made by the " Duke, to their Maſters, by expreſs." In this poſture things continued for ſome days, when, on the 4th of *June*, *N. S.* two of the Deputies made a viſit to the Duke; and, in the evening, ſent him a long *Memorial*, containing the ſub- ſtance of their diſcourſe with him. In this they told the Duke, " That, by order of their Maſ- " ters, they repreſented to him, with how great " a degree of ſurprize the *States* had received " the news of his declaring, he would undertake " nothing, till he had letters from *England*, and " of his refuſing to aſſiſt either in a ſiege or a " battle. That it ſeemed to them incomprehen- " ſible and unaccountable, why the Allies ſhould " loſe ſuch an apparent opportunity they had, " as well in regard to the goodneſs and number " of their troops, as the ſituation of the armies, " to gain ſome great advantage over the enemy, " which, if once neglected, might for ever be " irretrievable. That they could by no means " conceive his orders were ſo ſtrict, as to tie up " his hands, when ſo fair an occaſion of annoy- " ing the enemy preſented itſelf: And that, in " their opinion, ſuch orders ought to be under- " ſtood in the beſt ſenſe, ſo as to injoin the de- " clining any attempt for ſome little time, pro- " vided no great prejudice might redound by " that means to the common cauſe; but in no " wiſe to juſtify the ſitting ſtill with their arms " acroſs, in ſuch a ſituation, where inaction " would cut off all hopes of their being able to " attempt any thing for the future; ſince, if " the army continued inactive for any time, the " forage would be conſumed, and the operations " for the reſt of the campaign would be render- " ed not only difficult, but impracticable. Be- " ſides, the enemy would have time to intrench " and fortify their Camp, as much as they pleaſ- " ed. That the *States* had ordered them to in- " force theſe arguments with others, and parti- " cularly with this, That the army, his Grace " commanded, conſiſted not only of her Ma- " jeſty's national troops, but, for the moſt part, " of ſuch, as were in the joint pay of her Ma- " jeſty and the *States*, the command of which " indeed belonged to his Grace, as General in " chief; but, as thoſe troops were engaged by " both powers jointly, to make war, and act a- " gainſt the enemy, they could not be exempted " from that ſervice by his Grace alone, without " the knowledge and conſent of the *States*; at " leaſt, without contradicting the treaties and " the ends, by, and for which they were en- " gaged. That not only the treaty of the *Grand* " *Alliance*, but others made between her Majeſty " and the *States*, obliged her Majeſty to puſh " on the war with vigour; but the declaration " his Grace made, that he could not act till far- " ther orders, at a time, when, by his Grace's " own approbation, they had marched juſt with- " in ſight of the enemy, and when there was " ſo fair a proſpect of ſucceſs, if ſomething were " attempted, could not, they thought, be re- " conciled either with thoſe treaties, or the re- " peated aſſurances, which her Majeſty had given " them by letters, by my Lord *Strafford*, and " by his Grace, lately at the *Hague*. Therefore " they deſired his Grace, if he had any regard " to thoſe treaties and aſſurances, which ought " to be kept ſacred, to puſh on the war with " vigour, offenſively againſt the enemy; but " that, if his Grace perſiſted in his reſolution of " not acting offenſively, they deſired to know, " whether he would conſent, that the troops un- " der him might be employed to cover a ſiege, " which they would undertake; and whether he " would give a promiſe to attack the enemy, if " they came to diſturb them. That, in caſe his " Grace refuſed, they did in the moſt ſolemn " manner, and in the ſtrongeſt terms, proteſt a- " gainſt the irreparable damage, which ſuch a " conduct would occaſion to the Confederacy. " That,

The Duke of Ormond *refuſes to fight.*

Memorial of the States *Deputies upon it.*

1712. " That, in order the better to guide themſelves, " they demanded to know preciſely, what his " orders were; how far they reached; and what " dependence the *States* might have on her Ma- " jeſty's troops for the future: And laſtly, they " required on their part, that his Grace would " not hinder the troops in the joint pay from " acting agreeably to the reaſon of war, and their " ſolemn treaties and engagements. The con- " cluſion of the *Memorial* was, that the *States* " had ordered this repreſentation to be made in " writing to his Grace, that all the world and " poſterity might ſee, that they have been ſo far " from being guilty of the great injury, which " the common cauſe receives from the preſent " inaction, that they have done all in their power " to prevent it; and that others are to anſwer " for all the unhappy conſequences of it." To the ſubſtance of this *Memorial*, expreſſed before by the Deputies in their diſcourſe with the Duke, he could only anſwer, 'that, before he entered upon action, he ſhould be glad to receive letters from *England*, which he expected every mo- ment.' And this was all the ſatisfaction he was then at liberty to give to their demands, bound up, as he was, by his laſt inſtructions. The Duke immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to *England*, with an account of what had paſſed, hoping, That, before they came to any extremi- ties, he ſhould have his final orders, and recom- mending it as a matter of the greateſt import- ance, both to the public and himſelf, that he ſhould know her Majeſty's pleaſure as ſoon as might be.

In the mean time, Prince *Eugene* and the *States* Deputies preſſed the Duke continually for a po- ſitive anſwer, repreſenting, at the ſame time, the goodneſs and ſuperiority of the Confederate troops, which could not be contradicted; and concluding, 'That the Duke muſt have orders not to do any thing, though he would not own them; ſince they knew, he could not o- therwiſe anſwer for his inaction.' In debating this matter, one of the Deputies took, as the Duke thought, too much liberty in cenſuring the proceedings of *England*; which he was de- ſired to forbear, as being no way agreeable to that good underſtanding, which was ſo neceſſa- ry to be kept up between the Queen and the *States*. While the Duke was under this uneaſi- neſs, on the 7th of *June*, *N. S.* a letter came from Mr. *St. John*, dated the 17th of *May*, *O. S.* which expreſſed " the impatience her " Majeſty was in to hear, whether the orders, " ſent on the 10th of *May*, came ſafely and " early to his hands, and the aſſurance ſhe had " of his punctual obedience to her commands " in ſo nice and important a conjuncture." The Duke returned an anſwer the next day, repre- ſenting, " That things were now come to great " extremity: That he could not avoid ſeeing " every day freſh marks of the ill blood and " diſſatisfaction cauſed among the Allies, by the " meaſures he was obliged to obſerve: That " many of them did not ſcruple to ſay, *We* " *were betraying them*; and this ferment ſeemed " rather likely to increaſe, than diminiſh; and, " conſidering the circumſtances we were in, it 1712. " was hard to ſay, what might be the conſe- " quences of it: That, let the peace, which he " was in daily expectation to hear of, be never " ſo advantageous, he was apprehenſive, that, if " the Allies ſhould pretend to diſlike it, he " could not depend upon any troops, but thoſe " compoſed of her Majeſty's own ſubjects. And " what confirmed him in this opinion was, that " he was well informed, that if, the Elector of " *Hanover* did not approve of the peace, his " troops would have orders to ſerve with the " *Dutch*, and would likewiſe be augmented by " all that Prince could ſpare from other parts; " and he was not without ſuſpicion, that en- " deavours were likewiſe uſing to gain the " *Danes*." The cloſe of his letter was in theſe words: " By this and my former you may " gueſs, how uneaſy a ſituation I am in; and, " if there be no proſpect of action, I do not " ſee of what uſe I am here; and, if it ſuit with " her Majeſty's ſervice, I ſhould be glad, I " might have leave to return to *England*. But " in this, and all other matters, I ſhall readily " ſubmit to her Majeſty's pleaſure. I am impa- " tient to hear from you what I am to depend " upon."

Queſnoy *beſieged.*

Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies having re- ſolved to beſiege *Queſnoy* (1), the town was in- veſted on the 8th of *June*, by a detachment from the two armies, conſiſting of thirty batta- lions, and as many ſquadrons, under the com- mand of General *Fagel*. The Duke, though he had no part in carrying on the ſiege, yet could not refuſe furniſhing ſeven battalions and nine ſquadrons of the troops in the joint pay of *Eng- land* and the *States*, but avoided ſending any of thoſe, which were in the Queen's whole pay.

On the 10th, a letter came from Marſhal *Villars*, wherein he let the Duke know, " He " had received ſeveral advices, that *Queſnoy* was " inveſted; and that part of the troops in his " Grace's army was employed in that ſervice: " That, by order of his Maſter, he deſires to " know of him, if any troops under his com- " mand have a ſhare in undertaking or form- " ing that ſiege; for he could not think, Prince " *Eugene* would venture to attempt it with thoſe " forces alone, which he commands. He there- " fore begs his Grace would explain this matter " to him, that he may know how to act, and " take his meaſures, according as Prince *Eugene* " perſeveres in, or deſiſts from this enterprize. " He adds, that a Courier went from *Paris* the " morning before, with the anſwer of *Spain* to " the Queen, which, it was ſuppoſed, would " be ſatisfactory." The Duke's anſwer was, " That, as the Marſhal obſerved himſelf, of " what conſequence it was to keep this affair " ſecret, he would leave him to judge, whether " he could have done it better, than by the " conduct he had obſerved. That it was true, " that for the ſiege of *Queſnoy*, which it was " not in his power to prevent, he had furniſh- " ed ſome troops, which were paid in part by " the *States*, but not one ſingle man ſolely in " the Queen's pay. That he thought, ſince the " trenches

(1) *Queſnoy*, a ſmall, but ſtrong town of the *Low-Countries*, in the Earldom of *Hainault*, and Territory of *Valenciennes*, ſubject to the *French*. It ſtands ſeven miles South-eaſt of *Valenciennes*, eighteen South-weſt of *Mons*, and eighteen almoſt North-eaſt of *Cambray*.

(1) The

1712. " trenches were not opened, the ſiege would " have no effect to break the meaſures concert- " ed between their Sovereigns, before they " could receive their final inſtructions." He concludes, " He was ſurprized, upon the Duke " of *Wirtemberg*'s informing him, that the Mar- " ſhal had ſaid to one of that Duke's Trumpets, " that the *Engliſh* would do the *French* no hurt, " nor the *French* them: That himſelf had ſuch " orders, and did not doubt, but the Duke of " *Ormond* had the ſame." The Marſhal, in another letter the next day, denied, " That he " had ever ſeen or heard of any Trumpet from " the Duke of *Wirtemberg:* That this was a " mere invention of thoſe, who had a mind to " give a reputation to the *Dutch Gazettes*, in " which it had been affirmed, that his Grace " had ſhewed Prince *Eugene* his orders, not to " engage in any attempt. He deſires to be in- " formed by his Grace, whether the army under " his command would oppoſe any attempt, " which the King's forces would certainly make " upon Prince *Eugene*'s, if he continued the " ſiege: And adds, that the King, while he " ſees Prince *Eugene* undertaking a ſiege, and " knows the army under his Grace ought not to " act, directly or indirectly, againſt his, would " be very much diſpleaſed with him, if he " ſhould continue unactive."

Biſhop of Briſtol's *declaration to the* Dutch *Miniſters.* June 2.

By this time the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* having, by order of the *States*, expoſtulated with the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, about the Duke of *Ormond*'s refuſing to aſſiſt the Confederates in any undertaking againſt the enemy: The Biſhop anſwered, " That he knew nothing of " the matter, and would repreſent it to the " Queen:" But, at the ſame time, he took occaſion to let them know, " That, two days " before, he had received an expreſs, with a " letter from her Majeſty, in which ſhe com- " plained, that, notwithſtanding all the advances " ſhe had made from time to time to the " *States*, in order to engage them to enter with " her upon a plan of peace, their High Mighti- " neſſes had not anſwered her as they ought, " and as her Majeſty hoped they would. That " therefore they ought not to be ſurprized, if " her Majeſty did now think herſelf at liberty " to enter into ſeparate meaſures, in order to " obtain a peace for her own conveniency." Upon this, the Plenipotentiaries of the *States* repreſented to the Biſhop, " That ſuch a ſtep " would be contrary to all the Alliances and " Treaties betwixt their High Mightineſſes and " the Queen: That they thought they had me- " rited otherwiſe by the deference, which, on " all occaſions, they had ſhewed to her Ma- " jeſty; and that they knew nothing of the ad- " vances, which the Biſhop ſaid her Majeſty " had made towards the *States*, on the ſubject of " a plan of peace." The Biſhop replied, " That " he muſt not forget to tell them, his inſtruc- " tions did further bear, that, conſidering the " conduct of the *States* towards her Majeſty, " ſhe thought herſelf diſengaged from all Alli- " ances and Engagements with their High " Mightineſſes." The Biſhop did not, in expreſs words, name the *Barrier Treaty*; but he did not except it: So they reckoned it was included in the general words he had uſed. 1712.

The Lord Biſhop's anſwer and declaration, being, by expreſs, brought to the *Hague* the night between the 2d and 3d of *June*, was, the next morning, communicated to the Miniſters of the Allies; ſeveral Conferences were held, and private meaſures concerted between the *States*, the Elector of *Hanover*, the Landgrave of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, and ſome other Princes of the Empire, for the ſubſiſting and maintaining the foreign troops in the pay of *Great-Britain*; ſo that the Confederate army ſhould ſuffer no other diminution, than by the troops of *Great-Britain*, which did not amount to above twelve thouſand men. In the mean time, the *States-General* wrote a long letter to the Queen, which, on the 5th of *June*, they ſent, by an expreſs to their Envoy in *London*, with orders to deliver it into her own hands. And Count *Zinzendorf*, who had likewiſe received an account of what had paſſed in the army, went from *Utrecht* to the *Hague*, on the 1ſt of *June*, *N. S.* and diſpatched the next day three expreſſes, one to the Emperor, another to Prince *Eugene*, and the third to the Imperial Miniſter in *London*. And the Baron *de Hohendorf*, Adjutant-General to Prince *Eugene*, who came over with a Commiſſion from *Vienna*, to ſollicit the payment of the ſubſidy voted by the Houſe of Commons for the war in *Spain*, being on his departure for *London*, Count *Zinzendorf* gave him likewiſe freſh inſtructions about the preſent juncture of affairs.

The *Britiſh* Court having, on the 25th of *May*, *O. S.* received an expreſs from *Holland*, the Queen did not come, as uſual, to *St. James*'s Chapel, but held a Council at *Kenſington*. Two days after the Baron *de Hohendorf* arrived in *London*, and in the afternoon was in Conference with the Lord-Treaſurer, who gave him fair hopes. The ſame afternoon *Van Borſelen*, Envoy from the *States*, was alſo in Conference with the Treaſurer on the ſubject of what he had repreſented the evening before in a private audience (1); upon which orders were ſent to the Duke of *Ormond* to concur with the General of the Allies in a ſiege. In the mean time the news of what had happened in the army being ſpread abroad, and having occaſioned a general ſurprize, the Lord *Hallifax* acquainted the Houſe of Peers, " That " he had matters of great importance to lay be- " fore them;" and deſired, that the Members might be ſummoned to attend the ſervice of the Houſe the next day. The Peers being in a full Houſe on the 28th of *May*, the Lord *Hallifax* made a ſpeech, wherein he firſt took notice of the ſtrange declaration made in the army by the Duke of *Ormond*; then ſhewed the ill conſequences of ſuch a proceeding, and the neceſſity of carrying on the war with vigour; and concluded with a motion for an addreſs, " humbly " to deſire her Majeſty to lay before the Houſe " the orders ſhe had ſent to the General, and to " order him to act offenſively in concert with " the Allies." When he had done ſpeaking, ſome

May 25. O. S. *Debate about the Duke of Ormond's declining to act.* Pr. H.

(1) The Treaſurer, among other things, ſaid to him, when he complained of the Biſhop of *Briſtol*'s declarations, " The Biſhop was certainly in a very bad " humour, when he talked at that rate." *Burnet*, Vol. II. 608.

(1) As

1712. ſome objections were raiſed as to the matter of fact; but, though the Lord *Halifax* did not want proofs, having, among others, a copy of Prince *Eugene*'s letter, yet he did not think proper to produce it; and ſome other Whig Lords contented themſelves with preſſing thoſe in the Miniſtry to acquaint the Houſe, Whether any orders of reſtraint had been ſent to the Duke of *Ormond?* The Treaſurer, who was moſt concerned in this affair, anſwered, "That they, "who had the honour to ſerve the Queen, "could not reveal the orders ſhe gave to her "General, without a particular direction from "her Majeſty; and that, in his opinion, thoſe "orders were not fit to be divulged. That, "however, he would adventure to ſay, that, if "the Duke of *Ormond* had refuſed to act offenſively, he did not doubt, but he had followed his inſtructions: And it was prudence "not to hazard a battle upon the point of concluding a good peace, eſpecially conſidering "they had to deal with an enemy ſo apt to break "his word." The Earl of *Wharton* ſaid, "He "was extremely glad to find that noble Lord "ſo candid, as to acknowledge the inſincerity "of *France:* But that, in his opinion, this was "a ſtrong reaſon for keeping no meaſures with "ſuch an enemy, but rather for puſhing him "with the utmoſt vigour, till he was reduced "to the neceſſity of dealing honeſtly." The Treaſurer replied, "Though the Duke of *Or*"*mond* might have refuſed to hazard a general "action, yet he could be poſitive, he would "not decline joining with the Allies in a ſiege, "orders having been ſent him for that purpoſe." The Duke of *Marlborough* ſaid, "He did not "know how to reconcile the orders, not to ha"zard a battle, and to join in a ſiege, to the "rules of war; ſince it was impoſſible to make "a ſiege, without either hazarding a battle, in "caſe the enemy attempted to relieve the place, "or ſhamefully raiſing the ſiege." The Duke of *Argyle*, on the other hand, excuſed the orders "given to the Duke of *Ormond*, and, among "other things, ſaid, "That, in his opinion, "ſince the time of *Julius Cæſar*, there had not "been a greater Captain than Prince *Eugene* of "*Savoy:* But that, nevertheleſs, conſidering the "different intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria* and "of *Great-Britain*, it might not conſiſt with "prudence to truſt him with the management "of the war, becauſe a battle, won or loſt, might "intirely break off a Negotiation of peace, which, "in all probability, was near being concluded. "That, according to his knowledge, nothing 1712.
"was more uncertain than the iſſue of a battle, "where victory was ſtill wavering, and ſo often "changed ſides, that they, who, after five or "ſix ſucceſsful charges, thought themſelves ſure "of gaining the day, had at laſt been routed "and put to flight. Adding, that two years "before the Confederates might have taken "*Arras* or *Cambray*, inſtead of amuſing themſelves with the inſignificant conqueſts of *Aire*, "*Bethune*, and *St. Venant*." The Earl of *Nottingham* declared on the other ſide, "That he "could not comprehend why orders had been "given to our General not to fight, unleſs cer"tain perſons were apprehenſive of weakening "the *French*, ſo far as to diſable them to aſſiſt "them in bringing about deſigns, which they "durſt not yet own." The Duke of *Devonſhire* ſaid on the ſame ſide, "That, by the proximity of blood, he was more concerned for "the Duke of *Ormond*'s reputation than any o"ther; and therefore he could not forbear de"claring, he was ſurprized to ſee any one dare "to make a Nobleman of the firſt rank, and of "ſo diſtinguiſhed a character, the inſtrument of "ſuch a proceeding." The Earl *Pawlet* anſwered, "That no body could doubt of the "Duke of *Ormond*'s courage and bravery; but "that he was not like a certain General, who "led troops to the ſlaughter, to cauſe a great "number of officers to be knocked on the head "in a battle, or againſt ſtone-walls, in order to "fill his pockets, by diſpoſing of their com"miſſions." This reflection, ſo viſibly levelled at the Duke of *Marlborough*, could not but very ſenſibly affect him; but he reſtrained his reſentment for a while, and remained ſilent (1). On the other hand, the Lord *Cowper* made a long ſpeech, wherein he complained of their being kept ſo long in the dark about the progreſs of a Negotiation of peace; and, ſome other Whig Lords having preſſed the Earl of *Strafford* to give the Houſe an account of it, he excuſed himſelf, as not having the Queen's orders for it. But the Treaſurer aſſured them, "That, in a few "days, her Majeſty, according to her promiſe, "would lay before her Parliament the condi"tions, on which a peace might be made, which "he doubted not would give intire ſatisfaction "to every Member of that Houſe, and to all "true *Engliſhmen*." Some Lords having declared their apprehenſions of a *ſeparate peace*; the Treaſurer aſſured them, "that nothing of "that nature was ever intended; and that ſuch "a peace

(1) As ſoon as the Houſe was up, the Lord *Mohun* went to the Earl *Pawlet*, and told him, that the Duke of *Marlborough* deſired to have an eclairciſment with his Lordſhip, about ſome expreſſions he had uſed in that day's debate; and therefore deſired him to go and take the air in the country. The Earl, who readily underſtood the meaning of ſuch an eclairciſment, aſked my Lord *Mohun*, Whether he brought him a challenge? To which he anſwered, That his meſſage wanted no explanation, and that he would accompany the Duke of *Marlborough*. The Earl *Pawlet* being returned home, with ſome emotion, and having given his Lady a hint of what had paſſed, the Earl of *Dartmouth*, Secretary of State, was ſoon acquainted with it, and went immediately to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and deſired him not to ſtir abroad. At the ſame time, his Lordſhip cauſed two Centries to be placed at the Earl *Pawlet*'s houſe; and, having informed the Queen of the whole affair, her Majeſty ſent him back to the Duke of *Marlborough*, to deſire him, that this might go no further. His Grace gave his word of honour, that he would comply with her Majeſty's commands: But, though this quarrel ended without bloodſhed, yet many began to apprehend the conſequences of the heats and animoſities of the two parties, which daily increaſed. The Duke of *Marlborough* was afterwards ſeverely cenſured, *for ſetting the example of party-duels:* But, on the other hand, the tongues of moſt people were very free with the Duke of *Ormond:* And, to this purpoſe, we may take notice, that, an Alehouſe-keeper in *Weſtminſter*, having, either for a jeſt-ſake, or out of mere ſimplicity, ſet up for his ſign his Grace's Head, with this inſcription, the *General of Peace*, the Government ordered the ſame to be taken down.

1712. " a peace would be ſo *baſe*, ſo *knaviſh*, and ſo " *villainous* a thing, that every one, who ſerved " the Queen, knew, they muſt anſwer it with " their heads to the Nation; but that it would " appear to be a ſafe and a glorious peace, much " more to the honour and intereſt of the Na- " tion, than the Preliminaries, that were agreed " to three years before. He alſo affirmed, that " the Allies knew of it, and were ſatisfied with " it." The Lord *Halifax*, obſerving the diſpoſition of the Houſe, would have dropped his motion, without dividing; but the Court-party, being ſure of a majority, inſiſted to have the queſtion for adjourning the debate, which being carried in the affirmative by ſixty-eight voices againſt forty, twenty-five of the latter entered their proteſts againſt the orders given to the Duke of *Ormond* (1). This point being gained, the Earl of *Strafford* ſuggeſted, " That, before " the Houſe entered upon the Negotiation of " *Utrecht*, they would do well to examine into " thoſe of the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*; upon " which he would communicate to them two " obſervations he had made during his reſidence " in *Holland:* Firſt, that, at the *Hague*, the " *French* Miniſters conferred only with the Pen- " ſionary, who, having made his report to the " *States-General*, communicated no more of it " to the Miniſters of the Allies, than what was " judged proper to let them know; ſo that the " *Dutch* were abſolute maſters of the ſecret of " that Negotiation, as they were afterwards of " that of *Gertruydenberg* (2). Secondly, that the " *States-General* had conſented to give *Naples* " and *Sicily* to King *Philip*; which ſhewed, even " at that time, that the recovery of the whole " Monarchy of *Spain* was looked upon as im- " practicable." He ſaid, he had his information from one of the two, who had been employed in thoſe Conferences; by which it was plain, that he meant *Buys*. He concluded with a motion for addreſſing her Majeſty, " That ſhe " would be pleaſed to cauſe the papers relating " to the Negotiations of the *Hague* and *Ger-* " *truydenberg* to be laid before the Houſe;" which was carried without dividing. But nothing

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(1) They were to this purpoſe: 1. That their Lordſhips conceived ſuch an order, as was propoſed in the queſtion, to be abſolutely neceſſary, becauſe they were convinced, that the Duke of *Ormond* lay under ſome order of reſtraint from acting offenſively, not only from the accounts, which were public both here and in *Holland*, of his declaring it, to Prince *Eugene*, and to the Deputies of the *States* at their late conſultations, when both Prince *Eugene* and thoſe Deputies earneſtly preſſed him to join in attacking the *French* army, which was then known to be much inferior to that of the Allies, both in the number and condition of their troops, but alſo, for that nothing of this whole matter was denied by thoſe Lords, who had the means of knowing theſe facts, as undoubtedly would have been without ſcruple, had not the facts been true; ſince no ſcruple was made of acquainting the Houſe with a ſubſequent order very lately ſent to the Duke of *Ormond*, allowing him to join in a ſiege: Which was a further evidence, that he had before ſome order of reſtraint; for otherwiſe this laſt order would be unneceſſary and abſurd; it being a general and a conſtant, and a ſtanding inſtruction to every Commander in chief by land or ſea, to do his utmoſt endeavour to annoy the enemy. And it is manifeſt by this laſt order, that, even in the opinion of the Miniſters, it was expedient to take off this reſtraint by ſome degree; and the leaving the Duke of *Ormond* ſtill under a reſtraint from giving battle to the *French*, ſeemed moſt unaccountable and inconſiſtent with the liberty indulged to him, of joining in a ſiege, and rendering it altogether uſeleſs. For no place, when taken, could be of ſuch advantage to the Allies as *Cambray*, which opens a free paſſage for our army into the heart of *France*; and it was impoſſible to beſiege that place, without diſlodging the *French* from their incampments; and this alſo was impoſſible, if the *French* would keep their ground. Other attempts ſeemed to be of little uſe, but might ſerve to give the *French* time, which they did not want ſkill to improve.

2. That they conceived it would be derogatory to her Majeſty's honour, to public faith, and that juſtice, which was due to her Allies; and that it was a ſort of impoſing upon our Allies a ceſſation of arms, without their conſent, and in the moſt prejudicial manner, becauſe they were not ſo much as acquainted with it, and ſo might have been led into great difficulties: Beſides, that it fruſtrates all eſſential advantages againſt the common enemy, which might be of fatal conſequence to this Nation and all *Europe*.

3. Becauſe it was acknowledged, that a general peace was not concluded, as indeed it was very unlikely it ſhould, there having been no anſwers in writing given by the *French* to the ſpecific demands of the Allies, though the ſame were delivered to the *French* three months ago. And it was further declared, *That there was no ſeparate peace; nay, that ſuch a peace would be fooliſh, knaviſh, and villainous.* And therefore, while we were in war, and having no ſecurity of a peace, their Lordſhips conceived, that ſuch an order of reſtraint was a plain neglect of all thoſe happy opportunities, which Providence might, and lately did put into our hands, of ſubduing our enemy, and forcing him to a juſt and honourable peace. And ſurely it was imprudent and dangerous to rely on the promiſes of *France*, which were ſo far from being any ſecurity, that even a peace would not be ſafe in their opinion, unleſs it be ſuch, as gave ſo full ſatisfaction to the Allies, that they ſhould be willing to join with us in a mutual guaranty of it.

That her Majeſty having with great wiſdom declared to this Parliament, *That the beſt means of obtaining a good peace was to make early preparations for war, and a vigorous proſecution of it:* And ſince the Parliament had, with great duty and deference to her Majeſty, and a juſt zeal for the intereſts of their Country, and of *Europe*, given very great Supplies for that purpoſe; their Lordſhips conceived, that ſuch an order of reſtraint, being very different from that declaration of her Majeſty, muſt be the effect of very ill advice; by which the Parliament's good intentions would be defeated, and all thoſe heavy loads of taxes, which they have for ſo good purpoſes chearfully given, rendered fruitleſs and unneceſſary, and might, in concluſion, after having thus trifled away our wealth and time, bring us into a neceſſity of accepting ſuch a peace, as it ſhould pleaſe an inſolent and domineering enemy to give us.

This proteſt was publiſhed likewiſe abroad in *French* and other languages; and the Peers, who ſigned it, were the Dukes of *Devonſhire*, *Marlborough*, *Rutland*, *Bolton*, *Mountague*, and *Somerſet*; the Marquiſs of *Dorcheſter*; the Earls of *Wharton*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Bridgewater*, *Godolphin*, *Carliſle*, *Orford*, and *Scarborough*; the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*; the Lords Biſhops of *Oxford*, *Sarum*, *Bangor*, and *St. Aſaph*; and the Lords *Rockingham*, *Cowper*, *Haverſham*, *Mohun*, and *Halifax*.

(2) The Lord *Townſhend* had informed the Houſe, that thoſe who treated with the *French* at *Gertruydenberg* did, at their return, give an account of their Negotiation to the Miniſters of the Allies, in the Penſioner's preſence, before they reported it to the *States* themſelves: But, upon this, the Earl of *Strafford* ſaid, they had been firſt ſecretly with the Penſioner, who directed them both what to ſay, and what to ſuppreſs. *Burnet*, Vol. II. 607.

(1) It

1712. thing followed upon this; for it was ſaid to be deſigned only to amuſe the Houſe.

Debate on the ſame ſubject in the Houſe of Commons.

The ſame day, the Lords were on this debate, there was another on the ſame ſubject in the Houſe of Commons, where Mr. *Pulteney* moved, "That an addreſs be preſented to her "Majeſty, to acquaint her, that her faithful "Commons were juſtly alarmed at the intelli- "gences received from abroad, that her General "in *Flanders* had declined to act offenſively a- "gainſt *France*, in concurrence with her Allies. "And being under the deepeſt concern for the "dangerous conſequences, which muſt ariſe from "thence to the common cauſe, they beſought "her Majeſty, that ſpeedy inſtructions might "be given to her General, to proſecute the war "with the utmoſt vigour, in conjunction with "her Allies, as the beſt means to obtain a ſafe "and honourable peace for her Majeſty, and "and all of them, and to quiet the minds of "the people, who could not but be extremely "apprehenſive of the fatal conſequence of ſuch a "diviſion." Upon this motion Mr. *St. John* gave the Commons much the ſame aſſurances, the Treaſurer had given the Lords; and in anſwer to what was ſuggeſted by a Member, "That the preſent Negotiation had been car- "ried on in a clandeſtine and treacherous man- "mer," he ſaid, "He hoped, it would not be "accounted treachery to act for the good and "advantage of *Great-Britain:* That he gloried "in the ſmall ſhare he had in this Negotiation; "and, whatever cenſure he might undergo for "it, the bare ſatisfaction of acting in that view "would be a ſufficient recompence and com- "fort to him all his life-time." After ſome other ſpeeches on both ſides, Mr. *Pulteney*'s motion was rejected by a majority of two-hundred and three voices againſt ſeventy-three; and it was reſolved, "That the Commons had an in- "tire confidence in her Majeſty's promiſe to "communicate to her Parliament the terms of "the peace, before the ſame ſhould be con- "cluded; and that they would ſupport her a- "gainſt all ſuch perſons, either at home or a- "broad, who ſhould endeavour to obſtruct it." This reſolution having been laid before the May 30. Queen by the whole Houſe, her Majeſty "thanked the Commons moſt heartily for it, "as being dutiful to her, honeſt to their coun- "try, and very ſeaſonable at this time, when ſo "many artifices were uſed to obſtruct a good "peace, or to force one diſadvantageous to "*Britain.*" On the ſecond of *June* they alſo reſolved, in imitation of the Lords, to addreſs the Queen, "for an account of the Negotiations "and Tranſactions at the *Hague* and *Gertruy- "denberg*, and who were then employed as her "Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries."

Negotiations about the renunciation and ceſſation of arms.

While the diſputes, that had been raiſed at *Utrecht*, were induſtriouſly kept on foot, the Negotiations were carrying on directly between *England* and *France*; and the two great points upon the anvil were the renunciation of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and the ceſſation of arms. 1712.

The firſt mention, made of the renunciation in order to be treated of, is found in a memorial dated *March* 28, 1712, intitled, *The anſwer to the memorial brought by Mr.* Gaultier the 23d of *March* 1711-12. This memorial, which was received in *France* the 23d of *March*, was ſuppreſſed, but the contents of it may in great meaſure be collected from the anſwer, that was given to it. As the general propoſal, that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* ſhould never be united, aroſe firſt from *England*, and was made an article in the private propoſitions ſent over by Mr. *Prior*; ſo the expedient for preventing that union, namely, a renunciation, was alſo firſt propoſed by *England* (1). In the anſwer to *Gaultier*'s memorial *Torcy* declares in the ſtrongeſt terms, "That the renunciation deſired would be "null and invalid by the fundamental laws of "*France*, according to which the neareſt Prince "to the Crown is of neceſſity the Heir thereto. "It is an inheritance, that he receives neither "from the King his predeceſſor, nor from the "people, but from the benefit of the law; ſo "that, when one King dies, the other ſucceeds "him forthwith, without asking the conſent of "any perſon whatſoever. He ſucceeds not as "Heir, but as the Maſter of the Kingdom, the "Seignory whereof belongs unto him, not by "choice, but by right of birth only. He is not "beholden for his Crown either to the will of "his predeceſſor, or to any edict, nor to any "decree, nor to the liberality of any perſon, "but to the law. This law is looked upon as "the work of him, who hath eſtabliſhed all "Monarchies; and we are perſuaded in *France*, "that God only can aboliſh it. No renuncia- "tion therefore can deſtroy it; and, if the King "of *Spain* ſhould renounce for the ſake of peace, "and in obedience to the King his Grandfather, "they would deceive themſelves, who received "it as a ſufficient expedient to prevent the miſ- "chief we propoſe to avoid." He then gives an account of the diſpoſition made of the ſucceſſion to the Crown of *Spain* by King *Philip*, and regiſtered in the Councils of *Spain*; which diſpoſition he propoſed might be confirmed by the preſent treaty of peace, and ratified by the *Cortes* or *States* of the Kingdom of *Spain*. Mr. *St. John* in his anſwer rejected this propoſal, and not at all convinced by what *Torcy* had ſo ſtrongly urged, concerning the nullity of the renunciation, inſiſted ſtill upon it. "We are ready, *ſays he*, to believe you "are perſuaded in *France*, that God alone can "aboliſh that law, upon which your right of "Succeſſion is founded; but you will give us "leave to be perſuaded in *Great-Britain*, that a "Prince may depart from his right by a volun- "tary ceſſion; and that he, in favour of whom "that renunciation is made, may be juſtly ſup- "ported in his pretenſions by the powers, that "become guarantees of the treaty. In ſhort,

"Sir,

(1) It is obſerved here, in the report of the Committee of Secrecy in 1715, The ſenſe of *France* and *Spain* upon that important article was not known, nor ſo much as asked, although in every ſtep *France* had given plain indications, that the Crown of *Spain* was to remain to King *Philip*. And it is ſurprizing, that the *Britiſh* Miniſtry had gone ſuch lengths in promoting the meaſures of *France*, without taking the leaſt precaution, or having any ſatisfaction concerning the Monarchy of *Spain*, wherein the intereſt of *Great-Britain* was, by their own confeſſion, more immediately concerned, than in all their other articles of the peace.

1712. " Sir, the Queen commands me to tell you, that " this article is of ſo great conſequence, as well " for herſelf as the reſt of *Europe*, for this pre- " ſent age as for poſterity, that ſhe will never " agree to continue the Negotiations of peace, " unleſs the expedient ſhe has propoſed be ac- " cepted, or ſome other equally ſolid." *Torcy*, in his anſwer to this letter, begins to think it not impoſſible to find an expedient, to ſettle this grand affair; and propoſes, that, when the King of *Spain* ſhall become either immediate Succeſſor, or preſumptive Heir to the Crown of *France*, he ſhall then declare the choice he intends to make; either to maintain his right to the Crown of *France*, or to keep that of *Spain*: That King *Philip* ſhall become party to the treaty, wherein the Succeſſion to the two Crowns ſhall be likewiſe ſettled; and that all the powers of *Europe* ſhall enter into an engagement with *France* to maintain it. Mr. *St. John* reaſons againſt this propoſal, and inſiſts, that no expedient can effectually ſecure *Europe* from the dangers, wherewith it is threatened by the union of the two Monarchies, unleſs the Prince, who is at preſent in poſſeſſion of *Spain*, makes his choice at this very inſtant; and, upon a ſuppoſition, that the Crown of *Spain* would be his choice, that this declaration ſhould be made during the Congreſs at *Utrecht*. *Torcy*, ſeeming always to comply with what was deſired, agrees, that the Catholic King muſt calm the uneaſineſs of *Europe*, in declaring, from the preſent time, what part he will take, if ever the Succeſſion of *France* is open in his favour. That the inconveniencies ariſing from hence muſt ſubmit to the public good. " Thus, Sir (*ſays* " Torcy *to Mr.* St. John) the King, approving " your propoſition, diſpatches a Courier to " *Spain*, and writes to the King his Grandſon, " to let him know the neceſſity of reſolving on " the choice he ſhall make, and to declare it, to " the end it may be inſerted in the treaty of " the general peace, and be made a condition " of it, whereof all *Europe* ſhall be guarantee." And he promiſes to uſe all poſſible means, even force, if it were neceſſary, to make the King of *Spain* agree to it. He hopes this propoſition will, in a great meaſure, remove all difficulties; and, as they muſt expect new obſtructions from thoſe, who would willingly break the Conferences, he believes the beſt way to diſappoint their deſigns would be, for the Queen of *Great-Britain* to propoſe immediately a ſuſpenſion of arms; for they grounded their hopes upon the events of a campaign. Mr. *St. John*, in his anſwer to this letter, treats this propoſal as liable to all the objections of the former, and argues thus upon it: " Although the King of *Spain* " ſhould at this inſtant declare his choice, What " greater ſecurity will *Europe* have, if the exe- " cution of that choice be deferred to another " time? In offering, that he ſhall be obliged to " declare his choice at this preſent time, you " agree, that neither the ſtipulations of a treaty, " nor the guarantee of the powers engaged in " the preſent war, would be ſufficient to ſecure " that the choice ſhall be made. How then can " we conclude, that they will be ſufficient to " ſecure, that, when the caſe ſhall happen, he " ſhall quit one Crown to accept of the other, " according to the choice, which he ſhall now " make? The Queen has often declared, that " it will be impoſſible for her to be content with 1712. " any expedient, which ſhall not be very ſolid, " upon an article of ſo great an importance as " the Union of the two Monarchies. This " would be to loſe the fruit of all the blood, " which the Allies had ſpilt in the courſe of this " war. This would be to betray the common " cauſe of *Europe*, and to expoſe both the pre- " ſent age and poſterity to greater dangers, than " it is poſſible to imagine." In ſhort, he inſiſts, that they muſt take care, that the time ſhall never be, when the ſame Prince ſhall have the Crown of *Spain* upon his head, and the Succeſſion to the Crown of *France* open to him. He at laſt propoſes, " That, if the King of " *Spain* prefers the expectation of the Crown of " *France* to the preſent poſſeſſion of *Spain*, in " ſuch caſe he ſhall withdraw forthwith with his " family out of *Spain*, the poſſeſſion of which, " and the *Indies*, ſhall be given to the Duke of " *Savoy*: That King *Philip* ſhould have the " Kingdom of *Sicily* and the hereditary Domi- " nions of the Duke of *Savoy*, together with the " *Montferrat* and *Mantua*, all which Dominions " he ſhould remain poſſeſſed of, though he be- " came King of *France*, excepting *Sicily*; which, " in that caſe, ſhould return to the Houſe of " *Auſtria*."

Monſieur *de Torcy*, ſtill ſeeming to comply May 18. N. S. with the meaſures of *England*, ſhews the great hardſhip, which the King of *Spain* muſt undergo, in ſacrificing his own and the intereſt of his family for the eſtabliſhing a general peace. However, the King of *France* would ſend to him, to know his mind upon the two alternatives. In the mean time, the King of *France* promiſes, that the treaty of peace ſhall be made, upon the foundation of one of theſe two propoſitions; either that the King of *Spain* ſhall renounce his right to the Crown of *France*, and keep *Spain* and the *Indies*; or, if he prefers his expectation upon *France*, he ſhall quit *Spain* and the *Indies* to the Duke of *Savoy*, in exchange for the preſent Dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*, &c. as propoſed by Mr. *St. John*. He hopes, by this promiſe of the King of *France*, all uncertainties are removed; and ſubmits to the Queen's wiſdom, to conſider what method will be moſt conducive to the general good. " It " will (ſays he) be very unhappy, if any event, " during the campaign, ſhall fall out to diſturb " the good diſpoſitions, that are ſeen at preſent, " for eſtabliſhing the public repoſe."

This correſpondence between the two Secre- Remarks taries, for preventing the Union of the two on this Kingdoms, carried on from about the middle negotiation. of *March* to the 18th of *May* 1712, ended at laſt, juſt as it began; and King *Philip* choſe to make the *Renunciation*. *Torcy* giving the *Britiſh* Miniſters ſuch early notice, and telling them ſo very plainly, that what they aſked was utterly inſufficient, and would be for ever deemed, by the unalterable laws of *France*, null and void, is very remarkable. His dexterity in managing that part of the Negotiation, in ſeeming always to comply, and deſirous to come as near as poſſible to the propoſals made from hence, and ſubmitting at laſt, ſince *Great-Britain* would have it ſo, to the renunciation ſo peremptorily inſiſted on, is no leſs obſervable. But it is unaccountable, how the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, when they were expreſsly told, thoſe would deceive

1712. themſelves, who ſhould accept of a renunciation, as a ſufficient expedient to prevent the Union of the two Monarchies; when they laid it down as a principle never to be departed from, that the Union of the two Monarchies would be the greateſt miſchief, that could poſſibly happen to all *Europe*, and to *Great-Britain* in particular; ſhould ſtill perſevere in relying upon this expedient of a *Renunciation*. Beſides, no care was taken to render effectual the two only expedients, that were ever propoſed for adding any degree of real ſecurity to the renunciation; which were, to have it ſolemnly accepted by the States of *France*; and to have it confirmed by a general guaranty of all the powers of *Europe* engaged in the preſent war. The firſt was aſked indeed; but, upon the refuſal of *France*, was intirely given up by the *Britiſh* Miniſtry. The ſecond, by their method of Negotiating, and their treatment of the Allies, was from that very time rendered impracticable, as the *French* could not but foreſee. It muſt be remembered, that, a few days after this anſwer of Monſieur *de Torcy* was received, Mr. *St. John* ſent orders to the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries to declare to the *States-General*, that the Queen was now under no farther obligations whatſoever to them, who, with the reſt of the Allies, were to be guarantees of this treaty. To this may be added a paſſage, in a letter from the Plenipotentiaries to Mr. *St. John*, acquainting him, that in ſome diſcourſe with the Marſhal *d'Uxelles*, upon occaſion of the death of the Dauphin, they deſired to know of him, what thoſe meaſures are, which *France* offers to take, in order to prevent the Union of the two Kingdoms; and whether they were to conſiſt in real or verbal ſecurities; upon which the *French* Miniſter pretended to know of no other but verbal. They then ſuggeſted to Mr. *St. John*, that an obligation upon King *Philip* to renounce the Regency as well as the Crown of *France*, for himſelf and his poſterity, would amount to ſome degree of real ſecurity. But no endeavours were uſed to obtain this, nor any mention made of it, as far as appears.

Torcy's letter of the 18th of *May*, *N. S.* was received by Mr. *St. John* the 9th of *May*, *O. S.* and the promiſe of the King of *France*, to oblige his Grandſon to accept the alternative of the two Kingdoms, had ſo good and ſudden an effect, that the day following, without waiting the return of the Courier from *Madrid*, to know whether King *Philip* did conſent or not to the propoſal, orders were ſent, on the 10th of *May*, to the Duke of *Ormond*, by Mr. *St. John*, to avoid engaging in any ſiege, or hazarding a battle till further order. And, the ſame day, that theſe orders were ſent, with directions to diſguiſe them, which was to conceal them from the Confederates, they were communicated to the Queen's enemies. "Abbot *Gaultier* will "give you an account (ſays Mr. *St. John* to "*Torcy*) of the orders I have juſt now diſpatch-"ed to the Duke of *Ormond*." What Mr. *St. John* himſelf thought of the importance of this order, is to be learned from his letter to Mr. *Prior*, *September* 19, 1712: "The moment I "read the Queen a letter from Monſieur *de* "*Torcy*, by which it appeared, that the King of "*France* would oblige his Grandſon to accept "of the alternative of quitting one of the two "Monarchies, her orders were diſpatched to "the Duke, to engage in neither ſiege nor bat- 1712. "tle; and ſhe prevented the *French* from even "making the demand. I will not ſay, that "this order ſaved their army from being beat; "but I think, in my conſcience, that it did."

On the 24th of *May*, 1712, Mr. *St. John* writes again to *Torcy*, that, although they had yet received no anſwer from *Madrid* concerning the renunciation, but being preſſed in time, and finding it neceſſary for the Queen to make the communication ſhe had promiſed, to the Parliament, of the terms, on which a peace might be made, he acquaints him with the ſteps, which the Queen was reſolved to take, provided the moſt Chriſtian King would render them practicable for her. And, in a memorial of the ſame date, he ſpecifies the conditions, upon which the Queen conſents to make ſuch important ſteps and deciſive declarations to her Parliament: "Firſt, That ſhe had ſettled with *France* the "intereſt of *Great-Britain*. Secondly, That ſhe "looks upon the intereſts of the other powers "engaged with her in the war, as eaſy to be "adjuſted, ſince the King offers to the greateſt "part of them very near what they have de-"manded, and to all a juſt and reaſonable ſatiſ-"faction. Thirdly, That ſhe will ſet about ac-"commodating the affairs of her Allies; and, "that to prevent all the obſtructions, which the "events of the campaign might occaſion to the "Negotiations of peace, ſhe agreed with the "King to a ſuſpenſion of arms." The conditions ſpecified in the memorial were demands relating to *North-America*, to commerce, and the ſuſpenſion of arms. In the article concerning commerce it is ſaid, "That ſeveral points "relating to trade requiring a longer diſcuſſion "than the preſent criſis would admit; and the "Queen being much more intent upon ſecuring "the general peace, than any particular advan-"tages, demands at preſent only the two fol-"lowing conditions: Firſt, That Commiſſaries "ſhould be named on both ſides to meet at "*London*, there to examine and ſettle the duties "and impoſitions to be paid reſpectively in each "Kingdom. Secondly, That no privileges or "advantages, relating to commerce with *France*, "ſhall be yielded to any foreign Nation, which "ſhall not at the ſame time be granted to the "ſubjects of her *Britannic* Majeſty; as likewiſe "no privilege or advantage, in relation to the "trade of *Great-Britain*, ſhall be yielded to any "foreign Nation, which ſhall not at the ſame "time be granted to the ſubjects of *France*." As to the ſuſpenſion of arms, "her Majeſty will "conſent, it ſhall be made for two months, "provided, firſt, that within the ſaid term the "King of *Spain* ſhall either make the renuncia-"tion demanded, or ſhall yield *Spain* to the "Duke of *Savoy*, upon the conditions men-"tioned in Mr. *St. John*'s letter. Secondly, "That the *French* garriſon ſhall evacuate *Dun-"kirk*, and the Queen's troops be admitted the "ſame day, that the ſuſpenſion of arms ſhall "commence. Thirdly, That, in caſe the *States-"General* ſhall at the ſame time conſent to the "ſuſpenſion of arms, it ſeems reaſonable they "ſhould have the liberty of putting a garriſon "into *Cambray*." It may be remarked upon theſe conditions, that although it was daily inſtilled into the minds of the people, that the great advantages in trade and commerce ſecured to *Great-Britain* were the chief inducements to

1712. the Miniſtry to engage in theſe meaſures with *France*, it is here declared, that they were more intent upon the general peace, than any particular advantages. And whereas it was laid down as a principle, from which the Queen would never depart, that the intereſts of *Great-Britain* ſhould in the firſt place be adjuſted, and the great advantages, ſtipulated for theſe Nations before the concluſion of the peace, were to juſtify the peace, and all the ſteps, that were taken to procure it; it is now evident, that no mention was made of our trade in *Spain*; and, as for our commerce in general, the ſettling of that was poſtponed, and all points in diſpute betwixt *Great-Britain* and *France* were to be referred to Commiſſaries; which propoſition was not demanded, but voluntarily offered by Mr. *St. John*. On the 8th of *June* 1712, *N. S. Torcy* ſent an account, "That the King of *Spain*, of the two propoſi-"tions, had choſen to keep *Spain* and the *In-*"*dies*, and to renounce for himſelf and his de-"ſcendants the right to the Crown of *France*. "That, this principal obſtacle to the peace being "removed, the King of *France* expected, that "the Queen would now clear on her ſide the "reſt of the difficulties, which might obſtruct "this great work, by making ſuch declarations, "as had been promiſed upon the return of the "Courier from *Madrid*, and were neceſſary for "this end. That the King thought the firſt "and moſt urgent was to ſettle a ſuſpenſion of "arms, either general, or at leaſt between the "two armies in the *Low-Countries*, which may "continue till the concluſion of the peace." On the 10th of *June*, *N. S. Torcy* acknowledges the receipt of Mr. *St. John*'s letter of the 24th of *May*, *O. S.* together with the memorial; and ſends another memorial in anſwer to it, containing the King of *France*'s anſwer to theſe laſt demands of the Queen. He takes notice, "That "the letters from the army mention a deſign to "inveſt *Queſnoy*, in order to beſiege it; but, "that the King could not think, that the Queen "approved of ſuch an undertaking, much leſs "that her troops ſhould be employed to render "it ſucceſsful. He concludes, that, if the ſuſ-"penſion be not immediately made, we may "find ourſelves indiſpenſably drawn into ſome "great event, which he hopes the Secretary's "prudence and care will prevent." And altho' in the anſwer to the Queen's demands nothing material, that was aſked for our trade in *North-America*, was granted, the evacuating of *Dunkirk*, and admitting an *Engliſh* garriſon was not agreed to, and the receiving a *Dutch* garriſon into *Cambray* was abſolutely refuſed, which were propoſed as conditions of the ſuſpenſion of arms; *Torcy* hopes, "That this return to the Queen's "demands will occaſion no new trouble; but as "the beginning and whole courſe of this Nego-"tiation was carried on upon a mutual con-"fidence, of which they had ſeen the good ef-"fects; it is neceſſary to baniſh all diſtruſt, and "the Queen to repoſe an intire confidence in his "Majeſty, without inſiſting on demands, which "may ſerve only to create jealouſies."

On the 6th of *June*, *O. S.* Mr. *St. John* owns the receipt of *Torcy*'s two letters of the 8th and 10th of *June*, *N. S.* and ſays, though the King of *France* had not anſwered the Queen's demands according to expectation, which were the conditions, on which the Queen was to make ſuch peremptory and deciſive declarations; yet the Queen would not defer going that day to Parliament, and making all the declarations, that were neceſſary to render the Nation unanimouſly inclined to the peace. That ſhe had not indeed mentioned to the Parliament the ſuſpenſion of arms, but had commanded him to acquaint Monſieur *de Torcy* with the reſolutions ſhe had taken in relation to it; and inſiſting upon the renunciation as the capital point of the Negotiation; and for which her Majeſty would rather depart from almoſt all the points, that had been agreed upon, than leave that to any uncertainty. Upon this foundation the Queen hopes, that the moſt Chriſtian King will not find any thing offenſive in the demands, which ſhe found herſelf obliged to renew, being conditions for a ſuſpenſion of arms between the two armies in the *Netherlands*; which, if the King conſents to (ſays Mr. *St. John* to *Torcy*) "You have only "to ſign and ſend to the Duke of *Ormond*, "who, at the ſame time that he takes poſſeſſion "of *Dunkirk*, will declare to the Allies, that "he has orders to act no further againſt *France*. "He acquaints him, Lord *Strafford* is going "back to *Utrecht*; the inſtructions he is to carry "will, according to your deſire, put the "Queen's Plenipotentiaries in a condition to "keep no longer thoſe meaſures, to which "they have been hitherto obliged to ſubmit, "but from henceforth they may openly join "with *France*, and give law to thoſe, who will "not ſubmit to juſt and reaſonable conditions; "and promiſes, when Lord *Strafford* is gone, "he will diſpatch another Courier to inform "him of the orders he carries." The articles for a ſuſpenſion were ſigned by Mr. *St. John*, *June* 6, *O. S.* and the next day Mr. *St. John* writes a private letter to *Torcy*, expreſſing the utmoſt confidence in the good faith of the moſt Chriſtian King; thinks it neceſſary to haſten the peace; tells him, it will frighten the *Dutch*, to be told the Queen will act no longer againſt *France*; and that, if they do not haſten to make their agreement, they will have a burden upon their backs, which they are not able to bear. On the ſame day, Mr. *St. John* ſends to the Duke of *Ormond* copies of theſe two laſt letters, and of the memorial ſent to *Torcy*. "They "have been, ſays he, prepared by the Queen's "order, in anſwer to the laſt expreſs, which "came from *France:* And you will perceive by "them, my Lord, that the Queen inſiſts on "the execution of the article relating to *Spain*, "and on the delivery of *Dunkirk*, as points, "without which ſhe will not declare for a ceſſa-"tion of arms in the *Netherlands:* But, if theſe "conditions are accepted, and ſent ſigned by the "Marquiſs *de Torcy* to your Grace, and *Dun-*"*kirk* put into your poſſeſſion, you are publick-"ly to own, that you can act no longer againſt "the *French*. If they are not conſented to, "you are intirely free from reſtraint, and at li-"berty to take all reaſonable meaſures, that are "in your power for annoying the enemy. It "is probable Marſhal *Villars* may receive the "orders, which will be ſent him from *Verſailles*, "within a day after this letter will come to "your hands. Your Grace will therefore loſe "no time in acquainting him, that you are in "expectation of hearing from his Court that, "which muſt determine your proceedings; and "that, according to the King's reſolution, you "are either to look upon yourſelves on both "ſides

1712. " ſides as freed from any reſtrictive orders, and " in full liberty of acting againſt each other; " or that you are openly to declare for a ceſſa- " tion." This order was in itſelf of a very extraordinary nature, though conditional; and the *Britiſh* Miniſtry ſeemed in very great haſte to give all up into the hands of *France*, when the Queen's General, at the head of a Confederate army in the field, at that time covering a ſiege, which the Allies were engaged in, ſhould be ordered to govern himſelf according to ſuch ſignifications, as ſhould come from the Court of *France*, and thoſe tranſmitted to him by the General commanding the enemy's army, whoſe duty it was by force or ſtratagem to raiſe the ſiege, or gain any advantage he could over the Allies.

On the 22d of *June*, *N. S.* an anſwer to the propoſals laſt ſent over was tranſmitted to Mr. *St. John*, ſigned by *Torcy*, with two alterations; one no leſs material, than whereas it was demanded, that the renunciation ſhould be ratified in the moſt ſolemn manner by the *States* of *France*, which had been mentioned before as one of the chief ſecurities to make it as effectual as any thing could, it is here ſubſtituted, that it ſhall be regiſtered in the ſeveral Parliaments: And to the article of *Dunkirk* is added, 'That all the King's officers, both land and ſea-officers, ſhall have liberty to ſtay at *Dunkirk*, and to execute their ſeveral offices. And on the ſame day *Torcy* writes two letters, the one a public letter, explaining at large the alterations; the other a private letter to prevail with him to conſent to theſe alterations; of which private correſpondence carried on between the two Secretaries there are ſeveral inſtances.

The Queen's ſpeech to both Houſes, containing the plan of peace. Pa. H. C.

Upon the foundation of theſe Preliminaries, though not then fully ſettled, the Queen, on *Friday* the 6th of *June*, came to the Houſe of Peers with the uſual ſolemnity, and made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE making peace and war is the un- " doubted prerogative of the Crown; yet, " ſuch is the juſt confidence I place in you, that " at the opening of this Seſſion I acquainted " you, that a Negotiation for a general peace " was begun; and afterwards, by meſſages, I " promiſed to communicate to you the terms of " peace, before the ſame ſhould be concluded.

" In purſuance of that promiſe, I now come to " let you know upon what terms a general peace " may be made.

" I need not mention the difficulties, which a- " riſe from the very nature of this affair; and it " is but too apparent, that theſe difficulties have " been increaſed by other obſtructions artfully " contrived to hinder this great and good work.

" Nothing however has moved me from " ſteadily purſuing, in the firſt place, the true in- " tereſt of my own Kingdoms; and I have not " omitted any thing, which might procure to " our Allies what is due to them by treaties, " and what is neceſſary for their ſecurity.

" The aſſuring of the Proteſtant Succeſſion as " by law eſtabliſhed in the Houſe of *Hanover* to " theſe Kingdoms, being what I have neareſt at " heart, particular care is taken, not only to " have that acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt terms, " but to have an additional ſecurity by the re- " moval of *that perſon* out of the dominions of 1712. " *France*, who has pretended to diſturb this ſet- " tlement.

" The apprehenſion, that *Spain* and the *Weſt-* " *Indies* might be united to *France*, was the " chief inducement to begin this war; and the " effectual preventing of ſuch an union was the " principle I laid down at the commencement of " this treaty.

" Former Examples, and the late Negotia- " tions, ſufficiently ſhew how difficult it is to " find means to accompliſh this work. I would " not content myſelf with ſuch as are ſpecula- " tive, or depend on treaties only. I inſiſted " on what is ſolid, and to have at hand the " power of executing what ſhould be agreed.

" I can therefore now tell you, that *France* at " laſt is brought to offer, that the Duke of *An-* " *jou* ſhall, for himſelf and his deſcendants, re- " nounce for ever all claim to the Crown of " *France*. And, that this important article may " be expoſed to no hazard, the performance is " to accompany the promiſe.

" At the ſame time the Succeſſion to the " Crown of *France* is to be declared, after the " death of the preſent Dauphin and his Sons, " to be in the Duke of *Berry* and his Sons, in " the Duke of *Orleans* and his Sons, and ſo on " the reſt of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. As to " *Spain* and the *Indies*, the Succeſſion to thoſe " Dominions, after the Duke of *Anjou* and his " Children, is to deſcend to ſuch Prince, as " ſhall be agreed upon at the treaty, for ever ex- " cluding the reſt of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

" For confirming the renunciations and ſet- " tlements before mentioned, it is further of- " fered, that they ſhall be ratified in the moſt " ſtrong and ſolemn manner, both in *France* and " *Spain*; and that thoſe Kingdoms, as well as " all the other Powers engaged in the preſent " war, ſhall be guarantees to the ſame.

" The nature of this propoſal is ſuch, that " it executes itſelf. The intereſt of *Spain* is to " ſupport it; and in *France* the perſons, to " whom that Succeſſion is to belong, will be " ready and powerful enough to vindicate their " own right.

" *France* and *Spain* are now more effectually " divided than ever. And thus, by the Bleſſing " of God, will a real balance of Power be fixed " in *Europe*, and remain liable to as few acci- " dents, as human affairs can be exempted " from.

" A treaty of commerce between theſe King- " doms and *France* has been entered upon; but " the exceſſive duties laid on ſome goods, and " the prohibitions of others, make it impoſſible " to finiſh this work ſo ſoon as were to be de- " ſired. Care is however taken to eſtabliſh a " method of ſettling this matter; and in the " mean time proviſion is made, that the ſame " privileges and advantages, as ſhall be granted " to any other Nation by *France*, ſhall be grant- " ed in like manner to us.

" The diviſion of the iſland of *St. Chriſtopher* " between us and the *French* having been the " cauſe of great inconvenience and damage to " my ſubjects, I have demanded to have an ab- " ſolute ceſſion made to me of that whole iſland; " and *France* agrees to this demand.

" Our intereſt is ſo deeply concerned in the " trade of *North America*, that I have uſed my " utmoſt endeavours to adjuſt that article in the

" moſt

1712. " moſt beneficial manner. *France* conſents to " reſtore to us the whole Bay and Straits of " *Hudſon*; to deliver up the Iſland of *Newfound-* " *land*, with *Placentia*; and to make an abſo- " lute ceſſion of *Annapolis* with the reſt of *Nova* " *Scotia* or *Acadia*.

" The ſafety of our home-trade will be better " provided for by the demolition of *Dunkirk*.

" Our *Mediterranean* trade, and the *Britiſh* " intereſt and influence in thoſe parts, will be " ſecured by the poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*, and " *Port-Mahon*, with the whole Iſland of *Minorca*, " which are offered to remain in my hands.

" The trade of *Spain*, and to the *Weſt-Indies*, " may in general be ſettled as it was in the time " of the late King of *Spain Charles* II, and a " particular proviſion be made, that all advan- " tages, rights, or privileges, which have been " granted, or which may hereafter be granted, " by *Spain* to any other Nation, ſhall be in like " manner granted to the ſubjects of *Great-Bri-* " *tain*.

" But the part, which we have borne in the " proſecution of this war, intitling us to ſome " diſtinction in the terms of peace, I have in- " ſiſted and obtained, that the *Aſſiento* or Con- " tract for furniſhing the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* " with Negroes, ſhall be made with us for the " term of thirty years, in the ſame manner, as " it has been enjoyed by the *French* for theſe " ten years paſt.

" I have not taken upon me to determine the " intereſts of our Confederates. Theſe muſt " be adjuſted in the Congreſs at *Utrecht*, where " my beſt endeavours ſhall be employed, as " they have hitherto been, to procure to every " one of them all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfac- " tion. In the mean time, I think it proper " to acquaint you, that *France* offers to make " the *Rhine* the barrier of the Empire; to yield " *Briſac*, the fort of *Kehl*, and *Landau*; and " to raze all fortreſſes, both on the other ſide " of the *Rhine*, and in that river.

" As to the Proteſtant intereſt in *Germany*, " there will be, on the part of *France*, no ob- " jection to the reſettling thereof, on the foot " of the treaty of *Weſtphalia*.

" The *Spaniſh Low-Countries* may go to his " Imperial Majeſty: The Kingdoms of *Naples* " and *Sardinia*, the Duchy of *Milan*, and the " places belonging to *Spain* on the coaſt of *Tuſ-* " *cany*, may likewiſe be yielded by the treaty of " peace to the Emperor.

" As to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, though there " remains no diſpute concerning the ceſſion of " it by the Duke of *Anjou*, yet the diſpoſition " thereof is not yet determined.

" The intereſts of the *States-General* with re- " ſpect to commerce are agreed to, as they have " been demanded by their own Miniſters, with " the exception only of ſome very few ſpecies of " merchandize, and the intire Barrier, as de- " manded by the *States* in 1709 from *France*, " except two or three places at moſt.

" As to theſe exceptions, ſeveral expedients " are propoſed; and I make no doubt, but this " Barrier may be ſo ſettled, as to render that " Republic perfectly ſecure againſt any enter- " prize on the part of *France*, which is the " foundation of all my engagements upon this " head with the *States*.

" The demands of *Portugal* depending on " the diſpoſition of *Spain*, and that article hav- " ing been long in diſpute, it has not yet been 1712. " poſſible to make any conſiderable progreſs " therein; but my Plenipotentiaries will now " have an opportunity to aſſiſt that King in his " pretenſions.

" Thoſe of the King of *Pruſſia* are ſuch, as, " I hope, will admit of little difficulty on the " part of *France*; and my endeavours ſhall not " be wanting to procure all I am able to ſo good " an Ally.

" The difference between the Barrier demand- " ed for the Duke of *Savoy* in 1709, and the " offers now made by *France*, is very inconſide- " rable. But, that Prince having ſo ſignally diſ- " tinguiſhed himſelf in the ſervice of the com- " mon cauſe, I am endeavouring to procure for " him ſtill further advantages.

" *France* has conſented, that the Elector *Pa-* " *latine* ſhall continue his preſent rank among " the Electors, and remain in poſſeſſion of " the *Upper Palatinate*.

" The Electoral dignity is likewiſe acknow- " ledged in the Houſe of *Hanover*, according " to the articles inſerted, at that Prince's de- " ſire, in my demands.

" And, as to the reſt of the Allies, I make " no doubt of being able to ſecure their ſeveral " intereſts.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have now communicated to you, not only " the terms of peace, which may by the future " treaty be obtained for my own ſubjects, but " likewiſe the propoſals of *France* for ſatisfying " our Allies.

" The former are ſuch, as I have reaſon to " expect to make my people ſome amends for " that great and unequal burden, which they " have lain under through the whole courſe of " this war; and I am willing to hope, that " none of our Confederates, and eſpecially thoſe, " to whom ſo great acceſſions of Dominion and " Power are to accrue by this peace, will envy " *Great-Britain* her ſhare in the glory and ad- " vantage of it.

" The latter are not yet ſo perfectly adjuſted, " as a little more time might have rendered " them; but, the ſeaſon of the year making it " neceſſary to put an end to this Seſſion, I re- " ſolved no longer to defer communicating theſe " matters to you.

" I can make no doubt but you are all fully " perſuaded, that nothing will be neglected on " my part, in the progreſs of this Negotiation, " to bring the peace to an happy and ſpeedy " iſſue; and I depend on your intire confidence " in me, and your chearful concurrence with " me."

This ſpeech occaſioned a general ſurprize, ſo that the public funds, which, upon the expectation of better conditions of peace, had that morning riſen four or five *per cent*, fell immediately to their former value. It was now eaſy to diſcern, what reaſons induced ſome perſons to keep ſecret the reſult of the Negotiation between *Great-Britain* and *France*; for, if ſuch a plan had been communicated to the Parliament, before a majority had been ſecured in both Houſes, and the minds of the people prepared by a long train of artful and plauſible inſinuations, it would, in all probability, have been ex-

1712. ploded with indignation. But by the dexterity of the prime Managers things were brought to ſuch a paſs, that, though, in the Houſe of Commons, one or two Members propoſed the taking the important matters, mentioned in her Majeſty's ſpeech, into conſideration, they were preſently ſilenced by a general cry for an addreſs of thanks. It was unanimouſly reſolved, *An addreſs of thanks voted by the Commons.* "That an addreſs be made to her Majeſty, acknowledging her great condeſcenſion in communicating the terms, upon which a general peace might be made; expreſſing the ſatisfaction of this Houſe in what ſhe had already done, and their intire confidence in her ſteady purſuing the true intereſt of her Kingdoms, and in her endeavours to procure for all her Allies what is due to them by treaties, and neceſſary for their ſecurity; and humbly to deſire, that ſhe would be pleaſed to proceed in the preſent Negotiation for the obtaining a ſpeedy peace." A Committee was appointed immediately to draw up that addreſs, which Mr. *Freeman*, their Chairman, ſoon after reported, and which, with ſome amendments, being agreed to, was preſented by the whole Houſe to the Queen, who returned the following anſwer:

"I have the ſafety and intereſt of all my people ſo much at heart, that I cannot but take a great deal of pleaſure in this your dutiful and prudent addreſs; and I thank you moſt kindly for it.

"I have ſtudied your welfare, and by this you will find the good effects of that confidence, which you place in me, and which ought always to remain between ſo affectionate a Prince and ſuch faithful Subjects."

Proceedings of the Peers on the Queen's ſpeech. Pr. H. L. Things went not ſo ſmoothly in the Houſe of Peers. As ſoon as the Queen was withdrawn, a motion being made for an addreſs of thanks, the Earl of *Wharton* ſaid, "They had all the reaſon in the world to do it, eſpecially for that part of her Majeſty's ſpeech, wherein ſhe was pleaſed to declare, *That the aſſuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of* Hanover *to theſe Kingdoms, was what ſhe had neareſt at heart.* But that, her Majeſty's ſpeech containing many other particulars of the greateſt conſequence, he was of opinion, the Houſe would do well to take it into ſerious conſideration the next day;" which was readily agreed to. Accordingly, on the 7th of *June*, the Earl of *Wharton* propoſed, that the letter from the *States-General* to the Queen, inſerted in the Supplement to the *Amſterdam French Gazette*, which arrived that very morning, might be read. But this was oppoſed, it being ſuggeſted, that the Houſe ought not to take notice of a writing, that carried no authority with it. After this, the Lords took the Queen's ſpeech into conſideration, which occaſioned a warm debate. Among the reſt, the Duke of *Marlborough* repreſented, "That the meaſures purſued in *England*, for a year paſt, were directly contrary to her Majeſty's engagements with the Allies, ſullied the triumphs and glories of her Reign, and would render the *Engliſh* name odious to all other Nations." The Earl of *Strafford* ſaid, "That ſome of the Allies [meaning the *Dutch*] would not ſhew ſuch backwardneſs to a peace, as they had hitherto done, but for a Member of that illuſtrious Aſſembly [meaning the Duke of *Marlborough*] who maintained a ſecret correſpondence with, and endeavoured to perſuade them to carry on the war; feeding them with hopes, that they ſhould be ſupported by a ſtrong party here." The Lord *Cowper* anſwered this ſpeech; and, becauſe the Earl of *Strafford* had not expreſſed himſelf with all the purity of the *Engliſh* tongue, he took occaſion to ſay, "That noble Lord had been ſo long abroad, that he had almoſt forgot, not only the Language, but the Conſtitution of his own Country. That, according to our laws, it could never be ſuggeſted as a crime in the meaneſt ſubject, much leſs in any Member of that Auguſt Aſſembly, to hold correſpondence with our Allies; ſuch Allies eſpecially, whoſe intereſt her Majeſty had declared to be inſeparable from her own, in her ſpeech at the opening of this Seſſion; whereas it would be a hard matter to juſtify and reconcile, either with our laws, or the laws of honour and juſtice, the conduct of ſome perſons, in treating clandeſtinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the Allies." The Lords took afterwards into conſideration the advantages offered by *France* to *Great-Britain*, particularly in ſettling *the trade to* Spain, *and to the* Weſt-Indies, *as it was in the time of the late King of* Spain, Charles II. To this purpoſe the Earl of *Godolphin* ſaid, "That he did not pretend to any great knowledge in trade; but, that during the time he had the honour to be in the adminiſtration of affairs, he had obſerved, and he could eaſily make it out by the books of the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, that the ſingle trade to *Portugal* brought to *England*, in times of war, double the wealth of the trade to *Spain*, in times of peace: So that, whatever might be ſuggeſted, to caſt a miſt before the eyes of the people, it was to be preſumed, that the trade to *Spain* would ſtill yield leſs for the future, becauſe the *French* had made themſelves abſolute maſters of it." After ſome other ſpeeches a motion was made, "That an addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, to return her the thanks of this Houſe for her moſt gracious ſpeech, and for her extraordinary condeſcenſion in communicating to her Parliament the terms, upon which a general peace might be made: And to expreſs the intire ſatisfaction of that Houſe in her great care for ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*; and for her ſteady purſuing the true intereſt of her own Kingdoms; and for endeavouring to procure to her Allies what was due to them by treaties; and to aſſure her, that this Houſe did intirely rely on her wiſdom to finiſh this great and good work." Some exceptions were made to the words *intirely rely*; and the Houſe was moved, as the Houſe of Commons had likewiſe been upon the ſame occaſion, that theſe words might be added, "And in order to that, that her Majeſty would take ſuch meaſures in concert with her Allies, as might induce them to join with her Majeſty in a mutual guaranty." This occaſioned a debate, in which the Lord-Treaſurer and Earl *Pawlet* ſpoke againſt that addition, and the Earl of *Nottingham* and the Lord *Cowper* for it. It was urged in oppoſition to this clauſe, that it would ſubject the Queen and the whole treaty

1712. to the pleaſure of the Allies, who might prove backward and intractable: And, ſince *England* had borne the greateſt ſhare of the burthen of the war, it was reaſonable, that the Queen ſhould be the arbiter of the peace. On the other hand it was ſaid, that, if the Allies did not enter into a guaranty, we muſt depend on the faith of the *French*, and be at their mercy, and ſo have nothing to truſt to but the promiſes of a Court noted, in a courſe of years, for a train of perfidy. But many had formed an obſtinate reſolution to get out of the war on any terms; and therefore nothing, that ſeemed to obſtruct the arriving ſpeedily at that end, was heard with patience, and no regard was had to the faith of treaties. The queſtion being at laſt put, Whether the clauſe ſhould be added? It was reſolved in the negative by eighty-one voices againſt thirty-ſix. On the 10th of *June* the Lords preſented their addreſs to the Queen, who told them, "That the ſatisfaction, they had expreſſed in "what ſhe had laid before them, would contri-"bute very much to remove the difficulties, "which had ariſen in the courſe of this Nego-"tiation; and that the confidence they placed "in her would enable her better to finiſh this "great work, for the advantage of her own "People, and the ſafety and intereſt of her Al-"lies." Several Lords entered a proteſt againſt the rejecting the guaranty clauſe, and ſigned their reaſons for it, which were ſoon after publiſhed in print (1). But this gave ſo great offence to the majority of the Peers, that, on the 13th of *June*, the queſtion being put, "Whe-"ther the proteſt be expunged out of the books "of the Houſe?" It was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſixty-ſix voices againſt thirty-one preſent, and of ninety voices againſt ſixty-four, proxies included. The next day, upon a complaint made in the Houſe of Lords, that both this proteſt, and the former concerning the orders produced by the Duke of *Ormond*, were in print, a Committee was appointed to inquire who were the Printers and Publiſhers of the ſame; but, this Committee not having been able to make any diſcovery in that matter, the Lords applied themſelves by addreſs to the Queen for that purpoſe. But neither an order of the Queen in Council, nor a hundred pounds reward, had any effect. 1714

The Commons were no leſs offended than the Lords at ſeveral papers publiſhed about this time, particularly Biſhop *Fleetwood*'s Preface to four ſermons which he had formerly preached, and now *Biſhop Fleetwood's Preface ordered to be burnt.* Pr. H. C.

(1) The proteſt was in theſe terms:

We think it neceſſary to have the ſecurity propoſed of a general Guaranty; and the rather, becauſe we conceive the terms of peace, that are offered, have proceeded from a ſeparate Negotiation, carried on by the Miniſters with *France*, without any communication thereof to the principal Allies, particularly the *States-General*, as they ſay in their letter to her Majeſty (*whoſe intereſt*, her Majeſty was pleaſed to declare to this Parliament, *ſhe looked upon as inſeparable from her own*) and we conceive this Negotiation to be contrary to thoſe orders, which her Majeſty declared to this Houſe, in anſwer to their addreſs, that ſhe had given to her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, *to concert with thoſe of her Allies*; and the reſolution expreſſed in her meſſage of *January* the 17th, of a *ſtrict union*, in which *ſhe propoſed to join with them, in order to obtain a good peace, and to guaranty, and ſupport the ſame*, as ſhe had before declared in her ſpeech at the opening of the Seſſion, *that ſhe would unite with them in the ſtricteſt engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the general peace ſecure and laſting*; and contrary to the eighth article of the grand Alliance, which expreſsly obliges all the Allies not to treat, unleſs jointly, and with the common advice of the other parties.

And we conceive, that the refuſal of theſe words, propoſed to be added, may be looked upon by the Allies, as if this Houſe approved this method of tranſacting with *France*, which may ſeem to them to tend to a ſeparate peace, of which her Majeſty has declared her diſlike, and which was acknowledged in this Houſe to be *fooliſh* and *knaviſh*, and would be of pernicious conſequence to this Kingdom, by preventing that guaranty of peace by the Allies, which is ſo abſolutely neceſſary for their mutual ſecurity, and leave us expoſed to the power of *France*, there being little reaſon to expect their future help, after ſuch a groſs breach of truſt.

And we further conceive, that ſuch a ſeparate proceeding may create in the Allies ſo great a diſtruſt, as may tempt them to take the like meaſures, and ſo give the *French* opportunity to break that union, which has hitherto been ſo *uſeful to us*, and formidable to them; any appearance whereof muſt encourage *France*, either to delay the concluſion of a peace, or to impoſe upon the Allies in the further progreſs of the treaty.

A perfect union among the Allies ſeems to us to be more neceſſary in the preſent caſe, becauſe the foundation, upon which all the offers of *France*, relating to *Great-Britain* as well as to the Allies, are built, *viz. A renunciation of the Duke of* Anjou *to that Kingdom*, is, in our opinion, ſo fallacious, that no reaſonable man, much leſs whole Nations, can ever look upon it as any ſecurity. Experience may ſufficiently convince us, how little we ought to rely upon the renunciation of the houſe of *Bourbon*: And though the preſent Duke of *Anjou* ſhould happen to think himſelf bound by his own act, which his Grandfather did not; yet will his Deſcendants be at liberty to ſay, *That no act of his could deprive them of their birth-right*; and eſpecially when it is ſuch a right, as, in the opinion of all *French* men, ought inviolably to be maintained by the fundamental conſtitution of the Kingdom of *France*. And we humbly think it unſafe to depend upon this principal part of the treaty's executing itſelf, by ſuppoſing it will be the intereſt of *France* to ſupport it, ſince, on the contrary, it is manifeſt by the *French* endeavours, ever ſince the *Pyrenean* treaty, to unite the Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, they look upon that union to be their greateſt intereſt, and the moſt effectual means of eſtabliſhing the univerſal Monarchy in the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

And if it were reaſonable to imagine, that the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* ſhould remain in diſtinct branches of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; yet this is contrary to the grand Alliance itſelf, which recites the uſurpation of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy by the *French* King for the Duke of *Anjou*, as the principal cauſe of this war.

As to *Port-Mahon*, *Gibraltar*, the *Aſſiento*, and the other advantages to *Britain* propoſed by *France* (beſides that they are all precarious, and in the power of *France* and *Spain* to take from us when they pleaſe) conſidering the ſituation of thoſe Kingdoms, and the vaſt wealth and ſtrength, which will be left to them, we conceive it impoſſible for any man to look on thoſe as a compenſation to *Britain* in any degree; for the leaving *Spain* and the *Indies* in the poſſeſſion of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, beſides other manifeſtly fatal conſequences, muſt be extremely prejudicial to our woollen manufacture, if it does not intirely ruin it.

As to the demolition of *Dunkirk*, though we own it will be a great ſafety to our home-trade, yet we have reaſon to apprehend by what was ſaid in the debate, that it is not yet agreed to be demoliſhed, without an equivalent for it to the *French* King's ſatisfaction.

And in all the particulars relating to the Allies, tho' they are not perfectly adjuſted, yet, by what does appear concerning them, the Allies are likely to be left in

12. now reprinted (1). The Biſhop concludes this Preface with ſaying, 'Never did ſeven ſuch years together paſs over the head of any *Engliſh* Monarch, nor cover it with ſo much honour. The Crown and Scepter ſeemed to be the Queen's leaſt ornaments. Thoſe other Princes wore in common with her; and her great perſonal virtues were the ſame before and ſince. But ſuch was the fame of her Adminiſtration of affairs at home; ſuch was the reputation of her wiſdom and felicity in chuſing Miniſters; and ſuch was then eſteemed their faithfulneſs and zeal, their diligence and great abilities in executing her commands; to ſuch a height of military glory did her *great General* and her Armies carry the *Britiſh* name abroad; ſuch was the harmony and concord betwixt Her and her Allies; and ſuch was the bleſſing of God upon all her counſels and undertakings, that I am as ſure as Hiſtory can make me, no Prince of ours was ever yet ſo proſperous and ſucceſsful, ſo loved, eſteemed, and honoured by their ſubjects and their friends, nor near ſo formidable to their enemies. We were, as all the world imagined then, juſt entered on the ways, that promiſed to lead to ſuch a peace, as would have anſwered all the prayers of our religious Queen, the care and vigilance of a moſt able Miniſtry, the payments of a willing and obedient People, as well as all the glorious toils and hazards of the Soldiery; when God, for our ſins, permitted *the ſpirit of diſcord* to go forth; and by troubling ſore the Camp, the City, and the Country (and oh, that it had altogether ſpared the places ſacred to his worſhip!) to ſpoil, for a time, this beautiful and pleaſing proſpect; and give, in its ſtead, I know not what———Our enemies will tell the reſt with pleaſure.' 1712.

The complaint againſt this Preface was made by Mr. *Hungerford*, ſeconded by Mr. *Manley*, and ſupported by the Court-party. But Sir *Peter King*, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and other Gentlemen, were very ſtrenuous advocates in its behalf, but to no purpoſe; for the Commons, by a majority of a hundred and nineteen againſt fifty-four, voted the Preface to be malicious and factious, highly reflecting upon the preſent Adminiſtration of public affairs under her Majeſty, and tending to create diſcord and ſedition amongſt her ſubjects, and condemned it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. It was obſerved, that, when the Biſhop's friends brought him the news of the *Vote*, far from appearing diſturbed at it, he ſaid, 'That he eſteemed himſelf very happy to ſuffer with the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earl

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ſuch a ſtate of inſecurity, as is abſolutely inconſiſtent with our own ſafety.

The *Rhine* is propoſed for a Barrier of the Empire, which leaves *Strasburg* and *Hunninghen* in the hands of the *French*; the former of which has always been looked upon as the key of the Empire.

The propoſals of *France*, relating to the Barrier for the *States-General*, not only deprive them of all the places taken ſince the year 1709, but alſo of two or three places more, included in the demand made by the *States* in that year; which will render their Barrier wholly inſufficient, and conſequently very much weaken the ſecurity of *Britain*.

Portugal ſeems to be wholly abandoned to the power of *Spain*; notwithſtanding the great advantage we have received during this war by our trade with that Kingdom, which might ſtill be extremely beneficial to us.

Upon the whole, there is ſo very little and inconſiderable a difference between theſe offers of *France* and thoſe made at *Utrecht*, *February* the 11th, *N. S.* and ſigned *d'Uxelles* (as appears to us upon comparing them together) that both ſeem to be the effect of a ſecret and particular Negotiation with *France*; and, this Houſe having unanimouſly concurred in expreſſing to her Majeſty their utmoſt reſentment at thoſe terms offered to her Majeſty and her Allies by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and her Majeſty having graciouſly accepted that our addreſs, and rewarded that duty and zeal with her hearty thanks, we cannot, in reſpect to her Majeſty, or juſtice to our Country, retract that opinion, nor think the terms now good for Us or the Allies, or giving any ſeeming approbation of them, which then were received by this Houſe, and all the Allies, with ſcorn and deteſtation.

For theſe reaſons we are of opinion, that the offers of *France* are fallacious and inſnaring, no way proportioned to the advantages, which her Majeſty (from the great ſucceſſes, with which it has pleaſed God to bleſs Her and her Allies during the whole courſe of this war) might juſtly expect for her own Kingdoms and for Them; very inſufficient for preſerving a balance of power in *Europe*, for the future ſecurity of her Majeſty and her Allies, though they ſhould be never ſo exactly performed; and yet even ſuch as they are, there is no effectual ſecurity offered for the performance of them; which makes it abſolutely neceſſary, as we conceive, that ſuch meaſures ſhould be taken, in concert with the Allies, as may induce them to join with her Majeſty in a mutual guaranty,

Somerſet,	*Dorcheſter*,
Godolphin,	*J. Bangor*,
Devonſhire,	*Rutland*,
Berkley,	*Nottingham*,
W. Oxon,	*Carliſle*,
J. Ely,	*Bridgewater*,
Haverſham,	*Mohun*,
Suffolk,	*Townſhend*,
W. Aſaph,	*Cowper*,
Bolton.	*Montague*,
Wharton,	*Lincoln*,
Marlborough,	*Bedford*.

(1) The four ſermons were, I. On the death of Queen *Mary*, 1694. II. On the death of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, 1700. III. On the death of King *William*, 1701. IV. On the Queen's acceſſion.

Among the reaſons alledged by the Biſhop for publiſhing thoſe ſermons, he gives the following:

'Another reaſon of my publiſhing theſe ſermons, at this time, is, that I have a mind to do myſelf ſome honour, by doing what honour I could to the memory of two moſt excellent Princes, and who have very highly deſerved at the hands of all the people of theſe Dominions, who have a true value for the *Proteſtant Religion*, and the *Conſtitution* of the *Engliſh* government, of which they were the great *Deliverers* and *Defenders*. I have lived to ſee their illuſtrious names very rudely handled, and the great benefits they did this Nation, treated ſlightly and contemptuouſly. I have lived to ſee our Deliverance from *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery* traduced and vilified by ſome, who formerly thought it was their greateſt merit, and made it part of their boaſt and glory to have had a little hand and ſhare in bringing it about: And others, who, without it, muſt have lived in exile, poverty, and miſery, meanly diſclaiming it, and uſing ill the *glorious inſtrument* thereof. Who could expect ſuch a requital of ſuch merit? I have, I own it, an ambition of exempting myſelf from the number of unthankful people; and, as I loved and honoured thoſe great Princes living, and lamented over them when dead; ſo I would gladly raiſe them up a monument of praiſe as laſting as any thing of mine can be;

1712. Earl of *Godolphin*, and ſo many other illuſtrious Patriots, whoſe reputation their enviers endeavoured to blaſt (1).' On the other hand, this treatment of a Prelate ſo univerſally eſteemed, particularly by the Queen herſelf, who was uſed to call him *her Biſhop*, was highly reſented even by many zealous Churchmen. But the Commons carried ſtill further their obſequiouſneſs to the Miniſtry; for, the ſame day, the letter from the *States* to the Queen, in vindication of their conduct, being complained of and read, it was reſolved, 'To addreſs her Majeſty, to aſſure her of the juſt ſenſe this Houſe had of the indignity offered to her, by printing and publiſhing a letter from the *States-General* to her Majeſty; and to deſire her, that ſhe would ſo far reſent ſuch indignities, as to give no anſwer for the future to any letters or memorials that ſhould be printed and publiſhed.' But, the day before, the Queen had thought fit to anſwer this letter. And it was obſerved, that a cenſure was paſſed upon it merely to gratify Mr. Secretary *St. John*; though, on the other hand, ſeveral ſpeeches were made, particularly by Mr. *Lechmere*, to juſtify the *States-General*; which gave occaſion to ſome people to ſay, 'That a vote of the Commons was the only anſwer, that could be returned to their High Mightineſſes letter.'

Reſolution againſt the letter from the States. Pr. H. C.

Hampden's motion for the Allies to guarantee the Proteſtant Succeſſion rejected. Pr. H. C.

On the 17th of *June*, Mr. *Hampden* made a motion, 'That an addreſs be made to the Queen, that ſhe would be pleaſed to give particular inſtructions to her Plenipotentiaries, that, in the concluſion of the treaty of peace, the ſeveral Powers in Alliance with her Majeſty might be Guarantees for the Proteſtant Succeſſion to the Crown of theſe Realms, as ſettled by act of Parliament in the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*.' Endeavours were uſed to have this motion dropped; but, Mr. *Hampden* and ſome of his friends inſiſting to have the queſtion put, it was carried in the negative by a majority of one-hundred and thirty-three voices againſt thirty-eight. After which it was reſolved, 1712.
'1. That this Houſe had ſuch an intire confidence, in the repeated declarations her Majeſty had been pleaſed to make of her concern for aſſuring to theſe Kingdoms the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as by law eſtabliſhed, that they could never doubt her taking the proper meaſures for the ſecurity thereof: And that this Houſe would ſupport her Majeſty againſt faction at home, and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beſeech her, that ſhe would be pleaſed to diſcountenance all thoſe, who ſhould endeavour to raiſe jealouſies between her Majeſty and her Subjects, eſpecially by miſrepreſenting her good intentions for the welfare of her People." The Commons having attended the Queen on the 19th of *June* with this reſolution, ſhe returned the following anſwer:

Gentlemen,

"I return you hearty thanks for this reſolu- "tion, which is very becoming you, who truly "repreſent all my Commons.

"You have ſhewn yourſelves honeſt aſſertors "of the Monarchy, zealous defenders of the "Conſtitution, and real friends of the Proteſ- "tant Succeſſion.

"What I have ſaid and done, is ſufficient to "ſatisfy any perſon, who is in earneſt for the "Succeſſion, as by law eſtabliſhed, in the "Houſe of *Hanover*, that I need not be put "in mind of doing any thing, which may "contribute to render that Succeſſion ſecure."

Two days after, the Queen came to the Houſe of Lords, and made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My

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be; and I chooſe to do it at this time, when it is ſo unfaſhionable a thing to ſpeak honourably of them.

The fourth ſermon was preached upon the Queen's Acceſſion to the Throne, and in the firſt year, in which that day was ſolemnly obſerved (for, by ſome accident or other, it had been overlooked the year before) and every one will know, without the date of it, that it was preached very early in this reign, ſince I was able to *promiſe* and *preſage* its future glories and ſucceſſes, from the good appearance of things, and the happy turn our affairs began to take; and could not then count up the victories and triumphs, that for ſeven years after made it, in the prophet's language, *a name and a praiſe among all the people of the earth.*

(1) The Biſhop wrote the following letter to Biſhop *Burnet* upon this occaſion:

My Lord, *June* 17, 1712.

I received the favour of your Lordſhip's letter, and took it, as I knew it was intended, very kindly. The manner of my receiving the indignity put upon my *Preface* was neither like a Chriſtian, nor Philoſopher, but like a very worldly man. I knew the whole proceſs, and knew it to be a piece of revenge taken by a wicked party, that found themſelves ſorely ſtung; and it affected me accordingly, *i. e.* very little. I am not one, that love to be the talk of the town; and in this part, I confeſs, I was uneaſy, although I think the talk was very much in my favour. The complaint was made by *Hungerford*, and ſeconded by *Manley* (people, that ſhould indeed have been ordered to have burnt it) and thirded by what we call the *Court*, and carried by numbers, without a wiſe word ſaid againſt it. Sir *Peter*

King, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and others of the Robe, were very ſtrenuous advocates in its behalf; and ſo were other Gentlemen, but to no great purpoſe; for the Court divided one-hundred and nineteen- and my friends but fifty-four. If their deſign was to intimidate me, they loſt it utterly; or, if to ſuppreſs the book, it happened much otherwiſe; for every body's curioſity is awakened by the uſage, and the Bookſeller finds his account in it above any one elſe. The *Spectator* has conveyed above fourteen thouſand of them into other people's hands, that would otherwiſe have never ſeen nor heard of it. In a word, my Lord, when I conſider, that theſe Gentlemen have uſed me no worſe, than, I think, they have uſed their own Country, the Emperor, the *States*, the Houſe of *Hanover*, and all our Allies abroad, as well as all the braveſt, and wiſeſt, and the honeſteſt men we have at home; I am more inclined to become vain, than any ways depreſſed at what has befallen me, and intend to ſet up for a man of merit upon this very ſtock. But, pleaſantry apart, my heart is wounded within me, when I conſider ſeriouſly whereabouts we are, and whither we are tending. The Court party do now own publickly, that, except the Allies accept of the conditions, that are offered them, King *Philip* is not to make any *Renunciation*: And certainly the Allies cannot accept of theſe conditions, unleſs they are diſtreſſed to the laſt degree. We muſt, and ſhall have a ſeparate peace in ſpite of all that can be ſaid; and that muſt be without a *Renunciation* on the part of *France*, and without a Guaranty from the Allies: And what a peace is that like to be? It is now ſaid, that *England* is to conſtrain the King of *France* to content the *States* with a Barrier to their liking; and that the reſt will come in, or ſtand out, without

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My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE laſt time I was here, I ſpoke ſo " fully, and afterwards received from both " Houſes ſuch ſatisfactory addreſſes, that there " remains little more for me to ſay at the cloſe " of this meeting of Parliament, but to repeat " my hearty thanks for your late ſolemn aſſuran- " ces. They will give me ſtrength to ſtruggle " with any difficulties, which may yet be raiſed; " and I hope, that neither they, who envy the " making a good peace, nor who think it their " intereſt to continue the war, will be able to " defeat our joint endeavours for the honour " and advantage of *Great-Britain*, and the ſecu- " rity of all our Allies.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" At the ſame time that I thank you moſt " kindly for the ſupplies you have chearfully " granted, I cannot but let you know my ſatiſ- " faction in the near view I have of a peace, " ſince it will in ſome meaſure recompenſe my " ſubjects for their vaſt expences, and alſo " lighten that heavy burthen they have borne " during the war.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" You have expreſſed how ſenſible you are of " the advantage and ſecurity, which accrue to " *Great-Britain* and our Allies, by the terms " propoſed for a peace. And I need not men- " tion to you the miſchiefs, which muſt follow " from the breaking off this treaty. Our bur- " thens would be at leaſt continued, if not in- " creaſed; the preſent opportunity would be " irrecoverably loſt of *Britain*'s eſtabliſhing a " real balance of power in *Europe*, and improv- " ing our own commerce; and, if any of our " Allies ſhould gain ſomething by ſuch a pro- " ceeding, the reſt would ſuffer in the common " calamity. But I hope, by God's Bleſſing, " ſuch fatal deſigns will be diſappointed.

" You are now returning into your reſpective " countries, and I perſuade myſelf you will not " be wanting in your endeavours to obviate the " deſigns of any ill-minded perſons, who may " attempt to ſow ſedition amongſt my ſubjects, " and, under ſpecious pretences, carry on de- " ſigns they dare not own.

" I hope, at your next meeting, there will " be an opportunity of perfecting what I re- " commended to you, which you have left un- " finiſhed in this Seſſion.

" I cannot conclude without aſſuring you, " that nothing ſhall move me from ſteadily pur- " ſuing the true intereſt of ſo dutiful and af- " fectionate a people."

After this ſpeech, both Houſes were adjourned to the 8th of *July*. This *adjournment*, inſtead of a *prorogation*, occaſioned various diſcourſes, ſome ſurmiſing, it was intended as a further mortification to Mr. *Walpole*, who rather choſe to continue priſoner in the *Tower*, than to make his ſubmiſſion. Others imagined, it was intended, that, at the expiration of the adjournment, the Houſe ſhould ſit again for the diſpatch of buſineſs. But, whatever ground there was for the firſt of theſe conjectures, it appeared there was none for the latter; for at their next meeting, on the 8th of *July*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 31ſt of the ſame month. Upon which Mr. *Walpole*, and the other perſons, who were under confinement by order of the Commons, were of courſe ſet at liberty. 1712.

Though the Queen in her ſpeech ſaid, they approved of her ſcheme of peace, yet that was not in any of the addreſſes; many indeed, who intended to merit by their officious zeal, had magnified it in their ſpeeches, but both Houſes had obſerved one caution, not to expreſs their being ſatisfied with the plan of the peace, tho' it was covertly inſinuated.

Addreſs of the City of London.

On the 12th of *June*, at an aſſembly of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*, a motion was made for addreſſing the Queen about the peace; againſt which ſome objections were made by Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* and Sir *Charles Peers*, who alledged, " That, the making peace or war being the pre- " rogative of the Crown, they ought not to " meddle with it." But, the majority, who knew, that ſuch a ſtep would be very acceptable to the Court, being of a contrary opinion, it was carried for an addreſs; which being, two days after, preſented, with another from the Lieutenancy, the Queen knighted *John Caſs* and *William Stuart*, the Sheriffs, and *Samuel Clarke*. Upon this a new ſet of addreſſes were promoted every where, full of groſs flattery, magnifying the preſent conduct, with ſevere reflections on the former Miniſtry, which ſome carried back to King *William*'s Reign. Some of thoſe addreſſes mentioned the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and the Houſe of *Hanover*, with zeal; others did it more coldly, and ſome made no mention at all of it. And it was univerſally believed, that no addreſſes were ſo acceptable to the Miniſters, as thoſe of the laſt ſort.

But neither the number, nor the noiſe of addreſſes, which, during the remaining part of the year, were preſented to the Queen, were able to ſuppreſs the murmurings of the Whigs, and even of many Tories, who did not like the terms of peace contained in the Queen's ſpeech. On the other hand, the aſtoniſhment, not to ſay, indignation with which the Queen's ſpeech was received in *Holland*, is ſcarce to be expreſſed; and exceptions againſt it were publiſhed both by the *Dutch* and Imperialiſts (1).

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any danger. But I am afraid *England* has loſt all her conſtraining power, and that *France* thinks ſhe has us in her hands, and may uſe us as ſhe pleaſes, which, I dare ſay, will be as ſcurvily as we deſerve. What a change has two years made? Your Lordſhip may now imagine you are growing young again; for we are fallen, methinks, into the very dregs of *Charles* the Second's Politics; ſaying, that then they were more reaſonable, becauſe our enemy was then in ſo full power and luſtre, as might both terrify and dazzle a poor luxurious Prince, that would not be diſturbed, nor ſeemed to care much what became of *England* after he was gone. The preſent times may put you in mind of thoſe, with this bad difference ſtill, that now the ruinous effects of thoſe advices ſeem to be taking place after an interval of five or ſix and twenty years; and after ſuch an interruption, as one would have thought ſhould have quite baffled and deſtroyed them.'

(1) In a letter from a Gentleman in *Amſterdam*, it is ſaid: ' We are at laſt at full certainty as to the good

1712. *The* Dutch *reſolve to entertain the Auxiliaries in* Britiſh *pay.*

The *States* having rightly concluded from the declarations of the *Britiſh* General in the army, and of the Biſhop of *Briſtol* at *Utrecht*, that the Miniſters of *Great-Britain* had agreed upon a ſuſpenſion of arms with *France*, and would impoſe it upon the Allies, by withdrawing from the Confederate army, not only their national troops, but alſo the auxiliaries in their pay, which would make them abſolute maſters of the Negotiation of peace; they took early meaſures to prevent it. Meſſieurs *Van Welderen* and *Hop* were ſent to the army, to concert with Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* proper methods to engage the Generals of thoſe Auxiliaries, and to provide for their ſubſiſtance, which commiſſion was executed with ſucceſs. The Duke of *Ormond* having cauſed bread for ſix days to be diſtributed to the army under his command (which ſhewed he deſigned to make ſome motion) Prince *Eugene* asked the Generals of the Auxiliaries, 'Whether they had any orders from their Sovereigns to regulate themſelves by, in caſe the *Engliſh* ſhould withdraw.' It appeared by their anſwer, that they had received ſecret inſtructions, for, two only excepted, they unanimouſly aſſured the Prince, 'That they would not march with the *Britiſh* General, without communicating the orders they ſhould receive from him to his Highneſs: And, in caſe the ſame were not agreeable to the intentions and intereſt of the Allies, they would not follow the Duke, but look upon themſelves as diſengaged from his command.' On the other hand, the *States* having reſolved to proſecute the operations of the war, the trenches were opened before *Queſnoy*, and the ſiege carried on with all imaginable vigour under the command of General *Fagel*.

Queſnoy *beſieged*, Jan. 20. N. S.

The Duke *of* Ormond *declares his orders about a ceſſation.*

The next day the Duke of *Ormond* was invited to a Conference, held between the *States* Deputies, Prince *Eugene*, and Count *Tilly*; but he excuſed himſelf on pretence of a ſmall indiſpoſition, that he might avoid concerting any further meaſures with them. And having received a copy of the articles ſigned by the Marquis *de Torcy* (though not intirely as the Queen had demanded) he immediately directed the Earl of *Orkney* to prepare himſelf to march with ten battalions, in order to take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*; and the ſame morning he wrote to the Marſhal *de Villars*, 'That he wiſhed the Marquis *de Torcy* would have given himſelf the trouble to have ſigned the copy of the articles, which would have been more regular and more agreeable to the Duke's inſtructions. However, he would not obſtruct the accompliſhing ſo good a work, by raiſing difficulties and ſcruples, and inſiſting too much upon the want of formality. That he was juſt going to make Prince *Eugene* and the *States* Deputies a viſit, with whom he was to keep meaſures to the laſt; and that he ſhould endeavour to perſuade them to deſiſt from the ſiege of *Queſnoy*, and declare to them, that, in caſe of their refuſal, he ſhould be obliged to withdraw the army of the Queen. That he ſhould ſend away a detachment the next day, to take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*; but was of opinion, that the Marſhal ſhould have given him an order in form for its ſurrender; and deſired he would loſe no time in a matter of ſo great importance: Concluding, that, as ſoon as he knew the reſolutions of the Prince and the Deputies, he would not fail to let him have notice of it.' The ſame day, the Duke viſited Prince *Eugene*, and the *States* Deputies, in purſuance of his promiſe to acquaint them with any freſh orders he ſhould receive from *England*, incompatible with his covering the ſiege of *Queſnoy*; and told them, 'That the *French* King had agreed to ſeveral articles demanded by the Queen, as a foundation for a ſuſpenſion of arms; and, among others, the giving up immediately into our poſſeſſion the Town of *Dunkirk*. That the Duke therefore could no longer cover the ſiege of *Queſnoy*, being obliged by his inſtructions to march with the Queen's troops, and thoſe in her pay, and to declare a ceſſation of arms, as ſoon as *Dunkirk* was delivered up: And he hoped, they would readily concur therein, which would be the moſt powerful motive to induce the Queen to take all poſſible care of their intereſts at the peace. He likewiſe endeavoured to ſhew them, that *Dunkirk*, as a cautionary town, was a place of greater conſequence to the Allies than *Queſnoy*.'

Cond. of the D. of *Orm.* Jan. 25.

The Deputies deſired five days to conſult their Maſters upon ſo important a matter; which the Duke would have allowed them, if, in the mean time, they would have agreed to deſiſt from the proſecution of the ſiege, or at leaſt to make ſome delay in it; which, they ſaid,

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intentions of *Great-Britain* towards this State, ſet forth at large, in the Queen's ſpeech to her Parliament. The Emperor finds likewiſe in it very ſenſible proofs of affection for him, ſince he may be left in poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*, *Naples*, *Sardinia*, and the *Low-Countries*. But it unluckily falls out, that neither the Imperialiſts, nor the *Dutch*, will put a favourable conſtruction on theſe good intentions. On the contrary, they ſay, that it is very hard for a Prince, who begins his reign ſo glorioufly as the Emperor, to ſee himſelf abandoned, and reduced to give up *Catalonia* without any equivalent; ſince he is not to have even *Sicily*, which, it ſeems, is to be kept *in Petto*, the better to allure the Duke of *Savoy*, in caſe he ſhould ſtand out: Beſides the ſecuring to him the Succeſſion to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, after the Duke of *Anjou*, and his iſſue, by excluding for ever the Houſe of *Auſtria* from its rights to *Spain*. As for the *Dutch*, they complain, that they are not allowed even the Barrier agreed on, between them and the Queen, in 1709: That by the two or three places, which are to be excepted from that Barrier, *Liſle* and *Tournay* may be meant; beſides the towns they have taken ſince 1709; which will reduce that Barrier almoſt to nothing: And that the exception of ſome ſpecies of merchandize, from the Tariff of 1664, which they inſiſt upon, may reach their fiſh, linnen, and ſpices, whereby they may be excluded from all their profitable trade, the other branches being more advantageous to *France*, than to *Holland*. Theſe are the chief exceptions of the Imperialiſts and *Dutch*; nor is it altogether without reaſon, that the latter take it ill, that the Duke of *Savoy*'s, and King of *Pruſſia*'s ſervices to the common cauſe, are only mentioned and extolled in the Queen's ſpeech; and that no manner of notice is taken of this State, which hitherto has ſignalized its reſolution and conſtancy, and never offered to break either its promiſes or engagements, by treating ſeparately with *France*, though powerful ſollicitations have not been wanting to induce them to it.' The exceptions of the Imperialiſts, againſt the ſcheme of peace propoſed in the Queen's ſpeech, were afterwards fully expreſſed in a book, intituled, *The ſighs of* Europe, which was publiſhed in *Holland* by Count *Zinzendorf*'s direction. *Boyer*.

1712. ſaid, was not in their power. However, he at laſt conſented to give them three days; that being no hindrance to the execution of his orders, becauſe he could not expect to have an account before that time from the *French* Court, how *Dunkirk* ſhould be delivered up to him. The Deputies refuſed to let a detachment go through any of their towns in the way to *Dunkirk*, and both they and Prince *Eugene* told the Duke, 'That his marching away with the Queen's troops and the foreigners in her pay would leave them to the mercy of the *French*; but that they were ſure the foreigners would not march.' The Duke having taken the firſt opportunity to ſound the Generals of the foreign troops in the Queen's pay, they ſeemed at firſt well inclined to continue ſteady to her intereſt; and particularly General *Bulau*, who commanded the *Hanoverians*, who came to the Duke, ſeemingly with great joy and ſatisfaction, as ſoon as he had read the Queen's ſpeech, and told him, he was ready, with his maſter's troops, to follow all ſuch orders, as he ſhould think fit to give him. But, upon diſcourſing with him now, the Duke found, that means had been uſed to prevail upon him, as well as the reſt; who agreed in making excuſes, and pretended they could not ſeparate from the Confederacy, without expreſs directions from their Maſters, to whom they had ſent Couriers. They alledged, 'That neither the grand Alliance, nor the particular Conventions, admitted of any parties treating of, or making peace, or even a ſuſpenſion of arms, without the conſent of the others.' The Duke thought it belonged not to him to enter into theſe particulars; but inſiſted on the commands he had received from the Queen, and on the engagements they were under to aſſiſt him, their General, in an effectual compliance with them; repreſenting, at the ſame time, the juſt reaſons the Queen had to reſent, and the ill conſequences, that would attend their refuſal. However, the Duke finding, that the foreign troops would obey no orders, but what they themſelves, in conjunction with Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies, ſhould approve, countermanded the detachment deſigned for *Dunkirk*; and in the afternoon ſent to Marſhal *Villars* an account of the reſult of his viſit, and deſired to know of him more particularly, in what manner *Dunkirk* was to be put into our hands, in caſe the *Engliſh* troops marched alone, without the Auxiliaries; which he had reaſon to ſuſpect might ſcruple to go along with him: Adding, He hoped he would not defer ſending the neceſſary orders for the delivery of that town, which would be a means to make every thing relating to the peace go on the more eaſily, and the ceſſation of arms take effect the ſooner.

It is obſervable, *Villars* having, at this juncture, cauſed ſeveral bridges to be laid over the *Senſet*, it occaſioned a ſurmize, that he might intend to attack the Confederate army, in caſe the Auxiliaries in *Britiſh* pay had marched off with the Duke of *Ormond*. On the other hand, it was apprehended, that the *Britiſh* General might have a deſign upon ſome of the ſtrong towns garriſoned by the *Dutch*; and therefore Prince *Eugene* ſent for General *Hompeſch*, Governor of *Doway*, and deſired him to take care, that the *Engliſh* troops deſigned for *Dunkirk* might not go through *Doway*. And the like caution was given to other *Dutch* Governors in relation to the *Britiſh* forces. 1712.

Upon the arrival of two expreſſes from the Confederate army at the *Hague*, with an account of the Duke of *Ormond*'s declaration about a ceſſation of arms, the *States* were immediately aſſembled; and the ſame evening invitations were ſent to the Miniſters of the Allies at *Utrecht*, to concert meaſures on the preſent poſture of affairs; and meſſengers diſpatched with circular letters to the ſeveral towns of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friſeland*, to ſummon an extraordinary meeting of the *States* of that Province on the firſt of *July*, *N. S.* The city of *Amſterdam* ſent an unprecedented deputation to the *Hague*, conſiſting of three Burgomaſters, and as many principal Magiſtrates. Before their departure, the regent Burgomaſters held an aſſembly, in which Monſieur *Corver*, their ſenior, a perſon no leſs venerable for his age, being eighty four years old, than for his integrity and wiſdom, made a memorable ſpeech; wherein he pathetically laid before them the neceſſity of carrying on the war, *without which their Commonwealth was like to be irrecoverably ruined.* He ſaid, 'I am an old man, upwards of fourſcore, and have ſeen far more difficult times, even the *French* at the very gates; but, by the Bleſſing of God on our firmneſs and reſolution, we have hitherto preſerved our ſtate. I have no private intereſt in trade, nor any other concern but the good of my country, and the common cauſe; yet I would give the half of what I have in the world, nay all, rather, than ſuffer the loſs of our liberties. But, if at laſt we are overpowered, then let us lay our Cities under water, betake ourſelves to our ſhips, and ſail to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and let thoſe, who ſee our country laid waſte, ſay, *There lived a people, who choſe to loſe their country rather than their liberty.*' Theſe words had not only an effect upon the aſſembly at *Amſterdam*, but alſo on that of the *States* to whom they were reported. However, though the majority of the cities had given their Duputies inſtructions to reject the propoſal of a ceſſation of arms; yet the *States* thought fit not to come to any reſolution about that important affair, but rather to gain time, at leaſt till the reduction of *Queſnoy*; for which delay the Earl of *Strafford*'s abſence from the *Hague*, and the expectation of his ſudden return, gave them a very plauſible pretence. Mean while the *States* received aſſurances from the Princes, who had troops in *Britiſh* pay, 'That they would maintain them wholly at their own expence under Prince *Eugene*'s command, for one month; and afterwards continue them in the ſervice, and pay half the charges, provided the Emperor and the *States* would pay the other half.' To which the *Dutch* were ready enough to conſent. June 27. N. S.

The Biſhop of Briſtol *propoſes a ſuſpenſion of arms.* July 27. Hiſt. of *Eur.*

In the mean time the Biſhop of *Briſtol* executed his inſtructions at *Utrecht* with the ſame punctuality as the Duke of *Ormond* in the army; and, a Conference being held between the Miniſters of the Allies, that Prelate in a ſolemn manner communicated to them the conceſſion, which the Queen had prevailed on *France* to make to the Allies, and propoſed to them a ſuſpenſion of arms for two months, in order to treat with the *French*, and, in a friendly manner, adjuſt the demands of all the Confederates. None of the Miniſters there preſent having thought fit to return him an anſwer, all of them looking on one another

1712. another with ſurprize, the Biſhop left them to conſult together; upon which ſome of them ſpoke very ſeverely againſt the propoſal. In the afternoon he was in Conference with the reſt of thoſe Miniſters, and urged to them the neceſſity of a ceſſation of arms; but he found them unanimous in their anſwers, that they had no inſtructions about that matter, and muſt wait for freſh orders from their Principals. The next day the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies met at the Deputies of the *States*, and having concerted ſome meaſures, moſt of them repaired afterwards to the *Hague*, to aſſiſt at the Conſultations, that were held in that place.

The Duke of *Savoy*'s Miniſters were ſo highly offended at the report, which had been induſtriouſly ſpread, that their Maſter had agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and to the terms of peace concerted between *Great-Britain* and *France*, that they publickly diſowned it as falſe and ſcandalous, declaring, 'That his Royal Highneſs, their Maſter, would remain firm in the grand Alliance, being ſenſible, he had been impoſed upon by the inſinuations of a certain Miniſter.' On the other hand, Count *Zinzendorf*, the firſt imperial Plenipotentiary, on the 28th of *June*, *N. S.* preſented to the *States-General* a memorial, which he called his *ſentiments upon the affairs of the preſent conjuncture*; wherein having ſhewed, 'The tendency of the Queen of *Great-Britain*'s ſpeech to her Parliament, and touched upon the declarations of the Duke of *Ormond* and the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, he inſiſted on the danger, that would reſult to the common cauſe from a ceſſation of arms; commended their High-Mightineſſes for approving what Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* and their Deputies had done in the army, and in particular their having furniſhed bread to the foreign troops in *Engliſh* pay; exhorted them to perſevere in theſe generous and vigorous reſolutions; and, in order to maintain a ſtrict union among the Allies, he propoſed theſe five points: 1. That the Alliance ought to be renewed, in order to compaſs theſe ends, the recovery of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; the ſecurity of that State by a Barrier in the *Netherlands*, and of their trade in *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; the procuring a Tariff with *France*; the performance of the treaties with the King of *Portugal* and Duke of *Savoy*, with relation to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; as alſo thoſe with the King of *Pruſſia*, the Elector *Palatine*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and all the other Confederate Princes; and that likewiſe for the ſecurity of the aſſociated Circles. 2. That all the Allies ſhould be invited to join in it. 3. That it was neceſſary to form a plan of the war, ſo as it might be carried on with moſt ſucceſs and leaſt expence. 4. That they ſhould come to ſome reſolution about the war in the *North*, ſo as they might be ſure of the aſſiſtance of the Princes engaged in it, moſt of whom furniſhed troops againſt *France*. And, 5. That, after theſe meaſures were concerted, repreſentations ſhould be made to the Queen of *Great-Britain*, requeſting her to perform her engagements, and to perſuade her, that it was the intention of the other Allies to maintain the common cauſe with inviolable firmneſs; and that they deſired nothing ſo much, as that ſhe would be pleaſed to perſiſt in what ſhe had hitherto done ſo gloriouſly for that end. He afterwards aſſured the *States*, that the Emperor would continue to furniſh 20,000 men in *Savoy*, 30,000 in *Spain*, 14,000 on the *Rhine*, 24,000 in the *Netherlands*, 8,000 in *Lombardy*, 8,000 in *Naples*, and 4,000 in *Bavaria*, in all 108,000 men: That he would furniſh the third of four millions of crowns for the war in *Catalonia*. That he would endeavour to bring more of his troops into the field againſt *France* than hitherto, and do his utmoſt to engage the Empire in general, and all the Princes and States in particular, to make new efforts.' 1712.

Zinzendorf's *memorial to the* States. Lamberti Vol. VII.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Holland*, a remarkable action was performed in the beginning of the campaign, which greatly alarmed the Court of *France*. Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* reſolved to put *Champagne* and other Countries under contribution; and, the Deputies of the *States* having approved his reſolution, he detached fifteen hundred horſe, dragoons, and huſſars, under the command of Major-General *Groveſtein*, with orders to penetrate into *France* as far as poſſible. Thoſe troops were detached with the utmoſt privacy from the camp at *Haſpre* on the 10th of *June*. The next day they met at night at *Grouſelle*, within three leagues of *Neufchatel*, on the river *Aiſne*, which they paſſed the 12th, and advanced at night to *Suipe* in *Champagne*. The 13th, they paſſed the river *Noire* near *St. Menehold*. The next day, they paſſed the *Maeſe* at *Seneri*, and got into *Lorrain*; and, the 15th, paſſed the *Moſelle* at *Pont-a-Mouſon*. The 16th, they came before *Metz*; and, the 17th, paſſed the *Saar*, and retired leiſurely towards *Traarbach*, carrying off with them a vaſt booty, and a great number of hoſtages for the payment of the contributions, they had demanded from the Countries, through which they paſſed, amounting to ſome millions. They burnt ſeveral villages and little towns; and at *Metz Groveſtein* ſent a letter to the Marquiſs *de Refuge*, the Governor, and another to the Intendant, to ſummon them to ſend Deputies to agree about contributions. The Governor anſwered him, that he had nothing to ſend but fire and ball; and that, inſtead of contributions and hoſtages, he would only ſend him ſome guides, to conduct him whither he deſerved to go. *Groveſtein*, being incenſed at this anſwer, cauſed about thirty or forty villages, and about twenty caſtles or ſeats, to be burnt in ſight of *Metz*, after having plundered them, and retired ſafe with his booty; for, *Villars* not being informed of this detachment till twenty-four hours after they were marched, the troops, which he ſent after them, could not overtake them. It is impoſſible to expreſs the great ſurprize, this expedition cauſed in the adjacent parts, and even in the Suburbs of *Paris*; it being reported, the detachment were advancing to that City. The King himſelf was not thought ſafe at *Verſailles* with his uſual guards; and therefore all the troops quartered in and about *Paris* were ordered to repair immediately to the King's palace. But *Groveſtein*, making his retreat, ſoon put an end to the alarm.

An irruption into France. Brodrick.

The *French* were reſolved to revenge this excurſion, and intruſted Major-General *Paſteur*, a famous Partiſan, with the execution of their deſign, which he managed with great diligence and diſpatch. For, though he had fifteen or ſixteen hundred men with him, the Allies had not the leaſt notice of his march, till he was advanced farther than *Bergen-op-Zoom*, and had plundered *Tortole*, an Iſland belonging to *Zealand*,

land, with the town of that name, and ſeveral other places. Thirty ſquadrons were detached from the Confederate army, and all the garriſons were drawn out, to intercept the enemy in their retreat. But *Paſteur* took ſo well his meaſures, that he returned ſafe to *Namur* with a great booty, and ſeveral hoſtages for contributions.

The ſiege of *Queſnoy* being carried on with great vigour and ſucceſs, and the Duke of *Ormond* foreſeeing, the reduction of that place might increaſe the hopes of the Allies, and obſtruct the *Britiſh* meaſures for a general peace, ſent to acquaint Prince *Eugene*, 'That his troops ſhould continue in the army, provided he would give over the ſiege of *Queſnoy*.' But the Prince anſwered, 'That, inſtead of relinquiſhing the ſiege, he would cauſe it to be proſecuted with all imaginable vigour, and would let his Grace be eye-witneſs of another expedition, immediately after the taking of that town.' From this time all correſpondence ceaſed between the Prince and the Duke; and the Prince perceiving, that frequent expreſſes went between the Duke and the *French* army, which might prove detrimental to the Confederate cauſe, held private Conferences with the other Generals, in order to ſeparate their forces from the *Engliſh*, and inſinuated, 'That he ſhould be glad, if the *Engliſh* would march off, they being now only a burden to the *Netherlands*, ſince they had declared, they would not fight againſt *France*.' Theſe paſſages were not wholly unknown to the Duke of *Ormond*, who on the 28th of *June*, *N. S.* ſent his Adjutant with a written order to the Generals of the foreign troops in *Britiſh* pay, commanding them to hold themſelves and the forces under their command, in a readineſs to march; but, excepting Major-General *Berner*, who commanded four ſquadrons, and one battalion of the troops of *Holſtein-Gottorp*, and Major-General *Walef*, Colonel of a regiment of Dragoons of the troops of *Liege*, who had the Queen's commiſſion, all thoſe Generals unanimouſly anſwered, as they had done before, 'That they could not follow him, nor ſeparate from Prince *Eugene*, without expreſs orders from their reſpective Princes.' Among the reſt the hereditary Prince of *Heſſe-Caſtel* bid the Adjutant tell the Duke, 'That the *Heſſians* deſired nothing more than to march, provided it were to fight the *French*; and that he would wait upon the Duke the next day, to give him his reaſons for not obeying his orders at that time.'

In the mean time the ſiege of *Queſnoy* was proſecuted with ſuch ſucceſs, that on the 1ſt of *July*, *N. S.* the Confederates ſtormed and carried the counterſcarp in four places; and on the fourth Monſieur *Labadie*, the Governor, ſurrendered the place, and the garriſon priſoners of war, which conſiſted of 2,662 private men; beſides ſeveral perſons of a ſuperior rank. The Confederates put a good garriſon into the place under Major-General *Ivoy*; and all poſſible expedition was uſed to repair the breaches, and level the works.

The Earl of *Strafford*, ſoon after the prorogation of the Parliament, was again ſent over to induce the *States* to accept the offers the *French* were making, and to conſent to a ceſſation of arms. Accordingly, at his arrival at the *Hague* (1), he deſired they would name Deputies to confer with him about matters of the laſt importance, which he had to lay before them. The *States* made a ſolemn deputation from their own body, to whom the Earl of *Strafford* propoſed a ſuſpenſion of arms for two months, and the entering into the Negotiations for a peace upon the offers of *France*. After a long Conference, the Deputies returned to the Aſſembly of the *States*, and made their report. The Biſhop of *Briſtol* being alſo come to the *Hague*, ſeveral Conferences were held, in all which there were great debates about a ceſſation of arms, and the conditions, which *France* might be brought to grant to the *States*, if they would treat of a general peace. As to the ceſſation, the *Britiſh* Miniſters urged, that *Dunkirk* would be delivered up to the *Engliſh*, as a ſecurity for the performance of what the *French* had promiſed; to which it was anſwered, "That there ought "to be a ſecurity for the *States*, and other Al-"lies, as well as for the *Engliſh*;" and, to that purpoſe, mention was made of *Straſburg* to the *Germans*, and *Namur*, *Charleroy*, and *Ypres* to the *Dutch*. It was replied, that *Maubeuge* and *Condé* might be put into the hands of the *States-General*. But this was rejected, becauſe it was ſuggeſted in the other part of the debate, that the *States* ſhould ſurrender to the *French* *Doway*, *Liſle*, and *Tournay*. The *Dutch* Deputies being ſtartled at this propoſal, which, they ſaid, was more in favour of *France*, than of the Allies, the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries anſwered, They hoped *France* might be prevailed with to be contented with *Liſle* and *Doway*, as an equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and, upon that condition, to grant to the *States* the Barrier, which they demanded in 1709, and the Tariff of 1664, excepting only the following ſpecies of merchandize, which the *Dutch* ſhould not be permitted to import into *France:* Whale-oil, ſoap, ſugar, and dry fiſh; as alſo the duty of fifty ſols *per* tun, which the *French* King would not remit. The Earl of *Strafford* likewiſe inſiſted, that the *States* ſhould withdraw their forces from *Spain* and *Portugal*, and forthwith return a categorical anſwer to their propoſals. During the debate, the *States* ſent to the Miniſters of *Pruſſia* and *Hanover*, to know what they might depend upon as to the troops of their Maſters; to which they returned not only a favourable anſwer, but, at the deſire of the *States*, wrote letters to the Generals of thoſe forces, to act according as thoſe Miniſters had promiſed they ſhould. On the other hand, the Emperor's Miniſters, ſuſpecting what would be propoſed, ſignified to the *States*, that, if they agreed to a ceſſation of arms, Prince *Eugene* had orders immediately to march off with all the Emperor's forces into the Empire, and leave the *Dutch* to the mercy both of their *old* and *new* enemies. This, together with the remonſtrance of the Penſionary, the Regiſter *Fagel*, and Monſieur *Slingerland*, inclined the *States* of the province of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friſeland* to come to an unanimous reſolution on the 9th of *July*, *N. S.* 'That they were intirely

1712. July 6. N. S.

July 8.

The reſult of them.

(1) He came there in the midſt of the rejoicings for the ſurrender of *Queſnoy*, and, being told the reaſon, he ſaid, *They made a great noiſe for a paltry town.*

1712. tirely disposed to put an end to this bloody and expensive war by a good peace: That, in order to that, they were ready to listen to such proposals, as *France* should be willing to make in writing, in answer to the specific demands of the Allies: That, if the same were just and reasonable, in such a case their High Mightinesses would readily consent to a general peace; but that they would never depart from their engagements with their Allies, without whose consent they could not agree to a cessation of arms.' This resolution was so great a mortification to the *British* Ministers, that the Earl of *Strafford* said with some vehemence, 'That he would go to the army, and execute his orders.' He was prayed to defer his journey for one day, which he refused, unless Prince *Eugene* were desired to forbear hostilities. After some deliberation, he was told, an express should be sent to Prince *Eugene*, to desire, that he would undertake nothing till forty-eight hours after the Earl of *Strafford*'s arrival in the army.

Sir Thomas Hanmer's *conduct in* Flanders.

About this time a report was spread in *Holland*, that the *English* had formed a design to seize *Ostend*, which was occasioned by Sir *Thomas Hanmer*'s repairing to that town towards the end of *June*, *N. S.* his causing the depth of the harbour to be sounded; and his viewing the fortifications with the Burgomaster *Bawens*, who was supposed to be in the *British* interest. Sir *Thomas* having spent some days at *Bruges* and *Ghent*, where his presence was thought necessary to prepare matters for future designs; that Gentleman, who from this time began to appear with the title of the Queen's Minister, repaired to *Brussels*, where the Earl of *Strafford* arrived the 11th of *July*, *N. S.* From thence the Earl went the next day to the Duke of *Ormond*'s army, then incamped at *Cheateau Cambresis*, and found, it was high time to separate the *British* forces from the *Germans*, between whom there had been frequent quarrels, in which many men, and even some Officers, had been killed on both sides. The day before, a Council of war was held at Prince *Eugene*'s quarters at *Haspre*, wherein it was agreed, that the army should make a movement to attack *Landrecy*; that the Prince of *Anhalt Dessau* should command the siege of that place; and, if the *English* retired from the army, nothing should be omitted to carry on the war with the utmost vigour, in order to take winter-quarters in *Picardy*. The Earl of *Strafford*, foreseeing what a martial answer he must expect, in case he should propose a cessation of arms, continued at the Duke of *Ormond*'s quarters, where he conferred with none of the Commanders of the auxiliary troops, except the General of the *Hanoverians*, who was instructed to declare, that his Master, as an Elector of the Empire, was obliged to follow the resolutions of the head and members of that great body. Whether the Earl of *Strafford* expected the first visit from Prince *Eugene* and the *States* Deputies is uncertain; but, if he did, he was disappointed; and, having notified to them his arrival in the Duke of *Ormond*'s camp no sooner than the 14th of *July*, the Prince and the Deputies contented themselves with returning him a compliment upon it.

The Earl of Strafford *goes to the army.*

The news of the auxiliaries refusing to obey the Duke of Ormond *variously received in* England.

The news of the *British* Auxiliaries refusing to march with the Duke of *Ormond* was variously entertained in *England*, according to the different inclinations and views of the several parties. Those, who had either opposed or disapproved the late measures, could not but rejoice at it; openly declaring their hopes, that the Confederates would carry on the war without *England*; others spreading reports of the Duke of *Ormond*'s having been threatened by some *German* Generals; and others again whispering about their secret wishes, under the notion of apprehensions of a design formed by those Generals to confine the Duke for their arrears, and even to disarm the *British* troops, lest they should join the *French* army. Whether such a thought was entertained by any of those Commanders, is very difficult to determine; but it is certain no such thing was ever proposed to the *States-Deputies*; and it is more than probable, that, if it had, it would have been rejected with indignation. However, it is observable, that the friends of the new Ministry were apt enough to suspect such a design, and very industrious in infusing the belief of it, in order to render the Allies still more odious to the people.

However this be, the Duke of *Ormond* found himself in a very uneasy posture. Upon a supposition, that *Villars* would send him a satisfactory answer, and the foreign troops persist in their refusal to obey his orders, he designed to march with all the *English* troops, and the artillery, to *Dunkirk*, where he thought they would be most secure, and would have the sea open, in case the Queen should think fit to recall them. But on the 27th of *June* he received a letter from *Villars* which imported, 'That the King (of *France*) might very well be astonished, that, in case of a cessation, the Generals of the auxiliary troops should make any difficulty to separate from Prince *Eugene*; and that it was surprising, the *Dutch* should have more power over men, whom they did not pay, to make them hazard their lives, than the Queen, who had paid them these dozen years, should have to persuade them not to expose themselves to any danger.' The Duke received also the copy of a letter from the Marquis *de Torcy* to Mr. *St. John*, wherein the Marquis urged, 'That in the articles agreed on it was expressed, the cessation should be between the armies which were at present in the *Netherlands*: That it was upon this view of a general cessation, so important a place as *Dunkirk* was to be delivered up: That the chief motive, which made *England* and *France* agree to a cessation, was, that nothing might happen between the armies to interrupt the measures, which were taken for a peace. That, to effect this, nothing but a general cessation would be sufficient; and, if the enemies of peace had still the liberty, the means, and the power of acting left them, the condition, upon which the King was to surrender *Dunkirk* to the Queen, would not be complied with on her part: That the King always thought, the Queen was intire mistress of the troops, which composed her army; and that they had all orders to follow the Duke of *Ormond*'s directions; and therefore upon a cessation were to forbear action, as well as the *English*. That in case the *English* alone left the army, Prince *Eugene*, finding himself the sole General at the head of great numbers of men, would hazard any thing to come to an action, and would not at all scruple to sacrifice troops, which his Master did not pay, and which were to be under the Prince's command only during the remainder of the campaign. There-

1712. Therefore, ſince theſe propoſals for a ceſſation neither anſwer the meaſures, which the Queen had hitherto taken for a peace, nor agreed to the articles, which had been concerted between her Majeſty and the King upon that ſubject, the King was perſuaded, that the Queen would give the Duke of *Ormond* full inſtructions to ſeparate the whole intire army, which was in her pay, and actually under the Duke's command, from that of Prince *Eugene:* And, when this was done, the King would be ready to deliver up *Dunkirk*, as it had been agreed upon in the articles for the ceſſation.' This letter gave the Duke good reaſon to hope, that the Queen would approve of his deferring to ſeparate her troops, and to march towards *Dunkirk*, till he had ſufficient aſſurance, that the place would be delivered up to him; whereas now the contrary appeared ſo evidently, that he ſhould have thought himſelf immediately at liberty to act in conjunction with the Allies, would he have taken upon himſelf to make a ſtep of that conſequence, without the Queen's particular orders; but theſe he had further room to expect, ſince the Allies were now engaged in the ſiege of *Queſnoy*, and in no condition therefore at preſent of attacking the enemy. And the Duke was the leſs uneaſy under this delay, being ſenſible, that *England* had not been able, on her part, to make good the condition of a *general ceſſation*, upon which the immediate delivery of *Dunkirk* was promiſed. *Villars*, in his letter, had invited the Duke to an interview, which the Duke (being no way impowered to agree to it) declined, and excuſed himſelf in a letter to the Marſhal. While he was diſpatching an expreſs with an account of all theſe proceedings, a Meſſenger brought him a letter of the 14th of *June* from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, which gave the Duke an account, 'That the Courier returned from *France* the night before, and that her Majeſty's demands were complied with to her ſatisfaction. If therefore his Grace had any difficulties, as ſeveral were foreſeen, which might ariſe in taking poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, he might keep his army intire, and the meaſures were ready in *England* for ſending over troops ſufficient for that ſervice. That nothing could be more dreadful to the *Dutch* than this town in *Engliſh* hands. That he was therefore to conſider the temper they were in; and, if he were likely to have the leaſt diſturbance given him on this account, he was to keep the ſecret, ſend his accounts to the Queen, and, in the mean time, the troops ſhould be ready to enter the place from *England*; where means would be found of concerting things ſo, that the declaration for a ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be exactly timed with the evácuation of *Dunkirk*. If he had taken poſſeſſion, well; if not, they could be able to do it from thence; and perhaps, in the preſent ferment, he had better lie ſtill, and let *Dunkirk* be poſſeſſed firſt, and the clamour happen afterwards.' On the 5th of *July* came another letter, of *June* 20, from the Secretary, informing the Duke, 'That the Queen had ordered Lord *Straſford* to make all poſſible haſte to the army, with inſtructions, which were neceſſary in this critical conjuncture: That the foreign Miniſters had been told, that the Queen would look upon herſelf as acquitted from all obligations of arrears or ſubſidies to that Prince, whoſe troops ſhould refuſe to obey her General's orders without heſitation: That his Grace ſhould declare as much to thoſe, who commanded them, and require a poſitive anſwer from them: That, till Lord *Straſford* came, the beſt uſe, his Grace could make of the intermediate time, would be to continue vigilantly on his guard, and to ſpeak in the plaineſt and moſt reſolute manner to them.' In this letter was incloſed the copy of one from the Secretary to the Marquiſs *de Torcy* of the ſame date, the ſubject of which was, 'That the Queen, having received an account of what had paſſed, both from the Duke of *Ormond* and from *France*, commanded him to acquaint the Marquiſs, how great a diſſatisfaction it was to her to ſee, that the enemies of peace had again found out means to retard its concluſion, by expoſing the methods, by which it was to be gained, to new difficulties and dangers. But as ſhe had taken a firm and immoveable reſolution, not to give the leaſt way to thoſe obſtructions, and to continue her utmoſt endeavours, in concert with the King, towards eſtabliſhing a general peace; ſo ſhe did not doubt, but ſhe ſhould be able to defeat the laſt efforts of thoſe, who either ſought their own intereſt, or gratified their private reſentments, in prolonging the miſeries of war. That he, in the Queen's name, had declared to the Miniſters of thoſe Princes, who had troops in her pay, that, in this juncture, ſhe would look upon the conduct of the foreign Generals, as a declaration of their Maſters for or againſt her, ſince they muſt either follow the plan, which ſhe had laid for obtaining a peace, or that, which the Emperor and the *States* had formed for the breaking it off. That the Queen could not but perſuade herſelf, that thoſe Generals, after a little reflection, would obey the Duke of *Ormond*'s orders without the leaſt heſitation; but, if they did not, ſhe would pay thoſe troops no longer. That thoſe Miniſters had writ to their Generals by this Courier; and the Duke of *Ormond* would receive orders, not only to make the ſame declarations, but to put them immediately in execution, if they refuſed. That the Queen thought this method could not fail of ſucceeding; but, in caſe any of the foreign troops perſiſted in their deſign of ſtaying with Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Ormond* ſhould retire with the *Engliſh* forces, and all the Foreigners, who would march with him (which to be ſure would be the greateſt part of them) and declare, that her Majeſty would no longer act againſt *France*, nor pay thoſe, that did. That ſhe, who had hitherto obſerved meaſures with her Allies, being forced by them to ſuch an extremity as this, thought herſelf juſtified before God and man, and at liberty to carry on the Negotiation at *Utrecht*, or elſewhere, without regarding, whether they concurred with her or no. So that, if the King would ſurrender the town and forts of *Dunkirk* into the Queen's hands, tho' all the foreign troops, or ſome of them, ſhould refuſe to obey the Duke of *Ormond*, ſhe would no longer make any ſcruple of concluding her particular peace, and would ſet a time for the others to come in upon thoſe conditions, which ſhould be agreed upon between her and *France*. That the peace was now in the King's breaſt. If all the army of the Duke of *Ormond* ſhould agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, the firſt project, which was concerted between them, had its effect: If they did not, the Duke would withdraw with the 1712.

1712. the *Engliſh* from the Allies, and the foreign troops would be left to take ſervice with the *Dutch*, who were ſo far from being able to furniſh this new expence, that they were not in a condition to ſupport the charges they were already at. In ſhort, that *England* would retire from the theatre of war, and, ſince there would be but a few powers left in a capacity to make head againſt *France*, the peace might be concluded between thoſe two Kingdoms in a few weeks. Theſe were the propoſals her Majeſty made; and ſhe believed the King would find his account in them, as well upon the latter as the former plan; and that, beſides, he would think it for both their intereſts, to make immediately a general ceſſation, as well by ſea as by land, between the two crowns. That every moment of time was precious in ſuch a juncture; and that therefore the Marquiſs is deſired to diſpatch a Courier to the Duke at the ſame time he ſent to *England*. If the Duke had notice, that the King had given orders to the Officer, who commanded in *Dunkirk*, for the ſurrender of it, he would immediately execute what the Secretary had propoſed; and in that caſe her Majeſty would ſend ſome regiments from *England* to take poſſeſſion of that place, which would be a way leſs liable to accidents, than making a detachment from the Duke's army, as was at firſt deſigned. The letter concludes, that the Queen had reſolved to ſend the Earl of *Strafford* directly to the army.' In the poſtſcript of the Secretary's letter, wherein this to the Marquis *de Torcy* was incloſed, he writes thus: 'I need not caution your Grace, that the incloſed for Monſieur *de Torcy* is fit to fall under the eye of no perſon whatſoever but your Grace.' And he orders the Duke to give *Villars* an account of the endeavours, which the Queen had uſed to ſubdue the obſtinacy of thoſe, who refuſed to obey, and of his expectations to hear from him in an expreſs ſent to *France*; and a ſecond time, according to what was ſaid to the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, the Duke is ordered, 'That, if he received an account from the Court of *France*, that her Majeſty's laſt propoſals are agreed to, and orders diſpatched for the ſurrender of *Dunkirk*, without any more ado to declare the ſuſpenſion of arms between *Great-Britain* and *France*, and to keep the whole body, which ſhall obey his orders, intire, and to withdraw in the beſt manner his circumſtances will allow.'

Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

Ibid.

This offer was no ſooner received in *France*, but without the loſs of one moment's time it was accepted and conſented to, as *Torcy* acquainted Mr. *St. John* in a letter of the 5th of *July*, *N. S.* wherein he mentioned very particularly all the reaſons and engagements, which had been ſo plainly and explicitly propoſed; and upon condition, that the Queen immediately made a ſeparate peace, kept no meaſures with her Allies, but only left them a time to ſubmit to the conditions, which ſhould be agreed upon for them between *France* and *England*, the King of *France* had determined to ſend his orders to permit the *Engliſh* troops to enter into *Dunkirk*. And at the ſame time a Courier was diſpatched to *Villars* to carry him theſe orders. And as a general ceſſation from all Hoſtilities both by land and ſea between the two Nations had been propoſed by *England*, till their treaties could be finiſhed, the King of *France* with the ſame readineſs conſented to that.

Hereupon Sir *John Leake* ſet out for *Deal* to take upon him the command of the fleet in the *Downs*; and to provide tranſports for the troops, that were appointed to take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, under the command of Brigadier *Hill*, brother to the Lady *Maſham*; namely, a battalion of *Scots* guards, about a thouſand men detached from ſeveral regiments of Marines, and the regiments of *Hill*, *Deſaulny*, and *Kane*. At the ſame time Sir *James Abercrombie*, a creature of Duke *Hamilton*, and Colonel *King*, were ſent to *Dunkirk*, to regulate matters with Count *d'Aumont*, the *French* Governor, who on the 7th of *July*, *N. S.* cauſed a royal order to be publiſhed there, by which the *French* troops in that town, and in the citadel, *Riſbank*, and other forts, were injoined to be in a readineſs to march out on the appearance of the *Engliſh*. The day the Earl of *Strafford* arrived in the Duke of *Ormond*'s camp, the Duke received advice from *Dunkirk*, that Sir *James Abercrombie* and Colonel *King* were come thither from *England*, whereupon he immediately ſent Colonel *Lloyd*, who returned the 15th of *July*, *N. S.* in the evening with an account, that Count *d'Aumont* had received the *French* King's orders to reſign the town and forts as ſoon as the *Engliſh* came to demand poſſeſſion. Brigadier *Hill* having imbarked, Sir *John Leake*, with the ſquadron under his command, ſailed early the next morning, and at two in the afternoon came to anchor off *Dunkirk*. The next day the troops were landed, and the keys of the town were delivered to Brigadier *Hill*, who took poſſeſſion, and the *French* garriſon marched to *Winoxberg*. Immediately upon this the Queen's colours were hoiſted in three ſeveral places of the town; though not only the civil government was continued in the hands of the *French*, and ſeveral of their ſhips and gallies permitted to ſtay in the harbour, with two or three battalions of Marines in the town, on pretence of guarding the ſtores; but the privateers of that place were indulged the liberty of going in and out, provided they brought no *Engliſh* prizes into the port.

1712. June 25. O. S.

July 6. O. S.

Dunkirk delivered up.

On the 14th of *July*, *N. S.* Prince *Eugene* ſent the Duke of *Ormond* word, that he intended to march on the 16th. The next morning the Duke ſent to let the Prince know, he was ſurprized at his meſſage, there having not been the leaſt previous concert with him, nor any mention made, which way, or on what deſign he was to march; and therefore he could not reſolve to march with him; much leſs could the Prince expect any aſſiſtance from the Queen's army, in any deſign thus undertaken. That he thought fit to acquaint him of this beforehand, that he might take his meaſures accordingly, and not attribute to him any misfortune, which might happen. The Duke likewiſe let him know, that, when he marched, he himſelf ſhould be obliged to take the beſt care he could for the ſecurity of the Queen's troops, and, in order to that, to change his camp. The ſame day, Marſhal *Villars* giving the Duke of *Ormond* an account, that he had ſent by Colonel *Lloyd* orders for the delivery of *Dunkirk*, ſays: 'Permit me, Sir, to have the honour to tell you, though it be very advantageous not to be obliged to engage the braveſt and boldeſt of our enemies, yet it is very important to know thoſe, that remain ſo; and I take the liberty to deſire you would do me the honour to ſend me word what Troops and

Cond. of the D. of Ormond. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

Prince Eugene marches with the British Auxiliaries.

1712. and what Generals will obey your orders, becauſe, the firſt attempt the enemy makes, I will not loſe one moment to meet them. The King gives me a liberty to fight, which nothing but the Negotiations have hitherto prevented, and which the army under my command has a great deſire to make uſe of. I think the work is finiſhed, if the army, which is under your orders, obeys them. This then, Sir, is no indiſcreet curioſity, that I preſume to deſire you to give me ſome lights upon the doubts, which I am in. I ſhall be very much obliged to you, Sir, if, by the return of this Trumpet, you will honour me with one word of anſwer upon the lights, which I have deſired of you. You will give me leave to join to this packet a letter for my Lord *Strafford*.' On the 15th of *July*, the Duke, in anſwer to this letter, wrote: 'I ſhould be glad I were at preſent in a capacity to give you all the inſight you deſire; but it is impoſſible for me. Notwithſtanding, I was unwilling to delay ſending back the Trumpet, to let you know I am well aſſured, I ſhall be capable of telling you to-morrow particularly what troops will remain under my command. As to the ſuſpenſion of arms, you already know, Sir, that according to my orders I cannot declare it in form, till I am aſſured the Governor of *Dunkirk* ſhall have executed all the King's orders for the evacuation of the place. In the mean time, you will agree with me, Sir, that the ſuſpenſion has already its effects on my ſide, ſince I have juſt now informed Prince *Eugene* and the *States* Deputies, that, in caſe they ſhould undertake any new operation, I could not give them any aſſiſtance from the Queen's army.'

Prince Eugene marches with the British Auxiliaries.

On the 16th of *July*, *N. S.* Prince *Eugene* broke up from his camp at *Haſpre*, and marched off with the troops under his command; being followed by all the *Danes*, *Pruſſians*, *Saxons*, *Hanoverians*, and other auxiliaries in *Britiſh* pay, except four ſquadrons of *Vander Nath*, and a battalion of *Berner*, of the troops of *Holſtein Gottorp*, and Baron *Walef*'s regiment of dragoons. He incamped at *Atre* near *Landrecy*; which place the Prince of *Anhault-Deſſau* inveſted the next day, with thirty-four battalions, and as many ſquadrons; whereupon the Duke of *Ormond* decamped the ſame morning from *Chateau-Cambreſis*, and came to *Aveſne le Secq*. The day before, he wrote to the Marſhal *Villars*: 'Your Trumpet juſt now put into my hands the honour of your letter of the 15th, and I am now to acquit myſelf of the promiſe I made you yeſterday. Prince *Eugene* is marched this morning, and all the foreign troops have quitted us, except one battalion and four ſquadrons of *Holſtein*, and two ſquadrons of *Walef*. Things having paſſed, as I have the honour to tell you, I thought myſelf obliged to acquaint you of it as ſoon as poſſible; and, as I obſerved to you yeſterday, the ſuſpenſion of arms has already its effect on my part, by the ſeparation I have made of the Queen's troops, and all her artillery, from thoſe of Prince *Eugene*, and by my declaring to him, I could give him no aſſiſtance; and that the payment of the foreign troops is ſtopped; and that by conſequence there is fallen upon the Emperor and *Holland* a burthen, they will not be long able to ſupport. I truſt, Sir, to your good faith, and ſhall, to-morrow, make a movement to put myſelf in another ſituation; and, I hope, I ſhall have news from *Dunkirk*, that will authorize me to declare the ſuſpenſion of arms.' On the ſame day, *Villars* acquainted the Duke, that the Governor of *Dunkirk* was making the neceſſary preparations to evacuate that place; and told him, 'For my part, Sir, as I already reckon you for our Ally, I am not at all in haſte to have you further off. You are at your own liberty to come near us, and incamp on the King's territories, wherever you ſhall think proper.' Upon this the Duke, the next day, ordered a ceſſation of arms for two months to be proclaimed by ſound of trumpet. 1712. July 17.

Had the firſt deſign taken effect, which was depended upon by *France*, and ſo far preſumed by *England*, as to be undertaken for, that all the foreigners in the Queen's pay, that compoſed the Duke of *Ormond*'s army, ſhould ſeparate and withdraw from the reſt of the Allies, it is notorious, that from that inſtant Prince *Eugene*'s whole army, unleſs they ſubmitted to the ſame meaſures, had been left at the mercy of the *French* army to be cut in pieces, or made priſoners at the will of Marſhal *Villars*, which had left the Queen's troops in no better a condition than to have the privilege of being laſt deſtroyed. Yet all the Allies, whoſe honour and conſcience would not permit them to abandon their Confederates, and leave them as a ſacrifice to *France*, were puniſhed by *England* with the loſs of their pay and ſubſidies, which was all that was in the power of the Miniſtry to do, to ſhew their reſentment at this great diſappointment of the meaſures of *France*.

This march of Prince *Eugene*, the Earl of *Strafford*, in a letter to Mr. *St. John*, thought might be turned upon them; and he prevailed with the Duke of *Ormond* in a meſſage to Prince *Eugene* to ſay, 'that his marching without us, and all the Queen's Auxiliaries marching from us, expoſed us ſo, that we have been obliged to ſend to the *French* to declare with us a ceſſation of arms: Nothing leſs could put the Queen's troops in ſafety. *For though*, ſays the Earl, *Matters fell out ſo pat, that without this we muſt have declared for the ceſſation, yet why ſhould we not turn all this matter upon them?*'

Remarks on the ceſſation of arms. Rep. of the Com. of Sec.

Upon a thorough conſideration of this fatal ceſſation, it is very evident, that it was of infinite advantage, and abſolutely neceſſary to the affairs of *France*; and therefore inſiſted upon by them. And it is as certain, that the *Engliſh* Miniſtry gave early into it, if they were not the firſt adviſers of it; for which no other account need be required, but that, as all their meaſures tended to advance the intereſt of the Queen's enemies, they could not fail to be zealous in a point, which contributed more to thoſe views than any one occurrence during the whole Negotiation; but, as they all along wanted appearances, and conſulted them more than any real advantages to the Kingdom, they thought it neceſſary to annex ſome conditions to this important article, that might paſs upon the deluded people, as a juſtification of this unprecedented treachery. The demolition of *Dunkirk* was always ſo popular a point, that nothing could ſtrike the imaginations of the people more, than to be told, that this important place was delivered into the Queen's poſſeſſion. This ſtep, they thought, well improved, would recommend the peace itſelf, at leaſt juſtify the ceſſation. And as the Nation had nothing more at heart than the diſpoſition of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, after the re-

1712. nunciation had been induſtriouſly cried up, and the Queen had declared from the Throne, that *France* and *Spain* were thereby more effectually divided than ever, theſe two articles were made the eſſential conditions of granting a ceſſation of arms. For the renunciation, *France* eaſily conſented to it, having declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of *France*. For the other article, it is evident how unwillingly *France* was brought to ſurrender *Dunkirk*; but this the Miniſtry were reſolved to purchaſe at any rate, as what would eaſily amuſe and ſenſibly affect the Nation; and therefore, to obtain this, they engaged not only to grant a ceſſation of arms, but to conclude a ſeparate peace. The proſpect of concluding a ſeparate peace, and the obtaining immediately a ceſſation of arms, which anſwered all the purpoſes of *France* almoſt as well as a ſeparate peace, by leaving the whole Confederacy in their power, and, at their mercy, were ſo great temptations to *France*, that the ſurrender of *Dunkirk* was agreed to. But, when it is conſidered what *England* gained by granting this fatal ceſſation, it will be found, that the demolition of *Dunkirk* has by no means anſwered the purpoſes pretended by it; and, for the renunciation, the *Engliſh* Miniſtry were told by *France*, that they ſhould deceive themſelves, who received it as a ſufficient expedient to prevent the union of the two Monarchies (1).

In the evening of the ſame day, the Duke of *Ormond* had declared the ſuſpenſion of arms, *Villars* ſent him word, he had likewiſe that day declared the ſame, purſuant to their agreement. On the 18th of *July*, *N. S.* the *Britiſh* forces marched from *Aveſne le Secq* to *Flines*, being joined in the way by two battalions and two ſquadrons of *Great-Britain*, which made part of the ſeparate body poſted at *Denain* under the command of the Earl of *Albemarle*. Before the ſeparation of the Confederate forces, the Deputies of the *States* ſaid openly, 'That they hoped the Duke of *Ormond* did not intend to march through any of their towns. But, notwithſtanding this declaration, the Earl of *Strafford* and ſome *Engliſh* Officers having that day offered to paſs through *Bouchain*, they were refuſed entrance at the gates, and told by the guards, 'That poſitive orders was given to let no *Engliſhman* into the town.' The Officers, not being ſatisfied, ſent to the Commandant himſelf, who returned the ſame anſwer. When the *Britiſh* army came near *Doway*, they met with the like treatment from the Commandant of that place, which was the more ſurprizing, becauſe the *Britiſh* forces had their hoſpital and great quantities of ſtores in that town. The Duke of *Ormond*, the better to provide for the ſecurity and ſubſiſtance of the troops, that were with him, as well as for thoſe in the town and citadel of *Ghent*, where part of his artillery and ammunition was kept, made the diſpoſition for marching towards that place. Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the *States* were ſo alarmed at the Duke's intention of going towards *Ghent*, that on the ſame day they ſent Count *Naſſau Woudenbourg* to the Duke with a memorial, but not ſigned, 'to repreſent to him, that, after the excuſes made by the Lord *Albemarle* the day before at *Bouchain*, they were extremely diſſatisfied to hear by public report, that the Commandant of *Doway* had likewiſe refuſed to admit ſome of the *Engliſh* Officers, and to let out the undertakers for the Queen's magazines. That they were very much mortified at the extraordinary conduct of thoſe two Commandants, and aſſured his Grace, they had abſolutely no orders for ſo doing, directly or indirectly; and that they not only diſavowed their proceedings, but would give them ſuch a reprimand, as they deſerved.' But this memorial made no impreſſion on the Duke, who was perſuaded, that the Commandants had expreſs orders for what they had done; and that thoſe orders were general, ſince, after the preſenting of the memorial, the ſame difficulties happened at *Tournay*, *Oudenard*, and *Liſle*, as had at *Bouchain* and *Doway*. But the deſign of thoſe orders ſeems to have been, that the *Britiſh* Officers ſhould be permitted to paſs through the frontier towns, but that the troops ſhould not be ſuffered to poſſeſs themſelves of them. The next day, the Duke purſued his march to *Fleurival* near *Tournay*; and on the 26th received a letter from Mr. *St. John*, now created Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, acquainting him, 'That, for many reaſons, the Queen thought it moſt adviſeable, that he ſhould march to *Dunkirk*, unleſs ſome objection, unforeſeen in *England*, might ariſe: That his Grace ſhould withdraw the Queen's forces and ſtores, that were in *Ghent*; and concert every thing with *Villars*, and promiſe him full ſatisfaction for whatever the Queen's forces ſhould take of the ſubjects of *France*.' The report was then current *, that, before the Duke of *Ormond* declared the ceſſation of arms, the Earl of *Strafford* went *incognito* to the *French* camp, to concert meaſures with Marſhal *Villars*; and that, amongſt other things, it was agreed, that the *Britiſh* troops ſhould make themſelves maſters of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, whereby they ſhould have the command of the Navigation of the *Lys* and *Scheld*, and be able to put an effectual ſtop to any further progreſs of the Confederate army under Prince *Eugene*, in caſe the *French* Generals found it impracticable to relieve *Landrecy*. That this was the deſign of the Duke of *Ormond*

The Britiſh *troops not ſuffered to paſs through* Bouchain *and* Doway.

Cond. of the D. of *Ormond.*

1712.

* See the Flying Poſt of July 15, 1712.

(1) *Burnet* obſerves on this occaſion: The withdrawing the *Engliſh* forces in this manner, from the Confederate army, was cenſured, not only as a manifeſt breach of faith and of treaties, but as treacherous in the higheſt and baſeſt degree. The Duke of *Ormond* had given the *States* ſuch aſſurances, of his going along with them through the whole campaign, that he was let into the ſecrets of all their Counſels, which by that confidence were all known to the *French*: And, if the auxiliary *German* troops had not been prepared to diſobey his orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the *French* army, would have forced the *States* to come into the new meaſures. But that was happily prevented; yet all this conduct of our General was applauded at home as great, juſt, and wiſe; and our people were led to think it a kind of triumph, upon *Dunkirk*'s being put into our hands; not conſidering, that we had more truly put ourſelves into the hands of the *French*, by this open breach of faith; after which, the Confederates could no longer truſt or depend on us. Nor was this only the act of the Court and Miniſtry, but it became the act of the Nation, which by a general voice did not only approve of it, but applaud it. *Burnet*, Vol. II. 610.

2. *mond* in bending his march towards *Ghent*, is highly probable; but, whether or no the ſame was concerted by the Earl of *Strafford* and Marſhal *Villars*, it is certain, that the Earl ſuggeſted that counſel to the Duke of *Ormond*; nor is it leſs certain, that the *States-General* were extremely alarmed at it.

On the 21ſt of *July*, *N. S.* the Earl of *Strafford*, accompanied by General *Cadogan*, having paſſed through *Tournay* and *Liſle* (at both which places he was received with great demonſtrations of reſpect) joined the *Britiſh* forces at their camp at *Fleurival*. The next day in the afternoon, the *Britiſh* troops moved to *Petteghem* near *Oudenard*, and deſired paſſage through that town; but the Commandant, having no orders about it, thought fit to keep the gates ſhut, which occaſioned bitter reflections againſt the *Dutch*; but their precaution proceeded from an apprehenſion, that, if the *Engliſh* were poſſeſſed of any of their ſtrong towns, they ſhould be compelled to ſubmit to the ſcheme of peace concerted between *Great-Britain* and *France*. On the 23d in the evening, the Duke of *Ormond*'s army purſued their march to *Ghent*, of which he took poſſeſſion as he did alſo of *Bruges*. This done, he detached ſix battalions to reinforce the garriſon of *Dunkirk*, and ſent thither a train of artillery, with ſome ammunition; the *French* having drawn off moſt of their cannon from the ramparts of that place; which, together with the force they had ſtill in it, rendered our poſſeſſion for ſome time precarious (1).

It was not long before the Allies felt the fatal effects of their being abandoned by the *Britiſh* forces. *Villars* having received orders to raiſe the ſiege of *Landrecy* at any rate, and his army being reinforced with part of the garriſons of ſeveral places, he reſolved to attack the ſmall body of the Confederate troops incamped at *Denain*, which kept an open communication between Prince *Eugene*'s army and the village of *Marchiennes*, through which all their artillery, ammunition, and proviſions, muſt neceſſarily paſs; rightly judging, that, if he could poſſeſs himſelf of theſe ſtores, the Allies would not be in a condition to carry on their ſiege. To execute this deſign, he paſſed the *Scheld*, and, incamping on the *Selle* towards *Chateau-Cambreſis*, ordered one thouſand five hundred men to widen and level the roads towards the *Sambre*, and to lay bridges over that river. Upon theſe motions, Prince *Eugene* cauſed a great intrenchment to be made before his left, and poſted behind it General *Fagel* with forty battalions, and cauſed his right to move up nearer about three leagues, that he might be in a condition to maintain the ſiege with all his forces. Mean while *Villars* cauſed the Count *de Broglio* to advance along the *Selle* with forty ſquadrons, cauſing all the paſſages of that river to be guarded, to the end that none of the parties of the Allies might paſs over it, to obſerve the motions of the *French* army. At the ſame time he ordered the Marquiſs *de Vieuxpont* to march with thirty battalions of the left, ſome artillery and pontons, and lay bridges at *Neufville* over the *Scheld*, between *Bouchain* and *Denain*. He cauſed him to be 1712.

(1) That the taking poſſeſſion of *Ghent* and *Bruges* was not only the deſire of *Torcy*, but was alſo ſupported by the advice of the Earl of *Strafford*, appears by the Earl's letter of *July* 17, to Mr. *St. John*, where he ſays: 'I am for having the Duke of *Ormond* ſend ſome party on purpoſe to march through ſome of their towns, to ſee whether or no they would refuſe them paſſage. If they did, that might authorize us the more to do a thing very agreeable to the Queen's troops, and what I believe you would approve of.' And, that there might be no doubt of his meaning in what he had adviſed, in another letter of the 21ſt of *July* he tells Mr. *St. John*, 'The meaſure, I mentioned would not be diſagreeable to you, was, that of marching to *Ghent*, which we have now ſo well executed, that we are within two days march of it, and the *Engliſh* are intire maſters of the Citadel, as likewiſe of all the gates of the town. This is a *Coup de parti* for the *States*, who did not expect it, elſe they could not have behaved themſelves with the *hauteur* they lately did. The thing was ſo well and ſecretly managed, that all preparations were made to march about to *Warneton*, between *Liſle* and *Ypres*, to have lived upon the *French* country; and, till we marched a day's march on this ſide the *Scarpe*, the *Dutch* and their friends did not perceive our deſign, which, as ſoon as they did, their ſurprize and uneaſineſs were equally great.' *Rep. of the Com. of Secr.*

How agreeable to the Queen and her Miniſters the Duke of *Ormond*'s conduct was, is plain from Mr. *St. John*'s letter to him, acquainting him: 'That, though the orders, he tranſmitted to his Grace in his laſt, did appear to her Majeſty, at that time, to be the moſt proper, the methods he had purſued were ſo rightly judged, and ſo well adapted to the preſent conjuncture of affairs, that they anſwered, in every point, what ſhe would have wiſhed. That ſhe was unwilling to reſtrain his Grace, by particular and poſitive inſtructions, who made uſe of the diſcretionary power given him, ſo much to her honour, and the good of her ſubjects. That the news, of *Dunkirk*'s being in our hands, could not have been followed by any more agreeable, than that of his Grace's having directed his march towards *Ghent:* For as, by the poſſeſſion of the former place, we ſhould treat with the *French* under great advantage; ſo, by the ſteps which he had taken for ſecuring the latter, the *Dutch* and Imperialiſts would be brought to a more decent way of behaviour to the Queen, than they had hitherto been in. That her Majeſty recommended to his Grace the ſecuring to himſelf the poſſeſſion of *Ghent*, as long as might be thought neceſſary; as alſo the reinforcing the garriſon of *Dunkirk*, and the furniſhing that place with what ſtores he might ſpare, and the garriſon want.' *Cond. of the D. of* Ormond.

The Lord-Treaſurer alſo complimented the Duke of *Ormond* in a very uncommon ſtrain:

My Lord, *Aug.* 5, 1712.

'No pen, nor tongue, is able to expreſs the great pleaſure I took in your Grace's ſucceſſes. It was a very great ſatisfaction to ſee ſo much done for the public; to ſee ſuch an example of ſteady conduct, in ſo great a Nobleman, and ſo courageous a heart, is what has made you envied by ſome, dreaded by your enemies, and applauded by all men of knowledge and underſtanding. Your Grace's march to *Ghent*, &c. is a *Coup de Maitre*; it is owned to be ſo in *France* and *Holland:* And I muſt own, I take a double pleaſure in it, becauſe it is done by the Duke of *Ormond*, to whoſe perſon I have ſo intire a friendſhip, and in whoſe ſucceſs I take ſo particular an intereſt. Monſieur *Torcy* wrote a very juſt compliment on the affair of *Denain*, *That the Allies might now ſee, what they had loſt by her Majeſty's withdrawing her forces, and what value they ought to put upon a Nation, which every where led victory with it.* I am, with the utmoſt reſpect and attachment, *&c.*'

OXFORD.

1712. be followed by Count *Albergotti* with twenty other battalions, and by all the army, in four columns, and a fifth of artillery, having ſome days before ſent the heavy baggage to *St. Quintin*. Notwithſtanding the Marquiſs *de Vieuxpont* made all poſſible expedition, he could not reach *Neufville* till the 24th of *July*, at eight in the morning, where he immediately cauſed bridges to be laid over the *Scheld*. *Broglio* arrived about nine with his forty ſquadrons; as did likewiſe *Villars*, who ordered him to paſs over before the infantry, which he did with great difficulty, by reaſon of a moraſs, which was beyond the bridge, which the horſe and dragoons were forced to march through four a-breaſt.

The precautions, which *Villars* had uſed, to conceal his true deſign, and his march from the Confederates, ſucceeded ſo well, that Prince *Eugene* had no intelligence of either till the 24th, at ſeven in the morning; when being informed, that the enemy laid bridges over the *Scheld*, he haſtened to the camp at *Denain*, after having given orders to the troops, which he had drawn to ſome diſtance from it, to follow him. The Prince viewed the camp and intrenchments at *Denain*; gave the Earl of *Albemarle* ſuch directions, as he thought neceſſary for the defence of that important poſt; reinforced the eleven battalions, that were there, with ſix more from the army; and judging, that fourteen ſquadrons, which were alſo in the intrenchments, would be uſeleſs, he cauſed them to retire with the baggage. After which he went away himſelf, to haſten the march of his troops, in order to attempt the ſuccour of the Earl of *Albemarle*, or at leaſt to ſave part of the infantry. The Prince was ſcarce got out of the lines, when *Broglio* attacked thoſe between *Neufville* and *Denain*; and, finding them weakly guarded, he forced them almoſt without any reſiſtance; four battalions of *Palatines*, and other *German* Auxiliaries, who were poſted there, throwing down their arms upon the firſt diſcharge. He found within theſe lines five hundred waggons loaden with bread for the Confederate army, guarded by five hundred horſe, and the ſame number of foot, who were ſurrounded, and moſt of them either killed or taken. Upon the firſt appearance of the enemy on that ſide, the Earl of *Albemarle* advanced with part of his forces to defend the convoy, and ſuſtain the four battalions; but finding, they had cowardly left that poſt, and a great body of the *French* infantry were advancing, he returned into his camp, the approach of which was defended by twelve pieces of cannon. The *French* infantry having paſſed the *Scheld*, and the lines, which *Broglio* had gained, *Villars* made the diſpoſitions for the attack with thirty-ſix battalions, in three columns, diſtant two hundred paces from each other, with a reſerve of ſix battalions, marching in a ſecond line, and the cavalry behind to ſupport them. *Villars* put himſelf at the right of the infantry, as did the Marſhal *de Monteſquiou* and *Albergotti* at the left. The ſignal being given, the whole line advanced, and marched ſeven or eight hundred paces, towards the intrenchment, without firing once. When they were come within half a muſket-ſhot, the troops of the Allies, who lined the rampart, made a diſcharge of their cannon loaded with cartridge ſhot, and three diſcharges of their muſkets, without diſordering any one battalion. The enemy coming up within fifty paces of the intrenchment, the piquets and grenadiers leaped into the ditch, followed by the battalions, and, after a long reſiſtance, they entered the camp, cutting down all, who made head againſt them. The reſt retired into the village and the abbey, where they were forced and purſued ſo cloſe, that intire battalions threw themſelves into the *Scheld*; ſo that of thoſe ſeventeen battalions hardly three thouſand men eſcaped, all the reſt being killed, taken, or drowned. The action was ſcarce over, when *Albergotti* and the Marquiſs *de Nangis* marched and poſſeſſed themſelves of the redoubt and bridge, which the Confederates had built at the village of *Provi*, by reaſon of a moraſs lying over-againſt *Denain*, in order to cut off the retreat of the runaways, and hinder their being ſuccoured by Prince *Eugene*'s army, which was ſeen advancing in columns on the other ſide of the *Scheld*. Upon his arrival, the Prince cauſed that redoubt to be attacked; but, it being defended by the regiment of *Navarre*, ſuſtained by part of the *French* army poſted on the bank of the *Scheld* with artillery, he was obliged to draw off, and incamp the next day near *Queſnoy* and *Bavory*, to ſupport the troops employed in the ſiege of *Landrecy*. The loſs of the *French* (if we may credit their own accounts) did not amount to above four hundred men killed and wounded; among whom were no perſons of diſtinction, beſides the Marquiſs *de Tourville*, ſon of the late Marſhal of that name, killed; the Marquiſs *de Meuſe-Choiſeul* dangerouſly wounded; the Chevalier *de Teſſé*, Colonel of the regiment of *Champagne*, and Monſieur *de Gauſſac*, wounded. As to the Confederates, it was reckoned, they had about one thouſand killed, two thouſand five hundred taken priſoners, and near one thouſand five hundred drowned; among which laſt was the brave Count *Dhona*, Governor of *Mons*; and among the ſlain Count *Naſſau-Woudenbourg*, an Officer of great merit, and highly eſteemed by Prince *Eugene*. Among the priſoners were the Earl of *Albemarle*, General, the Prince of *Anhault* (Brother of the Prince of *Anhault-Deſſen*) the Prince of *Naſſau-Seckin*, Lieutenant-Generals; the Prince of *Holſtein*, the Baron *Dalbergh*, and Monſieur *Zobel*, Major-Generals; the Colonels, Count *de la Lippe*, *Tengnagel*, *Spaen*, *Kavanoch*, and *Greck*; and Lieutenant-Colonels *Donelly*, *Herbſhauſe*, *Heuſke*, *Brakel*, *Munnik*, *Els*, and *Goumoins*; and the Majors, *Winkel*, *Fabrice*, *Bulome*, *Till*, and *Styrum*; 50 Captains, 121 Lieutenants and Enſigns; beſides 4 Aids de Camp, and the Commiſſary of the Artillery *Taurinus*. In the camp were found twelve braſs cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and proviſions, a great number of horſes, and a conſiderable booty, which was given to the ſoldiers.

The action at Denain.

As it is uſual for the multitude to judge of events, eſpecially thoſe of war, by the ſucceſs, and to cenſure the unfortunate, Prince *Eugene* was blamed, both for ſeeming to deſpiſe the enemy, and leaving the Earl of *Albemarle* expoſed at a great diſtance from the main army; and for ſending him no greater reinforcement than ſix battalions. As to the firſt, it is certain, the Prince was not inſenſible of the danger, which the Earl was in; and therefore he had propoſed the removing the ſtores of artillery, ammunition, and proviſions from *Marchiennes* to *Bouchain*; but it ſeems, the *States* Deputies, thro' parſimony, were againſt that counſel. As to

712. the ſecond point, the Prince, with ſeveral other experienced Generals, having viewed the intrenchments at *Denain*, could not but think ſeventeen battalions ſufficient to defend that poſt, till he came up to their aſſiſtance with the whole army; which they would infallibly have done, had the battalions, attacked by Count *Broglio*, performed their duty. And, if it had not been for the breaking of the bridge by the weight, which was on it, ſo that the reinforcement ſent by the Prince could not join the troops under the Earl of *Albemarle*, *Villars*'s attempt might have turned fatally on himſelf, and to the ruin of his whole army. However, the Prince's march to *Landrecy* is thought by ſome to have been the greateſt overſight he ever made, conſidering, that, at this juncture, the *French* had delivered *Dunkirk* into the hands of the *Engliſh*; that *Villars* was greatly reinforced from the *Rhine*, and all the garriſons about him; and the Duke of *Ormond* had received his orders for marching off with his troops. It is obſervable likewiſe, that the Duke of *Ormond*, the very evening of the day, on which he declared the ceſſation of arms, ſent to *Denain* for the pontons, which he had lent the Earl of *Albemarle*; nor could all, that either the Earl, Prince *Eugene*, or the *States* Deputies ſay, prevail with him to leave them but for eight days; and the next day it was reported, that two *French* Engineers in diſguiſe went with thoſe, who took up the pontons, and made ſuch obſervations on the Earl of *Albemarle*'s works, as ſerved their purpoſe. However, it does not appear, that the Duke knew any thing of it; but his conduct in this affair was very much cenſured, and gave his enemies an handle to ſay, that matters had been concerted between him and thoſe ſent by *Villars*. And it is certain, that the want of the pontons was the loſs of *Denain*; for Prince *Eugene*, having ſome notice of the Marſhal's deſign, marched the evening before the action, with the greateſt part of the army from *Landrecy*, and was up time enough to have ſuccoured the Earl of *Albemarle*; but, by the time he got to the *Scheld*, the bridge was broke by the crowd of baggage they had been ſending over; ſo that he was not able to give the Earl the leaſt aſſiſtance, but looked on, and ſaw his fate.

ene's Memoirs.

Severe reflections were likewiſe made upon the Earl of *Albemarle*; but, the *States* having appointed ſome Deputies of their own, and the Council of State ſome of their Members, to examine his reaſons, it was reſolved, upon the report of the examination, not only to declare, that the Earl had behaved with prudence and bravery in that unfortunate action, but alſo to return him thanks for his conduct (1). 1712.

But though it be hard to determine what errors were committed either in the counſels or orders, or in the execution of them, and at whoſe door theſe ought to be laid, yet this misfortune ſerved not a little to raiſe the Duke of *Marlborough*'s character, under whoſe command no ſuch thing had ever happened.

The French take ſeveral poſts. Brodrick.

The action of *Denain* being over, *Villars* ordered *Broglio* to inveſt *Marchiennes* on the *Scarpe*, where the Allies principal ſtores were lodged, with above a hundred and fifty Bilanders laden with artillery, and all ſorts of ammunition, and proviſions for a whole campaign. At the ſame time he commanded *Albergotti* to attack *St. Amand*, ordering other detachments to poſſeſs themſelves of the reſt of the poſts on the *Scarpe*. Two hundred of the troops of the Allies, who were in the Abbey of *Anchin*, and at *Pont-a-Roche*, yielded themſelves priſoners of war. At the ſame time, Count *de l'Eſparre* made himſelf maſter of the Abbey of *Haſnon*, where he took a hundred priſoners. *Albergotti* poſſeſſed himſelf likewiſe of *Mortagne*, at the mouth of the *Scarpe*, where he took a hundred men; and then of *St. Amand*, which was defended by eight hundred men, who yielded themſelves priſoners of war. In the mean time, *Broglio* inveſted *Marchiennes*, and, having viewed it, found the enterprize much more difficult than he at firſt imagined; that poſt being incompaſſed with moraſſes and ditches full of water; fortified with ſeveral works; defended by Brigadier *Berkoffer* with ſix battalions and five hundred men, detached from the garriſon of *Doway*, and by the regiment of *Schellart*, conſiſting of three ſquadrons of Cuiraſſiers, of the Elector *Palatine*'s troops. Theſe difficulties obliged *Villars* to deſire the Marquiſs *de Monteſquiou* to take upon him the care of the ſiege. On the laſt day of *July* (*Villars* being returned to the ſiege) the town ſurrendered, and the garriſon, to the number of five thouſand, were made priſoners of war, and conducted to *Valenciennes*. The loſs of this poſt was of very bad conſequence to the Allies; for they had there a general magazine of all ſorts of artillery, ammunition, and proviſions, deſigned for the further operations of the campaign. On the other hand, the advantage the enemy obtained by forcing the intrenchments of *Denain*, and by the taking of *Marchiennes*, were ſo conſiderable, that the *French* King wrote an account of it to the Archbiſhop of *Paris* (2).

Doway inveſted. Aug. 12.

After this, *Doway* was inveſted, which obliged Prince

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(1) Prince *Eugene*, in a letter to an eminent Miniſter, ſays: 'I am ſurprized and troubled to hear of the injuſtice people do my Lord *Albemarle*.—He performed all that a courageous, prudent, and vigilant General could do; and, had all the troops done their duty, the affair would not have gone as it did: But, when they run as ſoon as they have given one fire, and cannot be rallied, no General in the world can help it: And therefore, Sir, I doubt not that you will contribute to the diſabuſing thoſe of the Regency, who may have been miſinformed.'

(2) The letter was as follows:

Couſin,

'The ſteps I have taken to effect a general peace, and the ſuſpenſion, which I have agreed on with the Queen of *England*, have not availed to determine the other Allies to enter into the ſame ſentiments. On the contrary, they formed a deſign to puſh on their conqueſts, and beſiege *Landrecy*. The importance of that place (the taking of which would have opened to the enemy an entrance into my Kingdom) determined me to give my orders to the Marſhals *de Villars*, and *de Monteſquiou* (who command my army in *Flanders*) to attack, and fight the enemy, to oblige them to raiſe the ſiege. They have acted with ſo much conduct and prudence, and the ſucceſs has been ſo happy, that the camp, which was poſſeſſed by the enemy at *Denain* (notwithſtanding the ſtrength of its intrenchments) was forced and defeated with the intire loſs of ſeventeen battalions which

1712. Prince *Eugene* to abandon the deſign of beſieging *Landrecy*, and march to the relief of *Doway*. The Prince tried to raiſe the ſiege, but did not ſucceed. Indeed the *States* would not put things to ſo great a venture after ſuch loſſes: So *Villars* proſecuted the ſiege with vigour, and battered *Fort Scarpe* with eighty pieces of cannon: But, notwithſtanding the garriſon of the fort conſiſted but of four hundred men, they defended it fourteen days, and ſurrendered priſoners of war on the 28th of *Auguſt*, having repulſed the *French* in ſeveral attacks. After the taking of that fort, the enemy redoubled their fire againſt the town; and, although the garriſon was but weak, General *Hompeſch*, the Governor, contrary to the expectations of the Allies or the *French*, held out till the 8th of *September*, *N. S.* when he ſurrendered the garriſon priſoners of war. The enemy during this ſiege were repulſed in ſeveral attacks, and loſt a great number of men (eſpecially when they took the counterſcarp and, a half-moon, which they were obliged to abandon) and, had the garriſon been numerous enough in proportion to the extent of the place, it is very probable, the *French* would not have retaken it. Prince *Eugene* had the mortification to be a ſpectator of the loſs of this place; but it was not his fault, if a vigorous attempt was not made to prevent it, for, during the ſiege, he uſed all poſſible endeavours to engage the enemy; but the *French* had ſo ſtrongly fortified their camp on the one hand, and the *Dutch* were ſo cautious of running any hazards in this critical juncture, that the Prince, ſeeing no poſſibility of coming to action, returned to his camp at *Seclin*, from whence detachments were made to ſecure *Liſle*, *Mons*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, and other places. After the ſurrender of *Doway*, advice being brought to Prince *Eugene*, that the *French* were advanced to *Malplaquet*, and poſted on the ſame ground, where the famous battle of that name was fought three years before, a diſpoſition was made to diſlodge them, and prevent the ſiege of *Queſnoy*. But the enemy having with great diligence advanced within half a league of *Queſnoy*, and taken a very advantageous camp, Prince *Eugene* thought fit to ſtop his march near the wood of *Dour*, and to incamp with the right near *St. Guilain*, the left at the mill of *Saart* near the wood of *Lagniere*, and the head quarters at *Belian*. *Villars* having, with the utmoſt care, ſecured all the paſſes, and fortified his camp, the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for carrying on the ſiege of *Queſnoy*, which was inveſted the 8th of *September*, *N. S.* The *French* expected to have made themſelves maſters of the town in eight or ten days; but Major-general *Ivoy*, who commanded in the place, made ſo good uſe of the heavy artillery, which the Allies left there, after the taking of *Queſnoy*, that it was the 14th of *October*, *N. S.* before he was obliged to ſubmit to the ſame terms, on which *Doway* had been ſurrendered, that the garriſon ſhould remain priſoners of war: The *French* gave out, that they found in the place one hundred and ſixteen heavy cannon; a great number of others of ſmall ſize; forty mortars, five hundred thouſand weight of powder; a great quantity of bullets, bombs, grenadoes, and proviſions of all ſorts; the whole being valued at three millions of livres; and that this garriſon compleated the number of forty battalions of the Allies, killed or made priſoners ſince the 24th of *July*, *N. S.* on which happened the unfortunate affair of *Denain*. The *French*, being reſolved to loſe no time in inlarging their conqueſts, opened their trenches before *Bouchain*; which place was ſo indifferently provided, and the garriſon ſo weak, that they made but a ſlender reſiſtance; for, the enemy having taken poſſeſſion of the covered-way, and made the diſpoſitions for ſtorming the place, the garriſon beat a parley, and ſurrendered at diſcretion.

1712.

Queſnoy *inveſted and taken.*

Bouchain *taken.* Oct. 12.

Oct. 19.

While the *French* were before *Bouchain*, the Allies ſurprized the Fort of *Knocque* in the following manner: Brigadier *Caris*, Commander of *Oſtend*, having received certain intelligence, that the garriſon of Fort *Knocque* was very weak, reſolved to try to ſurprize it. Accordingly *Caris*, detached one hundred and eighty men, under the direction of Captain *De Rue*, a famous partiſan, who, having marched with the utmoſt privacy, found means to hide themſelves in three little houſes, and in the governor's garden, ſtanding between four-draw-bridges, where they lay cloſe all night. In the morning, at the opening of the gates, ſome of the detachment advanced on a ſudden, and made themſelves maſters of the bridge neareſt the Fort, having killed the guard. *De Rue* divided his men into four bodies, and with one of them ſeized a gate, while two other diviſions ran to the other two gates, and the fourth drew up near the *Cazerns* to hinder the garriſon from drawing together; which ſucceeded ſo well, that with the loſs of only two men killed, and one wounded, that important Fort was taken. The *French* Governor hearing the noiſe, leaped out of bed, and, looking out of the window, cried, *Quarter!* and was made priſoner of war with the garriſon, which conſiſted of three *French* companies, and one of *Swiſs*, but a great many of them were ſick. *De Rue*, having ſecured that poſt, ſent out part

Fort *Knocque ſurprized by the Allies.* Brodrick.

Oct. 4.

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defended it, and of a convoy of about five hundred waggons, who were at the ſame time on the march towards the camp before *Landrecy*. The defeat of theſe troops incamped at *Denain* was followed by the taking of the poſt of *Marchiennes*, where the enemy had ſix battalions, five hundred foot detached from the garriſon of *Doway*, and three ſquadrons of horſe, who were all made priſoners of war: And being added to thoſe taken in the camp at *Denain*, and in ſome other poſts along the *Scarpe*, make the number of above ſeven thouſand men, and upwards of four hundred Officers, priſoners; among whom are ſeveral of their general Officers. My troops, who in theſe two actions ſhewed all poſſible valour, took thirty-ſeven colours, and three ſtandards. The enemy loſt with *Marchiennes* a great number of cannon, and ſtores of all ſorts of ammunition, and proviſions laden in above one hundred and fifty Bilanders; and their army being weakened by ſo conſiderable a loſs, having no longer communication with the places they are poſſeſſed of towards the *Scarpe*, have been forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Landrecy*, to retire towards *Mons*. And as ſuch an event is a viſible mark of the protection of God, who knows the rectitude of my intentions, I hold myſelf obliged to render to him moſt humble acts of thankſgiving. I deſire therefore, that you will cauſe *Te Deum* to be ſung in the Metropolitan Church of my good City of *Paris*, &c.'

(1) And

12. part of his men, to ſeize all the proviſions in the neighbouring villages, and to bring the ſame into the Fort, before the garriſon of *Ypres* could be informed of the loſs of the place. He diſpatched alſo an expreſs with an account of this ſucceſs to Brigadier *Caris*, who detached forty men to reinforce the garriſon. The precautions taken by *De Rue* were not uſeleſs; for the loſs of that poſt occaſioned the motion of a great body of troops on each ſide towards the *Lys*, as if the *French* deſigned to retake it; but they found that Fortreſs was ſo well and ſo ſeaſonably provided, that the *French* intirely abandoned the deſign of attacking it.

The campaign in the *Netherlands* ended with the taking of *Bouchain* by the *French*; for, a few days after, both armies marched into winter-quarters; and Prince *Eugene*, having ſtaid ſome days at *Bruſſels* to ſettle ſome matters with the Council of *Brabant*, proceeded to the *Hague* on the 28th of *October*, *N. S.*

The loſſes in the *Netherlands* created a great diſtraction in the Counſels at the *Hague*, and it was expected by the Courts of *Great-Britain* and *France*, that the turn of affairs in the field, after the misfortune at *Denain*, would occaſion an alteration in the Negotiation at *Utrecht*; and that the *Dutch* would at laſt agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, for which the *Britiſh* Miniſters made very preſſing inſtances. The Marquiſs *de Torcy* would have perſuaded the *Britiſh* Court to force the *States* to come into their meaſures. In a letter to Mr. *St. John* upon the news of the Earl of *Albemarle*'s defeat at *Denain*, he took notice of the advantage which the Queen had at this time over the *Dutch*, and inſinuated, 'That ſhe might give the law to thoſe people, provided ſhe made the right uſe of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, which the Duke of *Ormond* was in poſſeſſion of.' Marſhal *Villars* alſo at the ſame time ſent a letter to the Duke of *Ormond*, about the action at *Denain*, wherein he aſcribes the victory to the ſeparation of the brave *Engliſh*, and inſults the Allies as common enemies, who muſt be now ſenſible what wrong meaſures they had taken. He likewiſe deſires the Duke to tranſmit this account to the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, and to make a thouſand compliments from him to Lord *Strafford*. This letter the Duke of *Ormond* cauſed to be made known to his army, ſeveral copies of it being handed about, which indeed ought rather to have been burnt *; for it made thoſe, who wiſhed well to the Allies, believe he had not acted fairly by them (1). The *Dutch*, though the Earl of *Strafford* continued to preſs them, and that with great imperiouſneſs, to agree to a ceſſation of arms, ſhewed on this occaſion a remarkable firmneſs. The *States* of *Holland* and *Weſt-Friſeland*, having agreed to take upon them the paying moſt of the Auxiliaries lately in *Britiſh* pay, and reſolved to treat of peace, ſword in hand, the *States General* ordered their Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* to inſiſt upon ſeveral points, as further Preliminaries of the treaty, particularly the reſtoring of *Strasburgh* to the Empire, and the demolition of all the fortified places poſſeſſed by *France* on the *Rhine*. The payment and ſubſiſtance of the *German* and *Daniſh* troops in the ſervice of *Great-Britain*, who had joined the forces under Prince *Eugene*, being the moſt preſſing affair, ſeveral Conferences were held about it between the Miniſters of the Princes, to whom thoſe troops belonged, the Deputies of the *States*, and the Imperial Miniſters. Theſe laſt were not wanting to repreſent the great difficulties, which their Maſter had laboured under ſince the death of the late Emperor, his brother; and the vaſt charge he had been indiſpenſably obliged to be at by his Coronation at *Francfort* and *Preſburg*, and other growing expences, for the preſervation of the Principality of *Catalonia*, whereby the Imperial Treaſury was quite exhauſted. That, however, his Imperial Majeſty offered to contribute three hundred thouſand crowns towards the ſubſiſtance of the auxiliary troops, provided the city of *Amſterdam* would advance that ſum under the ſecurity of the *States*, for the payment of which he was willing to mortgage the funds in *Sileſia*, which had punctually anſwered both the principal and intereſt of the loan made ſome years before by the *Engliſh*. But, though no poſitive anſwer was then returned to the Imperial Miniſters, yet ſome months after their propoſal was cloſed with. The King of *Pruſſia* offered to maintain his troops at his own charge, provided the *States* would give him ſatisfaction as to his pretenſions to the inheritance of the late King *William*; and the Elector of *Hanover* offered, in the firſt place, to maintain during the war, at his own expence, one half of the troops he had in the ſervice of *Great-Britain*, beſides the regiment of dragoons of *Bothmar*, and to agree for the maintaining of the reſt upon eaſy terms. The King of *Denmark* took no leſs vigorous reſolutions than any of the Princes of the Empire, it being his intereſt not to diſoblige the Emperor and his Allies, at a juncture, when he and the Czar of *Muſcovy* were threatened with a powerful Confederacy of *France*, *Spain*, *Great-Britain*, and *Sweden*, in order to reſtore the King of *Sweden* to all his Dominions. 1712.

Admiſſion of King Philip's Miniſters to the Congreſs refuſed.

On the other hand, the *Britiſh* Miniſters in *Holland* propoſed and inſiſted on the admiſſion of King *Philip*'s Plenipotentiaries to the Congreſs at *Utrecht*; and it was given out, that, if this was not ſhortly agreed to, the Congreſs would be transferred to a town, where the *Spaniſh* Miniſters might repair without any oppoſition; and *Dunkirk* was ſaid to be the place. But, the *States* not thinking it their intereſt to diſoblige the Emperor ſo far, as to yield a point ſo derogatory to his title to the *Spaniſh* Throne, the Court of *Great-Britain* reſolved to purſue other meaſures, to bring the *Dutch* to compliance; or, if that failed, to conclude the peace upon the ſcheme near

(1) And, that there might be no part of the world, where it was in the power of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry to affiſt their new Friends at the expence of their old Allies, *Torcy* further propoſed, 'That the Queen ſhould put a ſtop to Count *Staremberg*'s projects in *Catalonia*, by ſending orders to her troops in *Terragona* not to let the *Germans* into that place; and, not content with this, he further deſired, that expreſs orders might be ſent (and through *France*, as the ſhorteſt way) to the *Engliſh* men of war, that were then cruiſing in the *Mediterranean*, to ſuffer the *French* ſhips, that were then returning from the *Levant*, to paſs unmoleſted; which was immediately complied with.

(1) It

1712. near agreed on with *France* and *Spain*. To this end, it was judged neceſſary to renew the ſuſpenſion of arms, now expiring; and, the Lord *Bolingbroke* having had the chief management of the preſent Negotiation, he was pitched upon to go *incognito* to the Court of *France*, 'to remove, as his inſtructions expreſſed it, all difficulties and differences, that might obſtruct the general ſuſpenſion of arms between *England* and *France* from taking place, or ſettling the treaty of peace in ſuch a courſe, as may bring it to a happy and ſpeedy concluſion. But to declare, that he does not imagine there will be any poſſibility to prevail with the Queen to ſign the peace with *France* and *Spain*, unleſs full ſatisfaction be given to the Duke of *Savoy*, and unleſs they can take him along with them in the doing thereof. He is therefore to take particular care to ſettle his Barrier, and to procure *Sicily* for him; to ſettle the Renunciation in ſuch a manner, that there may be as little room left as poſſible for diſpute or delay: That the Elector of *Bavaria* may have *Sardinia*, and be reſtored to his Dominions in the Empire, except the *Upper-Palatinate*, and the firſt Electorate (1); and, when he has had ſatisfaction in theſe points, he is to proceed to ſpeak to ſuch articles, as relate particularly to the intereſt of *Great-Britain*, and endeavour to have ſuch of them, as there may appear to be any doubt concerning, explained in the moſt advantageous manner. And then he is to do his beſt to diſcover upon the ſeveral parts of the general plan of peace, what the real *ultimatum* of *France* may be; and, when the peace between *England* and *France* ſhall be ſigned, that it may be expedient to fix the Allies a time to come in, wherein the Queen will uſe her good offices, but will not be under any obligation to impoſe upon the Allies the ſcheme offered by *France*, or to debar them from obtaining better terms for themſelves.' By theſe inſtructions it appears, that Lord *Bolingbroke* was impowered 1712. to conclude a ſeparate peace with *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Savoy*: That at this time there was ſome doubt concerning ſeveral articles relating to the particular intereſts of *Great-Britain*, which he was to endeavour to get explained; but no inſtruction, if his endeavours prove ineffectual in behalf of *Great-Britain*, not to conclude the treaty, which in theſe very inſtructions is expreſsly provided for in favour of *Savoy*; and he is ordered to do his beſt to diſcover the *ultimatum* of *France*, which hitherto, it ſeems, the Miniſtry were ignorant of; but, whether *France* condeſcended ſo far or not, as to let him into this ſecret, the treaty was concluded; and the Miniſtry ſeemed to think, they had ſufficiently diſcharged their duty, in declining to be engaged to impoſe what terms *France* ſhould think proper upon the Allies, thoſe Allies, to whom the Queen was bound by the faith of treaties, and all the moſt ſolemn engagements and public declarations, to procure all juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction, according to their ſeveral Alliances. But now it ſeemed ſufficient, that the *Britiſh* Miniſtry did not debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain ſtill better terms for themſelves.

Bolingbroke *ſent to* France. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

With theſe inſtructions the Lord *Bolingbroke* ſet out for *Dover* on the ſecond of *Auguſt*, accompanied by Mr. *Prior* and the Abbot *Gaultier*. The next day he landed at *Calais*, and was received with all imaginable demonſtrations of joy from the inhabitants, and particular marks of reſpect from the Governor. On the 17th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* he arrived at *Paris*, and alighted at the Houſe of the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, where an apartment was prepared for him. The *French* Miniſter received the *Britiſh* with uncommon civility, and aſſured him, 'That the King his Maſter had ever entertained a great eſteem and reſpect for the Queen of *Great-Britain*; to which ſentiments

(1) It ſeems the *French* had demanded *Sicily* alſo for the Elector of *Bavaria*, as appears from the following particulars: The conſtant compliances in the *Engliſh* Miniſtry encouraged Monſieur *de Torcy* to believe, that they would now ſtick at nothing, that could be propoſed. He preſſed, on the 18th of *July*, the concluding the ſeparate peace between *England* and *France*, as what they both agreed in to be the moſt effectual way to make the reſt of the Allies comply. He deſires, that the troops in *Flanders*, under the command of the Duke of *Ormond*, may be left there to make a good uſe of the towns, which he was in poſſeſſion of; but as the King of *France* could not conſent to the Duke of *Savoy*'s having *Sicily*, except the Elector of *Bavaria* had alſo the *Netherlands* beſides his Electorate, he thinks the Queen's having a good army in *Flanders*, under the Duke of *Ormond*, may render this very practicable; and, as the Queen has done a great deal for her own ungrateful Allies, it will be for her glory now to contribute to the good of a Prince of ſo much merit as the Elector of *Bavaria*, whoſe acknowledgments will be equal to the benefits he ſhall receive. But this would not paſs, even with the Miniſtry of *Great-Britain*. The giving *Flanders* to the Elector of *Bavaria* was not only contrary to all the propoſitions of peace, that had been made between *England* and *France*, but was what would abſolutely engage *England* in a new war, to oblige the Imperialiſts and *Dutch* to agree to it: And they could not think it for the honour or intereſt of the Queen, to make war upon her Allies, as ungrateful as they had been, in favour of the Elector of *Bavaria*; and eſpecially, conſidering, that, although *Ghent* and *Bruges* were for him, the Allies had yet an army in *Flanders* ſo conſiderable, both for the number and goodneſs of their troops, that they were able to defend the conqueſts they had made. And to give him *Sicily*, which was likewiſe demanded, Lord *Bolingbroke* hoped, that it would not be inſiſted on; 'becauſe it might be the occaſion of continual jealouſies; it might, in particular, be the ſource of diſputes and quarrels betwixt *England* and *France*, whoſe ſtrict union and indiſſoluble friendſhip were the points in view, to which all our meaſures had been directed for ſo long a time.' The Queen's Miniſters think, that, when the King of *France* has made all reaſonable efforts for his Allies, he muſt do ſomething for the love of peace, and that a particular intereſt ſhould yield to the general. 'You cannot, ſays Lord *Bolingbroke*, but feel the force of this argument, becauſe you are not at all ignorant, that this Negotiation was begun and carried on upon a ſuppoſition, that the Queen muſt deſiſt from many conditions, which in right ſhe was obliged to procure for her Allies.' He very ſtrongly urges the neceſſity of concluding immediately the peace between *England*, *France*, and *Spain*; but abſolutely inſiſts upon *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy*; which at laſt the King of *France* conſented to, upon certain conditions, wherein very ample proviſion was made for ſatisfaction to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and one expreſs condition was, that a peace be concluded between *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Savoy*. In anſwer to this letter, Lord *Bolingbroke* acquaints Monſieur *de Torcy*, that he had received the Queen's orders to go immediately to *France*; and he hoped, under the auſpices of the Abbot *Gaultier*, in a week's time, to ſalute him at *Fontainebleau*. *Rep. of the Com. of Sec.*

712. ſentiments he now added ſo perfect a friendſhip, that, notwithſtanding the late ſucceſſes of his arms in *Flanders*, he was ſtill willing to make her *Britannic* Majeſty the umpire of the general peace.' Compliments being paſſed on both ſides, the two Miniſters entered upon buſineſs, and having adjuſted the principal intereſts of the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the Elector of *Bavaria*, and ſettled the time and manner of the renunciations, agreed to a treaty for a ſuſpenſion of arms between *Great-Britain* and *France*, both by ſea and land, for the ſpace of four months. The next day the Lord *Bolingbroke* was conducted by the Marquiſs *de Torcy* to *Fontainebleau*, where the King of *France* then was with his Court; and the apartment formerly belonging to the Marſhal *de Boufflers* was magnificently fitted up for him, and he was received with greater marks of diſtinction than were ever ſhewn to any perſon of his character, who made no public appearance. He was the next morning introduced to a private audience of the King, to whom he preſented the Queen's letter. The *French* King received him in a very gracious manner, and aſſured him, 'That he ever had the higheſt eſteem for the Queen: That ſhe had proceeded in ſuch a manner, as to turn that eſteem into the ſincereſt friendſhip; and he hoped, ſhe was ſatisfied he had done every thing on his part, which might facilitate the peace: That he was pleaſed to find it ſo near a concluſion: That there were ſome indeed, who uſed all endeavours to obſtruct it; but that, God be praiſed, they would not be long able to do ſo; and that the ſucceſs of his arms ſhould make no alteration in him; for he would make good all he had offered.' The Elector of *Bavaria*, who arrived at *Paris* on the 16th of *Auguſt*, and repaired to *Fontainebleau* the ſame day, the Lord *Bolingbroke* went thither, was alſo in conference with him, whom he deſired to recommend both his and his brother the Elector of *Cologne*'s concerns to her *Britannic* Majeſty. The *French* Courtiers, in imitation of their Sovereign, vied with each other, who ſhould beſt entertain the *Britiſh* Miniſter; and, among the reſt, the Duke of *Noailles* gave him a moſt magnificent ſupper, to which the perſons of the firſt rank were invited; as was alſo General *Stanhope*, who, being lately exchanged for the Duke of *Eſcalona*, took *Fontainebleau* in his way to *England*. The Lord *Bolingbroke* offered that General to preſent him to the King of *France*; but Mr. *Stanhope* thought fit to decline it. What was tranſacted in the private Conferences between the King, or his Miniſters, and the Lord *Bolingbroke*, beſides the treaty for a ſuſpenſion of arms, was kept very ſecret; except only, that it was agreed, that the Court of *Great-Britain* ſhould pay the annual ſum of threeſcore thouſand pounds by way of Dower to the late King *James*'s Queen; and that the Chevalier *de St. George* ſhould retire out of *France*. On the 27th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* the Lord *Bolingbroke* took his leave of the King of *France*, who preſented him with a fine diamond ring, valued at about 4,000 *l.* ſterling, which formerly belonged to his ſon the Dauphin, and on the 25th his Lordſhip returned to *Paris*, being ſtill accompanied by the Marquiſs *de Torcy*.

On the 24th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* the ſuſpenſion of arms for four months was proclaimed at *Paris* with the ſame ceremonies uſually obſerved at the proclaiming of peace, except that there were no public rejoicings. Two days after, one of the Queen's Meſſengers, who attended the Lord *Bolingbroke*, brought the treaty to *Whitehall*; and, the Lord-Treaſurer having, the next day, carried it to the Queen at *Windſor*, to be ratified, her Majeſty, in Council, ſigned a proclamation, *declaring the ſuſpenſion of arms, as well by ſea as land, and injoining the obſervance thereof.* This proclamation was publiſhed both by itſelf, and in the *London Gazette*, in which an order of Council was ſubjoined, importing, "That for "preventing any inconveniencies, to which her "Majeſty's ſubjects might be liable, by miſap- "prehending the purport or effect of this pro- "clamation, and for the improvement and ſe- "curity of the commerce of her loving ſubjects, "her Majeſty was pleaſed to declare, that, as "ſoon as paſſes could be interchanged, they "would be delivered to ſuch of her ſubjects, as "ſhould deſire the ſame." Upon peruſal of this order, which laid the *Engliſh* Merchants under a neceſſity of buying *French* paſſes, many were at a loſs to diſcover wherein the benefit of the ſuſpenſion conſiſted, unleſs it were in gratifying the avarice of the Secretaries of State, who ſold, at a dear rate, what had coſt them nothing. Beſides, it is obſervable, that, the *French* Court not having ſent over the paſſes ſo ſoon as the *Engliſh* Miniſters tranſmitted theirs, it happened, that ſeveral *French* ſhips, which were taken by Sir *Thomas Hardy*, were releaſed upon producing of the *Engliſh* paſſes, while ſeveral *Engliſh* ſhips were, at the ſame time, made prize for want of *French* paſſes. This good diſpoſition of Lord *Bolingbroke* to the *French* Nation appears from his own letter to Mr. *Prior*, of the 29th of *September*, wherein he ſays, 'I have got at laſt the affair of the *Griffin* [a rich *French Eaſt-India* ſhip] compounded, not without very great difficulty: And tho' the ſum paid to the Captors was ſo large as 35,000 *l.* the ſhip was plainly prize, and the paſs, ſent over hither, might have been proved to have been numerically one of thoſe I delivered at *Fontainebleau*, four days after the *Griffin* was in Sir *Thomas Hardy*'s power; though *Gaultier* was ready to ſwear, that he received it ſome months before; which part of the Abbot has, I confeſs to you, done him no good, in my opinion.' Hence it appears, that, though this paſs was none of them, paſſes had been granted ſome months before the ſuſpenſion was concluded. 1712. Aug. 18. O. S.

Various reports about the Pretender.

It may here be obſerved, that while the peace was negotiating, various reports were ſpread about the Pretender, who, after the ſtile uſed in the Queen's ſpeech of the 6th of *June*, was now called, *the perſon, who has pretended to diſturb the Settlement of the Proteſtant Succeſſion of the Houſe of* Hanover. About the latter end of *June*, the public was informed from *Utrecht*, that he had been obliged to leave *St. Germain's*, and was already on his way to *Lorrain*. However, about the middle of *Auguſt*, he made a viſit to the King of *France* at *Fontainebleau*; but, upon the news of Lord *Bolingbroke*'s landing at *Calais*, it was thought fit, that the *Chevalier* ſhould again retire from *St. Germain's*, without his ordinary guard, and go to the caſtle of *Livry*. Not many days after he came to *Paris*, and, going to the Opera, ſat in the *French* King's box, which had been appointed for the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who thereupon ſat in another box; which, when known, occaſioned no ſmall noiſe in *England*.

1712. *land.* It was alſo adviſed from *Paris*, that the *Britiſh* Miniſter had a private interview with the Queen-Dowager of *England*; which, together with the rumour of the *Chevalier*'s taking upon him the title of Duke of *Gloceſter*, and retiring to *Rheims* in *Champagne*, occaſioned various ſpeculations. Whatever ground there was for theſe and other reports, it is certain, that the Pretender's friends in *Great-Britain* were, at this juncture, extremely elated with the hopes of his Reſtoration; and ſome news-writers in *Holland*, and, after them, others in *London*, did not ſcruple to take notice of what was ſaid in *Paris*, "That the Pretender was to be aſſociated with "her Majeſty in the Sovereignty."

On the 28th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* the Lord *Bolingbroke* ſet out from *Paris*, where he left Mr. *Prior* to take care of ſome private affairs ſtill under Negotiation; and with Mr. *Hare*, and the Abbot *Gaultier*, proceeded to *Dunkirk*, and, imbarking for *England*, arrived at *London* the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, *O. S.*

A ſtop put to the proceedings at Utrecht.

France was now become intire maſter of all future Negotiations, and did not fail to make uſe of the power put into their hands: And upon occaſion of a trifling quarrel, which happened at *Utrecht* between the ſervants of Monſieur *Meſnager*, and of Count *Rechteren*, one of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, the *French* made uſe of it as a pretence to keep the Negotiations in ſuſpence, as long as it ſerved their purpoſe (1). The *Venetian* Miniſters immediately offered their mediation to accommodate the matter; and at the ſame time Meſſieurs *de Randwyck* and *Buys* engaged the Biſhop of *Briſtol* to interpoſe his good offices in this affair. But the *French* Miniſters having conſulted together refuſed to hearken to any private accommodation, before they had received inſtructions from their Court; by which they were directed to inſiſt upon a public ſatisfaction, and on the recalling of Count *Rechteren*; and appointing another Plenipotentiary in his place. The *States* not thinking it conſiſtent with their dignity to ſubmit to thoſe demands, the Negotiations at *Utrecht* were ſuſpended, whilſt the Earl of *Strafford* and ſome other Miniſters uſed their endeavours at the *Hague* to find out an expedient to remove that obſtruction, but, the *French* King's pride being now again in exaltation, he was intractable. On the other hand the *States* ſeemed reſolved not to comply with ſo extravagant a reparation, being deſirous of drawing this diſpute into length, that they might avoid entering into a Negotiation of peace, which they thought muſt be detrimental to their intereſt, and the common cauſe, and ſtill hoping, that ſomething might happen, which would occaſion ſome favourable turn in the affairs of *Europe*. To this purpoſe it was obſerved, that at the opening of the Aſſembly of the *States* of *Holland* on the 13th of *September*, *N. S.* Penſionary *Heinſius*, in a very pathetic ſpeech, ſhewed 'the impoſſibility of concluding a peace at this juncture, without loſing the fruits of all the blood and treaſure they had expended in the preſent quarrel, and expoſing their Country and the liberties of all Chriſtendom, to imminent danger: Urging, that as, of two evils, they ought to chooſe the leaſt, ſo they muſt make extraordinary efforts to carry on the war, till a ſafe and honourable peace ſhould be obtained; And concluding, that, thanks to the Almighty, they were not wholly deſtitute of means for that purpoſe, provided they would act with the ſame conſtancy and harmony, which the Republic had exerted on ſo many occaſions.' This ſpeech had its effect, both with the *States* of *Holland*, and the *States-General*; for the Earl of *Strafford* having ſignified to them, 'That the Queen was willing to endeavour to engage *France* to admit them, or any other of the Allies, into the ſuſpenſion of arms;' they anſwered they could not reſolve any thing upon it, without the Emperor and the other Allies; and that it would be too great a diſgrace to the Confederacy, to aſk a ſuſpenſion of arms, without being aſſured of obtaining it. As to the Earl of *Strafford*'s propoſition of granting paſſports to the Plenipotentiaries of King *Philip*, the *States* alledged, they could not comply with it, without doing a manifeſt injury to the Emperor, who had at leaſt an equal title with King *Philip* to the Crown of *Spain*.

1712.

The Penſionary's ſpeech againſt a peace.

About this time another accident happened at *Utrecht*, which was like to prove a new obſtruction to the Negotiation of peace. The Earl of *Strafford* had, by his lofty carriage, made himſelf very obnoxious to the *Dutch*; and, it being given out, that the Duke of *Savoy* had abandoned the Allies, and agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, ſome of the common people, in the night-time, broke the windows, both of the Marquiſs *del Borgo*, one of the Duke's Plenipotentiaries, and of the Earl of *Strafford*; and, as a farther indignity to the Earl, they ſet up a wheel on the rails before his houſe, with a paper on it, in which was written the *Dutch* word, *Straff-art*, alluding to the Earl's name, and implying, that he deſerved the puniſhment denoted by the wheel; the word *Straffen* in *Dutch* ſignifying, to *puniſh* or *chaſtiſe*. This inſult was highly reſented by the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries; but the Magiſtrates of *Utrecht* having publiſhed a reward of four hundred guilders to any one, who ſhould diſcover the authors of it; and that the name of the Informer ſhould be concealed; the *Britiſh* Court thought fit not to take any notice of the affront at this juncture, the rather, becauſe it was by many ſuſpected, that the *French* emiſſaries were at the bottom of this

Inſult on the Marquiſs del Borgo and the Earl of Strafford.

(1) It ſeems, as Count *Rechteren* was paſſing by the houſe of Monſieur *Meſnager*, his footmen were laughed and hiſſed at by *Meſnager*'s ſervants that were ſtanding at the door: Which being complained of by Count *Rechteren*, *Meſnager* promiſed the ſervants ſhould be confronted; but afterwards ſent word, he had examined his domeſtics, and that they denied the fact. Upon this, *Rechteren* inſiſting that the ſervants ſhould be confronted according to his promiſe, and *Meſnager* ſtill refuſing it, the Count told his people, ſince he could get them no reparation, they might decide their own quarrels themſelves. Preſently after, one of Count *Rechteren*'s footmen ſtruck one of Monſieur *Meſnager*'s, and owned the fact, ſaying, It was true, he had given him a blow or two on the face; but that it was alſo true, he was one of thoſe who had hiſſed at him; which was not denied by the other. This was ſo highly reſented by the *French* King, and ſuch reparation demanded, that the *Dutch* would not comply with it: So a full ſtop was put to all the proceedings at *Utrecht* for ſome months.

12. this inſult, in order to irritate the *Britiſh* Nation againſt the *Dutch*.

The aſcendant, which *France* had now gained in all the Negotiations of peace, was evident from their inſiſting upon the reſtitution of *Tournay*, which deſerves to be particularly ſet forth. On the 30th of *Auguſt* the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* acquainted the Lord *Bolingbroke*, that in ſome diſcourſe with the Miniſters of the Allies they had carried matters ſo far as to tell them, that though her Majeſty would endeavour to promote their intereſt in a peace, and obtain for them the beſt terms, that ſhould be poſſible; yet, if thoſe endeavours ſhould not procure more than the contents of her Majeſty's ſpeech, or even in ſome degree fall ſhort of that plan, the fault would be intirely theirs, who had rendered things difficult and uncertain, which otherwiſe would have been eaſy and practicable. And, having thus far complied with their late orders to lay all the blame upon the Allies, they further informed his Lordſhip, that they had however obtained the conſent of the Miniſters of the Allies to come to a Conference with thoſe of *France*, in order to renew the Negotiations; the time to be fixed between the *Britiſh* and *French* Plenipotentiaries, who, meeting to have ſome diſcourſe previous to the general Conferences, parted without coming to any concluſion. The occaſion of their difference, that prevented renewing the Conferences, aroſe upon propoſals made by the *Britiſh* Miniſters in relation to *Tournay*. They, in a letter of the 2d of *September*, *N. S.* to Lord *Bolingbroke*, ſtate the caſe in this manner: 'In her Majeſty's ſpeech it is expreſſed, *That the* Dutch *are to have the intire Barrier, as demanded in* 1709, *except two or three places at moſt.* The *French* Miniſters inſiſt, that they muſt have *Liſle* as an equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and that the ſame is not to be underſtood as one of the three places mentioned in the ſpeech; and conſequently that they muſt, in all, have four of the places mentioned in the demands of 1709. This to us appears to be altogether inconſiſtent with what her Majeſty has declared; and we accordingly think it contrary to our duty to bring on a Conference, in which ſuch an explication is to be made. The *French* Miniſters, on the other hand, have ſhewed us their orders, which poſitively require them to inſiſt upon the reſtitution of *Tournay* as well as *Liſle*; and that they can by no means conſent to the ceſſion of *Maubeuge* or *Condé*. The *Britiſh* Miniſters then preſſed the *French* to ſpeak at firſt in terms as general, as their propoſal was conceived in; but the *French* thought it neceſſary to be particular and expreſs in that point above all others, becauſe they ſhall otherwiſe have tied themſelves up, and given the *Dutch* an advantage. The reſult of this debate was, not to proceed to a Conference, till this point be determined; the *French* inſiſting, that their orders were ſo plain, as neither to need nor admit any explication; and the *Britiſh* Miniſters thinking the matter as plain on their ſide. They hoped, their zeal for her Majeſty's honour would be graciouſly approved, and deſire to be directed what further they are to do in this matter, which they apprehend to be of a deciſive conſequence; becauſe they find even thoſe among the *Dutch*, who appear to be moſt cordially diſpoſed to ſuch a peace, as may re-eſtabliſh a good harmony between her Majeſty and the *States*, as abſolutely neceſſary for their mutual preſervation, fully reſolved, either to retain *Tournay*, and have *Condé* yielded to them; or to take one of theſe two courſes, either to come into any terms, that *France* offers, or to continue the war at all hazards.' The language, which our Plenipotentiaries had uſed to the Allies, is very much approved of by Lord *Bolingbroke*, in his letter of the 26th of *Auguſt*, who ſays, they had ſpoke the ſentiments of the Queen's heart, in what they declared the 30th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* and that, if the Allies did fall ſhort of the plan laid down in the Queen's ſpeech, the fault was intirely their own. His Lordſhip ſays, 'Sure it is, that this plan was nothing more than an *ultimatum* of what *France* would offer; but he wiſhed, that the Imperial and *Dutch* policy had not rendered it the *ultimatum* of what *France* will grant. The ſame general reflections might be applied to the particular caſe mentioned in their Lordſhips letter. *France* would have yielded *Tournay*, though much againſt the grain. If *France* has now any advantage, and refuſes flatly to yield what ſhe only begged to have reſtored, the fault is intirely theirs.' But, the diſpatch of the Plenipotentiaries, of the 2d of *September*, relating to *Tournay*, having not yet been conſidered by the Lords of the Council, his Lordſhip could not give any poſitive inſtructions about it till the next opportunity; but, in the mean time, recommended to them two conſiderations: That the keeping of the *Dutch* in hopes of her Majeſty's good offices will prevent them from taking any deſperate reſolutions; and the *French* inſiſting to have Count *Rechteren* diſavowed, before any further treaty, will put off, for ſome time, the deciſion of that great point. The Earl of *Strafford*, in the mean time, by his letters of the 13th and 16th of *September*, *N. S.* repreſented the *States*, 'as mightily ſunk with their misfortunes, and not knowing well what meaſures to take; but that they inſiſted upon *Tournay* as ſo eſſential to their Barrier, that they had actually none without it: And his Lordſhip was ſo much of that opinion, that he wiſhes they might have *Tournay*, though they were forced to truck *Ypres*, for it: That if he could poſitively aſſure them they ſhould have *Tournay*, he believed they would ſubmit to the plan of the Queen's ſpeech.' This opinion of his Lordſhip is not very eaſily reconcileable to what he afterwards wrote to Mr. *Prior* upon this ſubject, *Octob.* 12, 1712: 'If we had a mind to have *Nick Frog* ſign with us, we might, for he is ready to do it for *Tournay*; which, if we ſign together, we cannot well refuſe him: But I expect you will cut that matter ſhort, and I long to hear from you.' But this affair of *Tournay* was not ſo ſoon ſettled in *England*; although the difficulty does not ſeem to be, whether the *French* or *Dutch* were to have it; but in what manner it was to be procured for *France*, without a manifeſt contradiction to what was ſaid by the Queen, in her ſpeech concerning the Barrier. Lord *Bolingbroke*, on the 10th of *September*, *O. S.* writes three letters upon this ſubject, to Monſieur *de Torcy*, to Mr. *Prior*, and to the Plenipotentiaries. In that to Monſieur *de Torcy*, he deſires him 'to remember the propoſition, which was often laid down by him when in *France*, and inſiſted upon as a fundamental in all their future proceedings upon the general peace: That the conduct of the Queen, in regard to the intereſts of

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1712. of her Allies, was in a great meaſure determined by their behaviour: That the violent meaſures, which they had taken to obſtruct the peace, had put the Queen in a condition to make her peace, without waiting for their concurrence; in which caſe the Queen would declare, that ſhe had ſigned the treaty with *France* and *Spain*, and would propoſe the plan brought over by Abbot *Gaultier*, and delivered the 29th of *April* 1712, for the Allies to treat upon, and could do no more than by her good offices, as a common friend to both parties. But, in caſe the *Dutch* in particular, or the other Allies, ſhould, before the concluſion of her peace with *France*, enter into concert with her Majeſty, we ſhould have more meaſures to keep with them; the compaſſion of our people would be moved in their behalf; and the Queen's Miniſters obliged to make ſome ſteps, which otherwiſe they would abſolutely refuſe to do. Upon this foundation, *continues his Lordſhip*, the King's Miniſters ſeem to exact ſomething more, when they inſiſt the Queen's Miniſters ſhould propoſe the holding a Conference, in which the firſt propoſitions ſtarted would appear, in ſome meaſure, contrary to what the Queen ſaid in her ſpeech, touching the Barrier of the *States*. The point in diſpute between your Plenipotentiaries and ours is not to know, Whether *Tournay* ſhall be reſtored to the King, or not? For, to obtain that place, it is not neceſſary you ſhould begin by making this ſpecific declaration. But the queſtion is, Whether the Queen ought formally, and at preſent, to declare that *Tournay* ſhall be reſtored to *France?* Which would be to conſent to the explanation, which your Miniſters give to this article of the Queen's ſpeech. His Lordſhip then ſays: 'Not to ſwell my letter too much, which may already ſeem tedious, I refer myſelf to what Mr. *Prior* ſhall have the honour to explain to you upon this point; and I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that, as it is not difficult to find a temperament, I hope we ſhall avoid all things, that may occaſion a diſpute between the Miniſters of *Great-Britain* and *France*.' This temperament is to be found in his letter to Mr. *Prior* of the ſame day, which, he ſays, 'is to be looked upon only as a letter from *Harry* to *Mat*, and not the Secretary to the Miniſter.' He ſends him incloſed an extract of his letter to Monſieur *de Torcy*, 'which, he ſays, relates to a matter, that has given Lord Treaſurer and himſelf no ſmall trouble in the Cabinet. He likewiſe ſends him a copy of the Plenipotentiaries diſpatch of the 2d of *September* upon the ſame ſubject; wherein, as he will obſerve, their Lordſhips are very warm about the diſputes. He can aſſure him, we have thoſe, who are not a jot cooler. His Lordſhip goes on: The ſolution of this difficulty muſt come from you; which is a matter of management and appearance, more than of ſubſtance. The method of doing it is by making Monſieur *de Torcy* ſenſible of the propoſition ſettled between them in *France*, that the Queen can never do any thing, which ſhall look like a direct reſtraint on her Allies from demanding what they judge neceſſary; but as long as they act the part, which they now do, ſhe can very juſtly be paſſive and neuter as to their intereſts. This his Lordſhip thinks is advantage enough for *France*, and ſuch a one, fairly ſpeaking, as a year ago they would have given more than *Tournay* to be ſure of. They muſt not therefore preſs us to go further than this, nor to do any thing, which may ſeem contradictory to what the Queen delivered from the Throne. In a word, the uſe, which the *French* will make of the unaccountable obſtinacy of the *Dutch*, and the other Allies, may, in ſeveral reſpects, and particularly, for aught I know, in the inſtance of *Tournay*, give them an opportunity of ſaving and gaining more than they could have hoped for; and the Queen may in the preſent circumſtances contribute paſſively to this end, but actively ſhe never can in any circumſtances.' His Lordſhip then very plainly gives his advice how this matter is to be managed in theſe words: 'I think in my opinion, and I believe I ſpeak the Queen's upon this occaſion, it were better the *French* ſhould in the courſe of the treaty declare, that, whatever they intended to have given the *Dutch*, when the Queen ſpoke from the Throne, their conduct has been ſuch, and the ſituation of affairs is ſo altered, that the King is reſolved to have *Tournay* reſtored to him: I ſay, I believe this were better, than to expect, that we ſhould aſſent to an expoſition of the Queen's words, by which her Majeſty would yield the town up. Let the Conferences begin as ſoon as they will, I dare ſay, buſineſs will not very ſpeedily be diſpatched in them. We ſhall go on to ripen every thing for a concluſion between us and *Savoy*, *France*, and *Spain*, and this is the true point of view, which the *French* ought to have before their eyes.' This ſcheme being concerted here, and tranſmitted to *France*, Lord *Bolingbroke* on the ſame day writes to the Plenipotentiaries, in anſwer to theirs of the 2d of *September*, *N. S.* upon which he had before told them, he could give no inſtructions, till their letter was conſidered by the Lords of the Council; neither does his Lordſhip now ſend them any directions, but inlarges upon the ſame general topicks of imputing all the miſchiefs, that had happened, and in particular this affair of *Tournay*, to the obſtinacy of the Allies. His Lordſhip obſerves, 'That, in the plan brought over by Abbot *Gaultier*, the King of *France* begged for *Tournay*, rather than inſiſted upon it; but was now encouraged to refuſe what he only endeavoured to ſave: And, in ſhort, that *France* had now gathered ſtrength by our diviſions, and was grown ſanguine enough to make that plan the *ultimatum* of her conceſſions, which was at firſt nothing more than the *ultimatum* of her offers; but that the *Dutch* had no body to blame for all this but themſelves.' His Lordſhip adds, 'Her Majeſty is very ſenſible of the concern you expreſs for her honour, and will not, you may be ſure, ſuffer herſelf to be a party to any thing, which may appear contradictory to what ſhe has once advanced: And although perhaps the yielding of *Tournay* might be reconciled to the terms of her ſpeech; yet, ſhould the Queen conſent to this expoſition of it, ſuch conſent would be almoſt a formal reſtoration of this place to *France*: And this, my Lords, is what her Majeſty will avoid. But I hope the ſolution of this difficulty will come from *France*; and that, when they have ſo many other quarrels to decide, that court will go back from a meaſure, which muſt involve them in a diſpute with the Queen.' Among Mr. *Prior*'s papers the Committee of Secrecy in 1715 found one, which ſeemed to be the draught of a letter from him to Monſieur *de Torcy*, purſuant to what Lord *Bolingbroke* had written to him upon the ſubject of *Tournay*; which

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1712. which is in ſubſtance the ſame, and almoſt in the very words of Lord *Bolingbroke*'s letter to Mr. *Prior* of the 10th of *September*, with this addition, that it begins thus: 'There is more appearance than ſubſtance in this affair, that is now under agitation at *Utrecht*; and my Lord Treaſurer does not at all doubt but the Court of *France* will find a remedy.' And his Lordſhip was not miſtaken in his expectations. For Monſieur *de Torcy* very readily followed the advice, that was given by the *Engliſh* Miniſtry; and on the 27th of *September*, *N. S.* ſends Lord *Bolingbroke* a declaration to be made by the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, wherein the King's Miniſters are ordered to declare to thoſe of *Great-Britain*, 'That the King did conſent to treat of the peace upon the plan laid down in the Queen's ſpeech to her Parliament; but at the ſame time they were to ſay, that the *Dutch* having refuſed to conform to the ſentiments of that Princeſs, having rejected the ſuſpenſion of arms, and given opportunity to the ſeveral changes in affairs, that had happened; it is but juſt, that his Majeſty ſhould be recompenſed for the expence he has been obliged to make during the courſe of this campaign. Upon this foundation his Majeſty orders his Plenipotentiaries not to ſign a peace but upon condition, that *Tournay* ſhould be reſtored to him, beſides the other places, which he has demanded, and which he had reaſon to believe the Queen of *Great-Britain* did deſign to comprehend in her ſpeech.' However the meaſures and counſels relating to this affair were afterwards altered upon great conceſſions made to *France*, and advantageous terms procured for the Elector of *Bavaria*. But that *Tournay* was, at laſt, obtained for the *Dutch*, was principally owing to the firmneſs and reſolution of the *States*, and to the aſſiſtance of the Earl of *Strafford*, who refuſed to ſign the treaty without the ceſſion of that place to the *States*, on which account he received their ſolemn thanks.

Mr. Prior Plenipotentiary at Paris.

Mr. *Prior* having been left by Lord *Bolingbroke* at *Paris*, as the Queen's Plenipotentiary, he was introduced by the Marquiſs *de Torcy* to a private audience of the King; and obtained a favourable interpretation of a clauſe inſerted in the late treaty for a ſuſpenſion of arms, which had raiſed a clamour among the Merchants in *London*. For it having been ſtipulated, 'That none of the Queen's men of war, or merchants ſhips, ſhould tranſport or convoy into *Portugal* or *Catalonia*, or any of the places, where they made war at preſent, any troops, arms, cloaths, proviſions, or ammunition:' The *Engliſh* traders were juſtly apprehenſive, that under that pretence they might be debarred from their uſual traffic of corn and fiſh, of which there are great demands at *Liſbon* and *Barcelona*, in time of peace as well as in war.

The French deſtroy our Sugar Iſlands. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

While Mr. *Prior* was in *France*, news came, that a *French* ſquadron in the *Weſt-Indies* was taking the Sugar Iſlands belonging to the *Engliſh*, deſtroying their Plantations, carrying away their Negroes, and making hoſtages of the Planters. Upon notice of this invaſion of the *Leeward Iſlands* by the *French*, the Lord *Bolingbroke* wrote thus to *Prior*, *September* the 19th, *O. S.* 'This proves a very untoward *Contretemps*. It gives a theme to the Whigs, and ſerves to awaken the paſſions that were almoſt lulled aſleep. We expected that *Coſſart*'s ſquadron might have gone to the coaſt of *Brazil*, or to *Surinam*; but we never imagined our Colonies would have been attacked by him, at a time when we were knitting the bonds of friendſhip between the two Nations with all poſſible induſtry. Could this ill opinion of our new friends have entered into our heads, I do aſſure you, he ſhould have been accompanied by a fleet of the Queen's, which would have kept him in reſpect.' He remembers the orders that were ſo punctually and chearfully obeyed by the Duke of *Ormond*, which, as he thinks, ſaved the *French* a beating, and then adds: 'In a word, we depended ſo much upon the good underſtanding which we thought eſtabliſhed, and were ſo earneſt to prevent any thing, which might break in upon it, that we not only avoided to fortify our ſquadron, as we might have done, but we alſo neglected to put in execution ſome deſigns, which would have annoyed the *French* and *Spaniards* perhaps more than any which have been effected in the courſe of the war.' 1712.

Prior returns to England. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

Mr. *Prior* was ſo entirely devoted to the *French* Court, that, towards the latter end of *October*, without either leave or orders from the Queen, he came over into *England*, at the deſire of the King of *France*, who thought him a proper perſon to be intruſted with the great ſecret of prevailing with the Queen, by her credit, to obtain what he demanded for the Elector of *Bavaria*; for which purpoſe he brought a credential letter to the Queen, importing, 'That his conduct was very agreeable to that Monarch.' About the middle of *November* he was ſent back to *France* with new inſtructions, wherein the propoſal of a neutrality in *Italy* was one of the chief articles: And, that he might have a perfect knowledge of the Queen's preſent reſolutions and counſels, in relation to the preſent treaty of peace, a copy of the laſt inſtructions to the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* was given him, that, as occaſion ſhould require, he might act in all things conformable to the Queen's intentions therein expreſſed. He carried likewiſe a letter from the Queen to the King of *France*, wherein, among other things, it is ſaid, that, Mr. *Prior* continuing to behave himſelf ſo, as that his conduct may be entirely agreeable to the King of *France*, he does but literally execute the order the Queen had given him, and is a proof of his duty and zeal for her ſervice.

Endeavours to bring the Duke of Savoy into the Queen's meaſures.

About this time, in order to conquer the obſtinacy of the *Dutch*, it was induſtriouſly given out in *England* and *Holland*, that the Duke of *Savoy* had agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms; which report had, as yet, no other foundation, than the earneſt endeavours of the *Britiſh* Miniſters to bring him into the Queen's meaſures; for which the Emperor's backwardneſs to give him ſatisfaction about ſome claims, not ill-grounded, gave them a very plauſible handle. The differences, which had been long depending between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Turin*, having been very prejudicial to the Confederate intereſt, becauſe the Duke of *Savoy* rather choſe to ſtand ſtill, than, by going into the field, to promote the intereſt of an Ally, who ſtill put off the performance of his engagements to him: The maritime Powers uſed their utmoſt endeavours to put an end to theſe fatal diſputes. Both parties were at laſt prevail-

1712. ed with, to refer the controverſy to the arbitration of the Queen and the *States*, whoſe Envoys, Mr. *Stanyan* and Monſieur *Vander Meer*, having met at *Milan* the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and the Duke of *Savoy*, and maturely weighed the allegations on both ſides, they agreed on a ſentence of arbitration, importing in ſubſtance, that either the town of *Vigevano*, or an equivalent for it, ſhould be given to the Duke, together with ſeveral other diſtricts. The Duke of *Savoy* readily acquieſced in this deciſion, for which he returned thanks to the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters; but the Imperial Commiſſioners ſolemnly proteſted againſt it; which was very ill reliſhed at the Court of *Great-Britain*. While this affair was depending, the Duke of *Savoy* ordered Count *Maffei*, his firſt Plenipotentiary at *Utrecht*, to repair, about the middle of *May*, to *London*, to ſollicit the arrears of ſubſidies due to him; and, the better to ſucceed in his Negotiation, that Miniſter did not fail inſinuating, that his Maſter was inclinable to enter into the *Britiſh* meaſures. Upon this hint, Mr. *St. John*, who ſeized all opportunities to mortify the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſtarted the propoſal of giving the Kingdom of *Sicily* to the Duke of *Savoy*, in order to engage him in his views. And therefore, though the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* had early offered that Iſland to the Emperor, yet the *Britiſh* Miniſter declared to the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, that the Queen abſolutely demanded it for the Duke of *Savoy*. It is, however, obſervable, that the Duke was ſo far from reliſhing this propoſition, that he declared to the Earl of *Peterborough* at *Turin*, 'That he was not ſo vainly impatient for the title of a King, as to loſe or hazard any real intereſt for an empty name; but that he thought it much more extraordinary, that a Prince defeated ten years together by his enemies ſhould remain, at laſt, with the prize contended for, and which ſo often, by Parliament, had been declared the juſt and unavoidable motive of the war.' To calm the uneaſineſs of mind the Duke of *Savoy* was in, the Earl of *Peterborough* repreſented in a memorial to him, 'That, in refuſing thoſe offers, he muſt fall out with the Queen and the *Engliſh* Miniſters, whom he endeavoured to excuſe from the reproaches caſt upon them, as if they were perſons devoted to *France*. That, for the ſupport of what was propoſed, a ſufficient fleet would be furniſhed, either by *England* or *France*, or by both powers jointly; and that he ſhould be guaranteed and protected againſt any power, that ſhould oppoſe this project, or ſhould inſult him for having accepted theſe offers.' The arguments of the *Britiſh* Miniſters prevailed at length with the Duke; and, if their deſign was effectually to diſable the Emperor from ſupporting himſelf againſt *France*, after the ſeparation of the *Engliſh*, by forcing into the intereſt of *France* an Ally ſo conſiderable as the Duke of *Savoy*, theſe meaſures were certainly extremely well calculated for ſuch an end. This forwardneſs of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry to make *England* a guarantee for conditions advantageous only to *France*, and which muſt naturally have engaged the Nation in a war with the Emperor, was the more extraordinary, in that, during the whole courſe of this Negotiation, no endeavours were uſed to procure a guaranty of the Allies to ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion, which had been addreſſed for by both Houſes of Parliament. While the Earl of *Peterborough* was alluring the Duke of *Savoy* with the promiſe of *Sicily*, the *French* endeavoured to draw him off by open force. But the Duke of *Berwick*, after an unſucceſsful attempt to ſurprize Fort *Edmund* and *Conti*, and the plundering of the neighbourhood of *Saluſſes*, which occaſioned a warm ſkirmiſh, was obliged to repaſs the *Alpes* with an inconſiderable booty. On the other hand, Count *Maffei* having, with great addreſs, obtained from the *Britiſh* Court a large ſum of money, in part of the arrears due to his Maſter, he returned to his poſt at *Utrecht*, towards the end of *September*, *O. S.* by which time the Emperor had ſent orders to his Miniſters at *Milan*, to give the Duke of *Savoy* intire ſatisfaction. But this condeſcenſion had no effect upon a Prince, who was already biaſſed by the gold and promiſes of *Great-Britain*.

June 27. N. S.

1712.

The *Engliſh* Miniſters, and their agents, were not equally ſucceſsful in ſome Courts of *Germany*. Mr. *Thomas Harley*, a near relation of the Lord Treaſurer, who, about the beginning of this year, had been appointed to go to *Hanover* with a ſecret commiſſion, having ſtaid ſome months in *Holland*, to watch the progreſs of the Negotiations at *Utrecht* and the *Hague*, ſet out, at laſt, about the beginning of *July* for *Germany*. On the 12th of that month, *N. S.* he arrived at *Hanover*, accompanied by Mr. *St. John*, brother to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, and ſome other young *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who were all entertained at the Elector's expence. Three days after, Mr. *Harley*, who from the ſtation of coadjutor to the Secretary of the Treaſury, was now raiſed to the character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary, had a public audience of the Elector, and afterwards of the Princeſs *Sophia*, Electreſs Dowager, and of the Electoral Prince and Princeſs, by whom he was received with diſtinguiſhing marks of favour, as one ſo nearly related to the Prime Miniſter of *Great-Britain*. The deſign of this Ambaſſy was to perſuade the Elector to come into the *Britiſh* meaſures, which Mr. *Harley* preſſed ſtrongly, and, amongſt other arguments, told him, 'That the contrary would do him an injury in the minds of the people, who were ſet upon peace.' But the Elector remained firm in the ſentiments, which he formerly expreſſed in the Memorial preſented about a year before by Baron *Bothmar*, and anſwered Mr. *Harley* to this effect: 'I do not put myſelf upon the foot of one pretending immediately to the Throne of *Great-Britain*. The Queen is a young woman, and, I hope, will live a great many years. When ſhe dies, my mother is before me. Whenever it pleaſes God to call me to that ſtation, I hope to act as becomes me, for the advantage of the people. In the mean time, ſpeak to me, as to a *German* Prince, and a Prince of the Empire. As ſuch, I muſt tell you, I cannot depart from what I take to be the true intereſt of the Empire and the *Dutch*.' Mr. *Harley*, having continued above two months at *Hanover*, ſet out from thence to return to *Great-Britain*.

Endeavours were likewiſe uſed about this time to bring the King of *Pruſſia* into pacific meaſures, with no better ſucceſs than at the Court of *Hanover*. But, notwithſtanding theſe and other diſappointments, the *Britiſh* Miniſters purſued their ſcheme with ſteadineſs and reſolution; which being chiefly founded on King *Philip*'s renunciation of the Crown of *France*, the Lord

1712. *Lexington* was appointed to go to *Spain*, to preſs and be witneſs of the performance of that important Preliminary.

New ſcheme of peace propoſed by the Dutch.

Though the public Negotiation at *Utrecht* was, for ſome months, at a ſtand, upon account of the diſpute between *Meſnager* and *Rechteren*; yet, ſome private ſteps were made in the mean while for bringing the war to a concluſion: For on the 9th of *October*, *N. S.* the Miniſters of the *States* declared to thoſe of *Great-Britain*, 'That, for the good of peace, the *States* were willing to yield *Liſle* to *France*, and recede from their pretenſions to have *Doway*, *Valenciennes*, and *Maubeuge*, which they had hitherto inſiſted upon; provided *Condé* and *Tournay* were included in the Barrier, the Tariffs of 1664 reſtored, and that *Sicily* be yielded to the Emperor, and *Strasburg* to the Empire.' This propoſal was immediately tranſmitted to the Court of *Great-Britain*, where it was looked upon as more reaſonable than any of the former ſchemes. On the other hand, the Imperial Miniſters finding the *States* inclined to yield up *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to King *Philip*, to which they knew their Maſter was unwilling to conſent, Count *Zinzendorf* propoſed a plan, according to which the Emperor, and the *States* of the Empire ſhould furniſh four millions of crowns, which were ſuppoſed to be ſufficient to put their forces in a condition to act offenſively, and to maintain moſt of the Auxiliaries lately in the *Britiſh* pay. But, it having been found by long experience, that there was no great dependence to be made on ſuch promiſes, ſome of the Princes, to whom thoſe troops belonged, reſolved to recall them upon various pretences.

The Earl of Strafford comes to England.

On the 4th of *October*, one of the Queen's Meſſengers arrived at *Utrecht* with diſpatches for her Miniſters; and after a Conference with thoſe of the *States*, the Earl of *Strafford*, the next morning, ſet out for *England*, and on the 13th arrived at *Whitehall*.

Various conjectures about it.

The Earl's ſudden departure from *Holland* occaſioned various conjectures both at home and abroad. The general opinion was, that he was ſent for to give the Queen and her Miniſters a verbal account of the diſpoſition, in which he left the *Dutch* as to peace and war, and to receive the Queen's inſtructions in relation to their late ſcheme. But thoſe, who obſerved what paſſed at Court, aſcribed his coming over to a miſunderſtanding, which, about this time, appeared to be among the Queen's ſervants. It is evident (from the Lord-Treaſurer's account of public affairs, ſent to the Queen in *Auguſt* 1714) that there had been ſeveral miſunderſtandings between him and the Lord *Bolingbroke*. He obſerves particularly, that, when it was found neceſſary to create ſome new Peers in the Seſſion of Parliament in 1711, ſo many having been brought formerly out of the Houſe of Commons of thoſe, who uſed to manage public affairs, it was propoſed to Mr. Secretary *St. John*, that, if he would be contented to ſtay in the Houſe, of Commons that Seſſion, the Queen would create him a Peer, and he ſhould not loſe his rank: Accordingly, after the Seſſion was ended, the Queen ordered a warrant for him to be a Viſcount; which put him into the utmoſt rage againſt the Lord-Treaſurer and Lady *Maſham*. It availed but little to tell him, how much he had got in place; for, had he been created with the other Lords, it would have fallen

Miſunderſtanding at Court.

to his ſhare to have come next after Lord *Trevor*. But the Treaſurer, with great patience, bore all that ſtorm, of which Lady *Maſham* was often a witneſs; and Mr. *Arthur Moore*, a conſiderable time after, told the Treaſurer, that Lord *Bolingbroke* ſaid to him, he owed him a revenge upon that head. This diſcontent continued, till there happened an opportunity of ſending him to *France*, *of which there was*, ſays the Treaſurer, *not much occaſion*; but it was hoped, this would put him in good humour; which it did, till, in *October* 1712, there were Knights of the Garter made; which occaſioned a new reſentment from Lord *Bolingbroke*, which frequently broke out in outrageous expreſſions publickly againſt all then made; who were the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Hamilton*, and *Kent*; the Earl *Paulet*, and the Earls of *Oxford* and *Strafford*. The Duke of *Hamilton* made a private application to the Queen, deſiring, he might be permitted to wear both the Garter and the order of the Thiſtle; but was anſwered, the ſame was unprecedented; and that the Duke of *Argyle* had laid down the Thiſtle, upon his being made Knight of the Garter. 1712. Octob. 2

King Philip's renunciation to the Crown of France. Hiſt. of Eur.

The Lord *Lexington*, who was appointed to go to *Spain*, to preſs the renunciation of King *Philip* to the Crown of *France*, having imbarked at *Portſmouth* on the 15th of *September*, arrived, *October* the 7th, at *Madrid*, where he was received with great marks of honour and diſtinction. Before his arrival, upon information, that Sir —— *Burke* reſided there, as Miniſter of the King of *England*, whoſe arms he had ſet up before his Houſe; the Lord *Lexington* complained of it to the Court, and demanded, that he ſhould depart from *Madrid*, which he was immediately ordered to do. The Lord *Lexington* had then ſeveral Conferences with King *Philip*'s Miniſters about that Prince's renunciation; which being drawn up in form, and agreed to, his Majeſty ſigned it on the 5th of *November*, *N. S.* and ſwore upon the *Holy Evangeliſts*, to obſerve it, in preſence of the Council of State, and of the chief Nobility. The *Cortez*, or *States* of *Spain*, having been ſummoned to meet at *Madrid*, in order to enact this renunciation into a law, King *Philip*, attended by the Preſident of *Caſtile*, and Council of State, went to that aſſembly, and told them, 'That the efforts, which the Nation made with ſo much zeal and fidelity, to ſecure his Crown in two perilous occaſions, were of ſuch a nature, as never to be forgot. And to ſhew his gratitude, to procure peace for his people, and to be never ſeparated from them, he renounced all pretenſions, which either himſelf, or his iſſue, might have to the Crown of *France*; and deſired them to give their conſent to it.' Upon this the *Cortez* confirmed and approved the renunciation, and the Crown of *Spain*, after King *Philip*'s poſterity, was limited to the Houſe of *Savoy*. The Queen, and Prince of *Aſturias*, and the Lord *Lexington*, were preſent at the whole ſolemnity. But it is to be obſerved, that his Lordſhip did not yet take upon him any character; and that ſome time before King *Philip* ſent orders to the Marquiſs *de Monteleone*, who was then at *Paris*, to repair to the Court of *Great-Britain*.

The like renunciation was made ſome months after, by the Princes of *France* to the Crown of *Spain*: And King *Philip* was declared incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown of *France*. It

was

1712. was ſomething ſtrange, to ſee ſo much weight laid on theſe renunciations, ſince the King of *France* had ſo often, and ſo ſolemnly declared (upon his claiming, in the right of his Queen, the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; when the renunciation made by his Queen before the marriage, purſuant to the treaty of the *Pyrenees*, of all rights of Succeſſion to her Father's Dominions, was objected to him) that no renunciation, which was but a civil act, could deſtroy the rights of blood, founded on the laws of nature: But this was now forgot, or very little conſidered.

The Spaniards *invade* Portugal.

While theſe things were tranſacting, endeavours were uſed to bring the Crown of *Portugal* into the preſent meaſures of peace; and, leſt perſuaſion ſhould fail, it was thought proper to uſe more forcible arguments. The Marquiſs *de Bay*, who commanded King *Philip*'s forces in *Eſtremadura*, marched with his army, and incamped within half a league of *Elvas*. To increaſe the jealouſy, which by this march he had given the *Portugueſe*, as if he deſigned to beſiege that place, he went to take a nearer view of it, and then returned to his camp. On the other hand, the *Portugueſe*, deceived by theſe appearances, worked hard in repairing the fortifications of *Elvas*, and conveyed into it two battalions, drawn out of *Campo-Major*; which being the town the Marquiſs *de Bay* had a deſign upon, he marched with the whole army, and inveſted that place. This irruption of the *Spaniards*, to the number of near twenty thouſand men, at a juncture, when *Great-Britain* (the main ſupport of *Portugal* for many years paſt) had reduced all her forces in that country, except two regiments, could not but make the Court of *Portugal* very uneaſy. Their conſternation was very much increaſed, upon the news, that the *Spaniards* had inveſted *Campo-Major*, the moſt regular fortification on the frontiers of *Portugal*; but which, at that time, was not provided either with a ſufficient garriſon, or with ammunition and proviſions for a long ſiege. However, on this occaſion, the *Portugueſe* exerted themſelves with vigour and reſolution, which was in great meaſure owing to the conduct of Major-General *Hogan*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman, and of Brigadier *Maſſey*, an experienced *French* Proteſtant Engineer, who formed, in conjunction with the Count *de Ribeira*, and ſeveral other Officers of note, the deſign of getting into *Campo-Major*, which was executed with very good ſucceſs at the head of two or three hundred *Portugueſe* Grenadiers, a day or two after the enemy had opened the trenches. *Hogan* having alſo got into the town with a ſupply of four or five hundred men, the Count *de Ribeira*, who commanded there in chief, made the neceſſary diſpoſitions to defend the place to the laſt extremity, and was ſo well ſeconded by the officers and troops under him, that he obliged the Marquiſs *de Bay* to raiſe the ſiege. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the expedition of the *Spaniards* had the effect deſired by the Courts of *France* and *Great-Britain*. For, the *Portugueſe* finding they were like to be left by *England*, if they continued the war againſt *Spain*, the Count *de Tarouca*, the *Portugueſe* Miniſter at *Utrecht*, was prevailed upon by the Biſhop of *Briſtol* to come into the Queen's meaſures, and ſign the ſuſpenſion of arms the 7th of *November*. He excuſed this proceeding to the Miniſters of the Allies as a pure effect of neceſſity.

Sept. 22. N. S.

Thus ended the war in *Portugal*. As to the army in *Spain*, the latter end of *September*, Brigadier *Price*, who commanded the *Engliſh*, received a letter by a Trumpeter of the enemy, from Mr. Secretary *St. John*, with orders from the Queen to leave immediately the army of Count *Staremberg*, and march to the ſea-ſide near *Barcelona*, and there to wait the arrival of Sir *John Jennings*, who was to tranſport them to *Port-Mahon*. This ſurpriſing news (ſays the Author of the manuſcript account) cauſed a great conſternation among our Confederates, and very much enraged the *Catalans*, who found, they were going to be forſaken by thoſe they had moſt reaſon to truſt. To prevent the effects of their reſentment, and our being moleſted upon our march by the Miquelets and other country people, the Queen of *Spain* ſent four perſons of diſtinction, to be as ſafe-guards to us, and to take care we ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions. We came to *Barcelona* and incamped by the ſea-ſide, on the very ſpot of ground where King *Charles* landed with the troops, when he beſieged and took that City. Here we continued ſome time before Sir *John Jennings* arrived. With him came over Colonel *Kane*, with a Commiſſion to break *Lepel*'s regiment, that they might ſell their horſes, and to ſee the men on board, with the regiments of foot, and the train of artillery; which orders were executed in a very ſhort time, and we were all carried to *Port-Mahon*.

1711. *The forces in Spain called home.* M. S.

The Duke of *Hamilton* (who had been made Maſter of the Ordnance, vacant by the death of Earl *Rivers*) was appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*. The choice of the Duke for that ambaſſy gave melancholy ſpeculations to thoſe who thought him much in the Pretender's intereſt, and knew, that he was conſidered, not only in *Scotland*, but likewiſe in *England*, as the head of his party. On the other hand the King of *France* named the Duke *d'Aumont*, firſt Gentleman of his bed-chamber to go into *England* with the ſame character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary; which was likewiſe agreeable to the Pretender's friends, to whoſe intereſt he was openly attached.

Duke Hamilton Ambaſſador to France. Burnet.

All this while the Duke of *Ormond* continued in his quarters in *Ghent*, where one of the *Dutch* Field-Deputies came to him the 7th of *September*, *N. S.* being ſent by his collegues, to ſound him upon ſeveral points. He asked firſt, Whether the *Engliſh* troops were to ſtay at *Ghent* and *Bruges* the winter, or how long? To which the Duke anſwered, He could not tell, but ſaw no appearance of their being withdrawn as yet. He asked next, Whether the Duke would conſent to the *States* putting ſome of their troops into *Ghent*, to take care of their convoys, and eſcorte them to their frontier garriſons? The Duke ſaid, He thought himſelf obliged not to ſuffer any troops, but thoſe of the Queen, to continue in the town. However he had no intention, by taking or keeping poſſeſſion of that place, to obſtruct their convoys; and that the *Dutch* troops might ſtill come to the counterſcarp of the town, and receive whatever was to be carried to the camp, as had been practiſed ever ſince *Ghent* was in our hands. The Deputy's next queſtion was, Whether the Duke would let part of the *Dutch* troops take their winter quarters in *Bruges*, as they had done ever ſince the reduction of that place? The Duke anſwered, He could

Conference between the Duke of Ormond and a Dutch Deputy. Conſ. of the D. of Orm.

1712. could not admit of any troops whatever, beſides thoſe of the Queen, either into *Ghent* or *Bruges*, till he had her Majeſty's orders. The Lord *Bolingbroke* highly applauded the Duke's conduct on this occaſion, and told him in a letter, ep. 9. S. ‘ That the Queen had received ſo much ill uſage with reſpect to the commerce of her ſubjects in the *Netherlands*, and had ſo much reaſon to expect more of the ſame kind, that ſhe was reſolved to treat upon that head with thoſe pawns in her hand.’ But, upon recollection, the Lord *Bolingbroke*, in a ſecond letter, acquainted the Duke, ‘ That the poſitive order, contained in his firſt, was not ſent to prevent the admiſſion of other troops beſides her Majeſty's, into *Ghent* and *Bruges*. That the Queen was enough ſatisfied, that his Grace would take effectual care to preſerve thoſe cautionary places, which could alone ſecure to her any tolerable conditions, with reſpect to the *Netherlands*, in the terms of peace. But he confeſſed he thought, it could be no ways unneceſſary to give his Grace a very poſitive and clear order, in an affair, which might perhaps make a great deal of noiſe.’ The Duke not only punctually obeyed the orders, which he received from *England*, but was alſo very forward in aſſiſting the Queen's new Friends, the *French*, even at the expence of her old Allies. For being informed of a deſign, which the *Dutch*, from the late ſucceſs of their enterprize upon *Fort Knocque*, had been encouraged to form, for ſurprizing *Newport* or *Furnes*; and that the fortifying *Dixmuyde* was made uſe of as a pretence for drawing together a body of troops ſufficient to put the deſign in execution, the Duke knew not, but the Queen might think it for her ſervice, that the deſign ſhould not ſucceed, ſince, if the *Dutch* were not ſuffered to take poſſeſſion of thoſe garriſons, the Queen would not only have a greater influence towards ſettling the commerce of the *Netherlands* on a good foot, but would be able to ſecure, what was of the higheſt conſequence at that time, a free communication between her troops, which were in *Ghent*, *Bruges*, and *Dunkirk*. He therefore, in a letter of *October* the 21ſt, acquainted the Secretary with this affair, and left his Lordſhip to judge of the importance of it, and the uſe, that was to be made of it. But, if the Queen thought it moſt for her ſervice to prevent it, he was humbly of opinion, ſome means ſhould be found out to give advice of it to the Marſhal *de Villars*, who might poſſibly think, we owed him that good office, in requital of ſome informations, his Lordſhip knew had been ſent by the Marſhal, with a deſign to ſerve her Majeſty and the Nation.’ The Queen was of the ſame opinion concerning the uſe to be made of the intelligence mentioned in this letter; but, the campaign being by this time at an end, the Duke asked and readily obtained leave to return to *England*; and, having taken a view of *Dunkirk*, imbarked there, landed at *Dover* the firſt of *November*, arrived in *London* the next day, and on the fourth waited on the 1712. Queen at *Windſor*, where he met with a moſt gracious reception (1).

King William's *birth-day ſolemnized by the Whigs.* Annals of Q. *Anne.*

The ſame day being the Anniverſary of the birth of King *William* III, great rejoicings were made in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, by the well-affected to the Revolution, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. Among the reſt, a conſiderable number of Lords, Gentlemen, and Citizens, being met at the *Three Tuns* and *Rummer* in *Grace-Church-Street*, to celebrate that feſtival, cauſed a great bonefire to be made before the houſe. The High-Church party, being offended at this, raiſed an oppoſite mob, who offering to diſturb the rejoicing round the bonefire, a ſcuffle enſued, in which the aggreſſors were repulſed; but, the Trained-bands being that day under arms, the fray was ſoon appeaſed, and all was quiet, till the bonefire was conſumed, and the company in the tavern retired. However, this rejoicing was by the Tories repreſented as a ſet deſign to diſturb the Government, particularly in the *Poſt-Boy*. But what was more ridiculous, a report was ſpread of a ſtrange conſpiracy againſt the Lord-Treaſurer, by ſending him on that very day ‘ a band-box, with three piſtols charged and cocked, whoſe triggers being tied to a packthread faſtened to the cover, the piſtols would have gone off, and done execution, at the opening of the box, had not the ſame been miraculouſly prevented by Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, who being then in the room, while his Lordſhip was ſhaving, ſuſpected ſomething, and opened the box in ſuch a manner, that no miſchief was done.’ This was the firſt ſtory, that was whiſpered about; but the belief of ſuch an extravagant plot was ſoon exploded; when it was found, that the three piſtols were no more than a ſteel ſet on a piſtol-ſtock to ſtrike fire, and two inkhorns or ſquibs; ſo that the lucky diſcoverer, Dr. *Swift*, was by many ſuſpected to have been the ingenious contriver of this political machine.

Duke Hamilton *and Lord* Mohun *killed in a duel.*

Another accident happened about this time, which the Miniſters laid hold of, to improve a private animoſity, if not into a conſpiracy againſt the Government, at leaſt into a party quarrel. A law-ſuit, which for about eleven years had been depending between the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Lord *Mohun*, had created a great animoſity between theſe two Noblemen; ſo that, on the 13th of *November*, at a meeting at Mr. *Orlebar*'s, a Maſter in Chancery's Chambers in the *Rolls*, the Duke having reflected on Mr. *Whiteworth* (father of Lord *Whiteworth*, late Ambaſſador to the Czar) who was examined as a witneſs on the Lord *Mohun*'s ſide, ſaying, *He had neither truth nor juſtice in him*; the Lord *Mohun* thought himſelf obliged to vindicate that Gentleman, which he did, by ſaying, *He had as much as his Grace.* The Duke having made no reply, all ſeemed to end amicably; for they both continued in the ſame place above half an hour, and, at parting, the Duke, going out firſt,

(1) *Burnet* ſays, our army continued this winter about *Ghent* and *Bruges*; and we kept a ſort of garriſon in *Dunkirk*: But that was ſo ill ſupplied with artillery and ammunition, that it was viſible they were not in a condition to keep the place, any longer than the *French* were willing to let them ſtay in it. And, during that time, they were neither allowed to have a place to worſhip God, nor to bury their dead in, tho' by a mortality that raged there ſome thouſands died. *Burnet*, II. 615.

1712. firſt, made a low bow to the Lord *Mohun*, who, in like manner, returned his civility; ſo that none of the perſons there preſent ſuſpected any conſequence from what had paſſed. But, the next day, General *Maccartney* went twice to the Duke of *Hamilton*'s houſe, with a challenge to him from the Lord *Mohun*; and, in the evening, the Duke, accompanied by Colonel *John Hamilton*, went to meet General *Maccartney* at the *Roſe-Tavern*, and was a few minutes in private with him; whilſt the Lord *Mohun* and the Colonel were in ſeparate rooms, Mr. *Maccartney* went ſeveral times between the Duke and Lord *Mohun*; from which, and other circumſtances, his enemies took occaſion to give out, that he had rather inflamed, than endeavoured to compoſe the quarrel. But all that can be fairly conjectured is, that the time and place of the duel were there fixed and agreed on. The Lord *Mohun* and General *Maccartney* lay that night at the *Bagnio* in *Long-Acre*; and, on *Sunday* the 15th of *November*, about ſeven o'clock in the morning, went in a hackney-coach to the lodge in *Hyde-Park*, where being ſoon after met by the Duke of *Hamilton*, and his Second Colonel *Hamilton*, they all leaped over a ditch, into a place called the *Nurſery*. Lord *Mohun* would not have had the Seconds engage; but the Duke inſiſted, that *Mr.* Maccartney *ſhould have a ſhare in the dance*; from whence the General's enemies ſtrengthened their ſuggeſtion, that he had been the inſtigator of the duel. All having drawn, the two Principals made ſuch violent and deſperate paſſes at each other, being rather intent to give than to parry thruſts, that they ſoon fell down, both mortally wounded; ſo that the Lord *Mohun* died on the ſpot; and the Duke, as his ſervants were carrying him to his coach (1). The two Seconds did not fight at all, as one of the witneſſes depoſed, or fought with ſuch caution, that Colonel *Hamilton* received only a ſmall wound in the inſtep, which, he ſaid, happened by his own ſword, as he was parrying down a full paſs, that *Maccartney* made at him (2). 1712.

The Earl of *Godolphin* died of the ſtone, on the 15th of *September*, this year. He had ſerved in conſiderable employments under four Princes of very different tempers and deſigns. Oppoſite opinions have been delivered of his merit and character. Great abilities and integrity have been aſcribed to him by ſome; while others have freely cenſured him for notorious defects in the latter, and allowed him to have been great by the chance of place and diſtinction. The Treaſurer's Staff was attended with the ill will and averſion of the Tories; for his rival, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, by his turbulent zeal, had gained the higheſt place in their favour. As he had commonly acted in oppoſition to the Whigs, they likewiſe entertained great fears and jealouſies of him. His whole Miniſtry was embarraſſed with both theſe circumſtances; and even prudence, good temper, and ſucceſs could not ſecure him a general good will and confidence. However, the objections, which have been made to him, will, when every thing is duly weighed, be ſilenced, or perhaps turned to his advantage. He had concurred with the worſt of King *Charles* II's Miniſters, and adhered to the laſt to King *James*. In theſe two Reigns he gave no oppoſition; but the ſame active and paſſive obedience was not practiſed by him under King *William*. This was aſcribed to his retaining principles, very inconſiſtent with an intire approbation of his Government; to which has been added a paſſionate admiration of and attachment to King *James*'s Queen. The higher eſteem therefore ſeems due to his memory, when we review his conduct in the fulneſs of Death and character of the Earl of Godolphin.

(1) *Burnet*, on this occaſion, ſays: I will add no character of him: I am ſorry I cannot ſay ſo much good of him as I could wiſh, and I had too much kindneſs for him, to ſay any evil without neceſſity. Nor ſhall I make any reflections on the deplorable effect of thoſe unchriſtian and barbarous maxims, which have prevailed ſo univerſally, that there is little hope left of ſeeing them rooted out of the minds of men; the falſe notions of honour and courage being too ſtrong, to be weighed down by prudent or religious conſiderations. *Burnet*, II. 612.

(2) The High-Church men and the Jacobites were ſo ſenſibly touched with the loſs of one of their principal Champions, that they charged this unfortunate duel on the whole Whig-party; ſuggeſting, 'That, having tried all other methods in vain, they returned to their expedient of *Murder*, and imployed treachery and violence at once. That their General [the Duke of *Marlborough*] ſet the example of party duels, which was only to give them a ſanction; and deputed that infamous meſſenger of his challenge to be the general bully of the faction. That the preſent Lord Treaſurer had almoſt miraculouſly eſcaped their laſt engine of aſſaſſination [meaning the band-box.] That the bravo, *Maccartney*, who depended for his ſupport on the Lord *Mohun*, was forced to keep up his patron's courage with wine, till within a very few hours of their meeting in the field: And that the mortal wound, which the Duke received, after his adverſary was run through the heart, could not be given by any but *Maccartney*.' This laſt accuſation being like to lay an indelible odium on the Whigs, great induſtry, and indeed all indirect means were uſed to propagate the belief of it. In order to that, Colonel *Hamilton* depoſed before the Privy-Council, 'That, ſeeing Lord *Mohun* fall, and the Duke upon him, he ran to the Duke's aſſiſtance; and, that he might with the more eaſe help him, he flung down both their ſwords; and, as he was raiſing the Duke up, he ſaw *Maccartney make a puſh at his Grace*.' Upon which an advertiſement was publiſhed by the Government *for the diſcovery of Lieutenant-General* Maccartney, ſuggeſting, that *it had appeared upon oath, that the wound, whereof the Duke died, was given him by* Maccartney. On the other hand, it was alledged, in vindication of the Whigs in general, and of General *Maccartney* in particular, 'That the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Lord *Mohun* purſued their private animoſities, occaſioned by the law-ſuit before-mentioned, which had been depending many years; which plainly appeared from the Duke's having often been forewarned to avoid the Lord *Mohun*'s company. That the latter might probably have been inclined to decide the matter by the ſword, upon an apprehenſion, either that the Duke would at laſt remove the cauſe to the Houſe of Peers, where he might hope to ſupply by friends and intereſt what he wanted in juſtice and equity; or that, upon his return from his ambaſſy in *France*, he might beg and obtain of the Crown the late Earl of *Macclesfield*'s eſtate, which was the prize contended for, upon a pretence, that the outlawry againſt that Earl was not reverſed in due form.' As to the ſuggeſtion, that General *Maccartney* ſtabbed the Duke of *Hamilton*, the falſity of that horrid imputation ſufficiently appeared, both from the ſeveral depoſitions taken at the Coroner's Inqueſt, and from the reports and declarations of two or three eminent Surgeons, who

Examiner, Nov. 20.

12. of his power: In this ſituation it will appear, how truly ſuperior he became to all prejudices and prepoſſeſſions. His deliberations were conſtant and determined for our proſperity at home, and our ſucceſs abroad. If his difficulties and diſadvantages, particularly thoſe with the Queen, were duly explained, his attention to the welfare of the Nation would be the ſubject of great admiration. The Union of the two Kingdoms was his work; and, though this tranſaction has been often condemned by great numbers of both parties, yet that does not leſſen the merit of the performance. All changes and alterations, tho' conducted with the utmoſt honeſty and ſkill, muſt be attended with ſeveral inconveniencies; and it is too common with mankind to inſiſt only upon theſe, while they paſs over in ſilence the moſt ſubſtantial advantages. By means of this Union, the Proteſtant Succeſſion was ſecured; the influence of *France* on the affairs of *Scotland* was much weakened; many occaſions of feuds and animoſities were removed; and the benefits reſulting to the whole Iſland were immediate and important, and likely to be perpetually increaſing. Our accounts of the manner of carrying on this affair are not ſufficiently full and exact; for which reaſon the great inſtrument of it cannot have his juſt praiſe. Alliances and the force of recommendations impoſed upon him in ſome inſtances; but his great concern was to employ men of capacity and integrity; and ſuch were ſure of his kindeſt regards. This became the more remarkable, becauſe another great man was not ſo ſkilful and cautious, or very unlucky. He had a true ſenſe of the Nation's welfare, and of the proper methods of promoting it. Rude and inſolent reproaches from a certain quarter, on the account of his former attachments and correſpondencies, were clear proofs of his having renounced them. No perſon was more earneſt and ſkilful in projects for annoying the enemy by attempts on *France*, *Spain*, *Dunkirk*, and the *Weſt-Indies*; but many of them were defeated by winds and other accidents. Late and expenſive experiments have convinced us of the difficulties and hazards of *Weſt-India* expeditions; and ſuch attempts became improper, when encouragement was given to ſend King *Charles* into *Spain*. Had we ſecured that Monarchy for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, when it was in our power, we ſhould have been intitled to advantages ſuperior to any conqueſt. The piece *upon the management of the war*, and the *four anſwers* to the *conduct of the Allies*, have clearly proved, that there was no partiality to the Duke of *Marlborough*; but that every part of the war was attended to in the moſt proper manner; and we have there accounts given of the advantages of the Miniſter's Treaties and our Alliances with *Savoy* and *Portugal*. Our military co-operations with *Portugal* were embarraſſed with many difficulties and inconveniencies. But what muſt have been the caſe, had the *French* party prevailed there? No impreſſions could have been made on *Spain*; which would have been a great diſadvantage to the common cauſe. Without their ports, our fleet muſt have been expoſed to many dangers and diſtreſſes. The prodigious benefits of the commerce then opened are well known, but have not been ſufficiently acknowledged. Thoſe, who ſtudy detraction, obſerve how many circumſtances concurred to his ſucceſsful management of the Treaſury. The ſecurity and ſafety of the Bank, punctual payments, and the ready command of money in the funds, had been experienced ſeveral years, and moſt effectually ſilenced popular objections. Many defective ways of raiſing the ſupply in King *William*'s time had ſuggeſted proper methods of caution; but, above all, our great ſucceſs abroad was the life and ſupport of public credit. But might not our advantages in ſome degree be aſcribed to the Treaſurer's exact care in payments? By his attention to our trade and commerce, did not he lay the foundation for a due and full ſupply? When all the marks of prudence and regularity are attended with ſucceſs, the chief conductor hath a fair claim to a large portion of merit. He is ſaid to have preſerved great appearances of wiſdom by ſilence and reſerve, which are particulars of behaviour ſuppoſed to be inconſiſtent with a great and generous mind. But this was not owing to any thing mean and unworthy; for in all conſultations on buſineſs he diſcovered a ſurprizing greatneſs of courage, and a quick and moſt exact diſcernment. His kind, equal, and obliging temper indeared his memory to all, who had the pleaſure and advantage of his converſation. His behaviour to the Queen was ſo faultleſs, that, when ſhe was influenced to diſmiſs him, ſhame and concern would not allow her to admit him into her preſence; and, therefore inſtead of permitting him to reſign into her hands the Treaſurer's Staff, a letter was ſent to order him to break it. Unbecoming inſtances of behaviour may be produced in the lives of great men of all ages and all imployments. Had this been duly conſidered, ſuch ſevere reproaches had not been caſt upon this Miniſter for his love of play and horſe-races; by which indeed he became too much, and too frequently engaged with the moſt worthleſs 1712.

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who were unanimous, 'That the wound the Duke received in his right arm, and which was allowed on all hands to have been given by the Lord *Mohun*, was the immediate occaſion of his Grace's death.' Colonel *Hamilton* foully prevaricated at his trial on account of this duel, and perſiſted in accuſing General *Maccartney*. But his ſilence at the place where they fought, and where they both continued a conſiderable time, taking care of their reſpective Principals, raiſed an unanſwerable objection to the Colonel's evidence, and fixed upon him an infamous character, either for charging a Murder upon an innocent man, or for ſuffering the Murderer of the noble perſon, whoſe Second he was, to make his eſcape, when it was in his power to ſecure him. Under this juſt imputation Colonel *Hamilton* lived obſcurely the remainder of his days, becoming ſo odious to all men of honour, that he was obliged to ſell his company in the guards, and died *October* the 17th, 1716, of a ſudden vomiting of blood, which could not be ſtopped. Strict ſearch was made after Lieutenant-General *Maccartney*; and, beſides the five hundred pounds promiſed by the Queen's proclamation, three hundred more were offered by the Ducheſs of *Hamilton*, as a reward to whomſoever ſhould diſcover him. But Mr. *Maccartney* having, after the fatal duel, walked to *Kenſington*, and thence to *Chelſea*, went from thence to the Duke of *Richmond*'s houſe in the *Privy-Garden*, near *Whitehall*; lay there that night; and, early the next morning, croſſed the *Thames*; and then, in a diſguiſe, went over to *Flanders*.

(1) A De-

1712. leſs of men, gameſters and jockies. But after all, when this objection is thoroughly examined, nothing will appear but a faulty choice of improper amuſements; and there were no imputations upon him of any fraudulent practices, tho' ſuch were then not unfamiliar to perſons of his rank. Nor did his love for theſe diverſions ever draw him off from the duties of his high ſtation. Complaints have perhaps been too juſtly made againſt thoſe, who have the chief power in diſpoſing of places, that the merit of perſons of low rank, though very ſignificant, is ſeldom duly conſidered. And therefore inſtances of this kind ſhould not be deemed the peculiar fault of this great man. His letter to the Queen juſt before his diſmiſſion furniſhes us with the fulleſt ideas of his worth and character; and time hath abundantly verified the repreſentations, which he therein made with dignity and decency, a becoming warmth, and an honeſt freedom. Such a ſenſe of affairs, and ſuch expreſſions, could only proceed from a mind truly great and truly good.

The Duke of Marlborough *retires beyond ſea.* Burnet.

Upon his death the Duke of *Marlborough* reſolved to go and live beyond ſea. He went away in the end of *November*, and his Ducheſs followed him in the beginning of *February* following. This was variouſly cenſured; ſome pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the concerns of his country; and they repreſented it as the effect of fear, with too anxious a care to ſecure himſelf. Others were glad he was ſafe out of ill hands; whereby, if the Nation ſhould fall into the convulſions of a civil war, he would be able to aſſiſt the Elector of *Hanover*, as being ſo intirely beloved and confided in by all our military men; whereas, if he had ſtaid in *England*, it was not to be doubted, but, upon the leaſt ſhadow of ſuſpicion, he would have been immediately ſecured; but now he would be at liberty, being beyond ſea, to act as there might be occaſion for it.

There were two ſuits begun againſt him: The one was for the two and a half *per cent.* which the foreign Princes were content ſhould be deducted for contingencies, of which an account has been given. The other was for arrears due to the builders of *Blenheim-Houſe*. The Queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the Acts of Parliament, which confirmed the grant of *Woodſtock* to him and his heirs, it was ſaid the Queen built the houſe for him. Yet now, that the tradeſmen were let run into an arrear of 30,000*l.* the Queen refuſed to pay any more, and ſet them upon ſuing the Duke of *Marlborough* for it, though he had never contracted with any of them. Upon his going beyond ſea, both thoſe ſuits were ſtaid, which gave occaſion to people to imagine, that the Miniſtry, being diſturbed to ſee ſo much public reſpect paid to a man, whom they had uſed ſo ill, had ſet theſe proſecutions on foot, only to render his ſtay in *England* uneaſy to him. 1712

The Duke ſet out for *Dover* the 24th of *November*; imbarked on board the *North-Britain* packet-boat; and, on the 1ſt of *December*, landed at *Oſtend*, under a triple diſcharge of all the cannon on the ramparts. At his landing, he was received by General *Cadogan* and Brigadier *de Caris*, Governor of the place, and conducted by a vaſt concourſe of people to Captain *Brown*'s, where he dined. He ſupped with the Governor; lay that night at the Burgomaſter's; and, the next day, ſet out for *Antwerp*. He was received with extraordinary marks of reſpect in all the *Dutch* garriſons, particularly at *Maeſtricht*, from whence he repaired to *Aix la Chapelle*. But General *Cadogan* paid dear for the civilities, he ſhewed the Duke, being ſoon after diſmiſſed from all his employments.

Upon the death of Duke *Hamilton*, it was for ſome days uncertain, who ſhould ſucceed him as Ambaſſador to the Court of *France*, the Lord *Bolingbroke* being very much againſt the Duke of *Shrewſbury*'s being employed in that ſtation; but, however, he was named by the Queen for that employment, and went over to *France* in the end of *December*. The ſame yatcht, which carried him to *Calais*, brought over the Duke *d'Aumont*, the *French* Ambaſſador, who was a good-natured and generous man, of profuſe expence, throwing handfuls of money out of his coach, as he went about the ſtreets. He was not thought a man of buſineſs, and ſeemed to employ himſelf chiefly in maintaining the dignity of his character, and making himſelf acceptable to the Nation. The D of Shrewsbury ſent to France. Burnet.

On the 20th of *November*, the Earl of *Strafford* was ſent back to the *Hague* with the *French* plan, which came to be called the Queen's new plan of peace (1). The ſubſtance of this plan is contained in the concluſion of what the Earl ſaid The E of Strafford goes to the Hague with the plan of peace in favour of the Spaniards. Annals of Q. Anne.

(1) A Deputation being made to him on the 8th of *December*, *N. S.* (to whom were added the Penſionary and the Regiſter *Fagel*) the Earl of *Strafford* aſſured them, 'That he was never more pleaſed with being there than on this occaſion, as wiſhing nothing more, than to ſee the antient friendſhip and good correſpondence between her Majeſty and that *State* revived; and flattering himſelf, that as he was charged with orders and inſtructions, which tended to procure a good peace for all *Europe*, and the firm ſecurity of that *State*; ſo a ſolid and laſting friendſhip and correſpondence might thereby be eſtabliſhed between her Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes. That he could not forbear ſaying, he wiſhed the love of war, and the private intereſts of ſome perſons, had never given occaſion for a coldneſs in that friendſhip, which might have proved, and ſtill might prove fatal to that *State*, if the laſt offers now to be made on the part of her Majeſty ſhould not be accepted. That the reflecting on what had paſſed might ſerve to prevent inconveniencies for the future, ſince the refuſal to agree to the ſuſpenſion of arms propoſed by her Majeſty might have brought ruin on that *State*, and had coſt them ſo dear; and that there was reaſon to fear much greater evils, in caſe their High Mightineſſes ſhould now refuſe to conclude the peace jointly with her Majeſty. That the laſt propoſition or overture about peace, made by their High Mightineſſes, contained one point, which was contrary to the engagements her Majeſty had before entered into; namely, that *Sicily* ſhould be given to the Duke of *Savoy*. That, as to ſome other points, inſurmountable obſtacles had now ariſen, which might have been got over, had not ſo ſtrong oppoſition been made to her Majeſty's meaſures, and had not her Majeſty been conſtrained to agree ſeparately to a ſuſpenſion of arms. That the irreſolution of that *State* had been attended by very unhappy accidents; and therefore her Majeſty was very deſirous they would at length come to fix upon ſome propoſitions, reaſonable in themſelves, and of ſuch a nature, that, in the unlucky

2. ſaid to the Deputies of the *States* and the Penſionary, 'Preſſing for a ſpeedy reſolution, whether the *States* were willing or not to ſign the peace jointly with her Majeſty, immediately and without delay, for otherwiſe her Majeſty would be obliged to ſign her peace, without waiting for them to come into it any longer than a fortnight or three weeks at fartheſt. That her Majeſty, aſſuring herſelf that the *States* would not delay to conclude the peace with her, would procure *Tournay* for them, which, with many other places, were not to be expected from *France*, if the Queen ſhould ſign her peace ſeparately. That, as to the Empire, there would be no alteration in what is contained in the Queen's ſpeech relating thereto, nor in any thing with reſpect to the Emperor, only that *Sardinia* ſhould be given to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and that the Duke of *Savoy* ſhould have *Sicily*. That her Majeſty was very deſirous to have the concurrence of the *States* in all that related to that Duke, as well as to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and to oblige the Emperor to conſent to the neutrality of *Italy*, and to withdraw his troops from *Catalonia*. That ſhe further deſired, that the Plenipotentiaries of the *States* at *Utrecht* might be furniſhed with full powers to conclude forthwith the new treaty of Barrier.' This new Barrier treaty, of which he delivered a copy to Regiſter *Fagel*, and by which the former was to be ſet aſide, was deſigned for drawing the *States* in the more. By it the *States* were to maintain the Succeſſion to the Crown, when required by the Queen, but not otherwiſe. This gave ſtill new occaſion for jealouſy. For, whereas, by the former treaty, they were ſtrictly bound to maintain the Succeſſion, ſo that they were obliged to oppoſe any attempts they ſaw made againſt it, they were by this treaty obliged to ſtay till they were ſent to: And, if our Miniſters ſhould come to entertain ill deſigns that way, they would take care no notice ſhould be given to the *States*. 1712.

The new plan being communicated to the *States* of the reſpective provinces, the members of thoſe aſſemblies were variouſly affected. The ceſſion of *Tournay*, after the Treaſurer and Secretary in *England* had put *France* upon inſiſting to have it reſtored, was a great bait to the *Dutch*; and the threat, that they would loſe it, with ſeveral other places, if the Queen ſigned her peace ſeparately, changed the minds of many of them, and diſpoſed them to give a favourable ear to the Lord *Strafford*'s propoſals. That Lord went *incognito* to *Amſterdam*, where he had ſeveral ſucceſsful Conferences with the leading Magiſtrates. *Amſterdam* has always great influence on the *States* of *Holland*, as the *States* of *Holland* have on the *States-General*, and the diſpoſition of that city is generally a rule for the cities and provinces in the affairs of war and peace. But the *States* of *Utrecht* (where the Biſhop of *Briſtol* was not idle in the abſence of Lord *Strafford*) were the firſt that conſented to the new plan, for the Peace and the Barrier; and nine days after the *States* of *Holland* did the ſame; by which time the other provinces had tranſmitted their ſeveral opinions to the *States-General* on that ſubject. All of them were unanimous *The* States *conſent to it.* Dec. 29. N. S.

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lucky conjuncture, wherein affairs now ſtood, they might be obtained of *France*. That her Majeſty had given him permiſſion to declare further, that he well knew, her Majeſty was determined to inſiſt upon, and even to procure from *France*, the ceſſion of *Tournay*, to ſtrengthen the Barrier of that *State* with a place of ſo great importance; but that he knew likewiſe, that her Majeſty's conduct in this matter would wholly depend upon that of the *States*: And that, after the making ſo conſiderable a ſtep in their favour, it was expected, that, on their part, they ſhould forthwith concur with her Majeſty in concluding the peace, without ſtarting new objections, and without making other demands. And that as ſoon as that *State* ſhould declare themſelves in an authentic manner, ſo that her Majeſty could depend upon it; then her Majeſty would cauſe a declaration to be made in full Congreſs, that the article of the ceſſion of *Tournay* ſhould be one of the conditions of peace *ſine qua non*. That he was likewiſe to inform their High Mightineſſes, that the King of *France* had made very ſtrong inſtances for his Ally, the Elector of *Bavaria*; and that the leaſt, which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty pretended to aſk for him, was, that the ſaid Elector ſhould continue in the poſſeſſion of *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, and *Charleroy*; ſubject however to the terms of the Barrier for the *States-General*, till the ſaid Elector were reſtored to his Electorate of *Bavaria* (excluſive of the *Upper Palatinate*) and placed in the rank and dignity of ninth Elector. That the King of *France* would alſo propoſe, that the Kingdom of *Sardinia* be given to that Elector, for effacing, by the title of King, the diſgrace and mortification of being degraded from the rank of firſt Elector: And that her Majeſty judged, that this point might be granted; that ſo the poſſeſſion of *Tournay* may be ſecured to the *States*, and a peace made, which will be ſafe and laſting. That he was alſo to repreſent to their High Mightineſſes, in her Majeſty's name, that her Majeſty was deſirous both to re-eſtabliſh and to maintain an intire union between Her and that *State*; and hoped and aſſuredly believed, that their High Mightineſſes were of the ſame ſentiments with her in this matter. That therefore it was neceſſary, without any loſs of time, to remove all, that that *State* might ſeem to have gained, either to the immediate prejudice, or to the future danger, of her Majeſty's and her Kingdoms intereſts. That he had brought with him a plan of a new treaty of *Succeſſion* and *Barrier*; and muſt inſiſt, that it might be ſigned before the concluſion of the peace. That, upon a diſcuſſion of the now exiſting *Barrier Treaty*, he would make it appear to the Miniſters of this *State*, that many things were therein inſerted, which in *England* were looked upon as diſadvantageous to her Majeſty's ſubjects, and which certainly could not be reconciled either to the letter, or the deſign of the Grand Alliance; nor were conformable to any principles, upon which the preſent Confederacy was made, and the War begun. That he would further ſhew, that the alterations and additions now propoſed were only ſuch, as were neceſſary to rectify the miſtakes, and explain what was dubious, and to ſupply ſome omiſſions in that treaty, and to take away ſome obſtructions thence ariſing to the commerce of *Great-Britain*. That, the particular guaranty of the *Succeſſion* and *Barrier* being thus explained and rectified, it would not only be an additional ſecurity for both Nations, and be cordially executed, whenever the occaſion ſhould happen, but would unite the two Nations in ſtricter bonds of friendſhip and affection: Whereas, on the other hand, that *State* could not but expect a ſlow execution of a treaty, which, by the *Britiſh* Nation, had been declared diſhonourable and diſadvantageous to it. And, in ſhort, that to pretend to hold the ſaid Nation under an engagement of ſuch a nature as this could have no other effect, than to foment jealouſy and miſunderſtanding, which, one time or other, might break out into an open rupture. That, among the terms of the new plan, the fourth article of the treaty of *Barrier* imported, that her Majeſty conſented to the *States* putting garriſons, providing, changing, augmenting,

1712. nimous in one point, to come into the Queen's measures, but every Province (except *Utrecht*) gave their consent with some restrictions. Upon this the *States* wrote a letter to the Queen, signifying their resolution to enter into her measures, and to conclude and sign a peace jointly with her, as also to take with her new engagements on the Protestant Succession and Barrier treaty. However they desired her to interpose for restoring *Strasburg* to the Empire, for adding *Condé* to their Barrier, and for settling the commerce on the foot of the ancient Tariff *; as also for obtaining more reasonable terms for the Emperor: But things were so fixed between the Courts of *France* and *Great-Britain*, that there was no room for interceſſion. The demand of *Strasburg* was rejected by the *French* with so positive an air, that the *British* Court did not move in it more; nor did it appear that we obtained any one condition of the *French*, but was offered in their own project.

* *Of* 1664.

The Barrier Treaty signed.

In conclusion, the *States* were forced to yield in every particular; and then our Ministers, to give some seeming content to the Nation, and to bring the *States* into some confidence with them, ordered the new Barrier Treaty to be signed: And it was given out by their creatures, that the *French* were highly offended at their signing this; making it previous to a general peace, and a sort of guaranty for it. Thus, after all the declamations that were made on the first Barrier Treaty, the Ministers came into a new one, which, though not so secure as the former, yet was liable to all the objections, which were made against that (1).

Soon after the signing of the Barrier Treaty, the *Prussian* Ministers at *Utrecht* received advice, that their King, who for some time had been indisposed, but afterwards was thought out of danger, had a relapse, and his distemper increased to such a degree, that on the 25th of *February*, about noon, he expired as he was speaking to the Prince his Son, and some of his Ministers; having preserved his senses to the very last. He was in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the twenty-fifth of his Government, as Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the thirteenth of his reign as King of *Prussia*. Four days before his death he gave a signal instance of his compassion for the persecuted Protestants of *France*, whom he recommended to the Queen of *Great-Britain*'s protection by a very moving and affectionate letter. He was a virtuous man, and full of zeal in the matters of religion. He raised above two hundred new churches in his dominions. He was weak, and much in the power of his Ministers and Flatterers; but was so apt to hearken to whispers, that he changed twice the whole set of his Ministry. His assuming the title of a King, and his affecting an extraordinary magnificence in his Court, brought a great charge on himself, and on all about him, which made him a severe master to himself, and set him on many pretensions, chiefly those relating to the Prince of *Friseland*, which were not thought well grounded. He was succeeded in

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augmenting, or diminishing them, as they should think fit, in the following places; namely, *Furnes*, *Fort Knocque*, *Ypres*, *Menin*, the town and castle of *Tournay*, *Mons*, *Charleroy*, the town and castle of *Namur*, the castle of *Ghent*, the forts *Pearl*, *Philip*, and *Damme*: That fort *St. Dhona* being joined to the fortifications of *Sluys* shall be yielded in propriety to the *States*; and that the fort of *Rodenhuysen*, on this side of *Ghent*, shall be razed. That in the ninth article it is stipulated, that all the revenues of the places to be yielded up by *France*, which did not belong to the Crown of *Spain*, at the time of the death of King *Charles* II, shall be given to the *State*, towards maintaining the Barrier, except only so much as is necessary for the civil Government of the said towns, places, and castellanies; as also a million of guilders yearly out of the clearest revenues of the rest of the *Spanish Netherlands*. That what related to *Bon*, *Huy*, and *Liege*, should be settled with the Ministers of the Emperor and the Empire: But that her Majesty's opinion was, that the first of those places should be garrisoned by the Imperialists, and the other two by the *States*. That, in the last place, notwithstanding all the provocations, and all the delays on the part of that *State*, the Queen had hitherto kept the Negotiation open: That her Majesty thought she had retarded it long enough, and possibly too long in good policy. That therefore the offers, which her Majesty now made by him, were her *ultimate resolutions*: And that this was the last time she would address herself to their High Mightinesses, in case they should form new delays, and not answer her Majesty's good intentions for their own interests. That, in the mean while, her Majesty had judged herself obliged, in consideration of the great services done by the Duke of *Savoy* for the common cause, and of the danger, to which he was exposed by his firm adherence thereunto, to take care, not only for his security, but likewise for his grandeur, by procuring for him *Sicily*, and the tracts of the country on this side the *Alps*; which were necessary to secure *Exilles* and *Fenestrelles*, and to cover *Piedmont*. That his Succession, after that of King *Philip*, was acknowledged by the *renunciation*. That her Majesty desired the concurrence of this *State* in all that had been promised to his Royal Highness; and that her Majesty desired likewise, that the *States* should join with her, to oblige the Emperor to a neutrality for *Italy*, and to withdraw his troops from *Catalonia*: And that her Majesty was resolved to make the neutrality a condition of transporting the said troops, which her Majesty would do at her own expence; for, without that neutrality, the Emperor might disturb all *Italy*, and particularly the Duke of *Savoy*, on account of his treaty in the year 1703; one of the Imperial Ministers having already threatened a Minister of the Duke of *Savoy* therewith, which would certainly engage the Queen and the *States* in the troubles and wars in *Italy*.' Then the Earl of *Strafford* communicated to the Deputies an answer, on the part of her Majesty, to the last memorial of the Emperor's Minister in *England*, by which her Majesty's sentiments in this matter were confirmed. His Lordship further represented, 'That her Majesty, being informed of the present disorders in the *Spanish Netherlands*, had sent over the Earl of *Orrery* to the *Hague*, to redress them, to concert thereupon with the Deputies of this *State*, and to resume the Administration in common with their High Mightinesses Deputies, and to keep the same, till the Emperor should accept the *Netherlands* on the conditions, which the Queen and their High Mightinesses should agree upon:' Adding, 'That the Earl of *Orrery* had orders not to do any thing in this affair, but according as he should find a disposition in their High Mightinesses to act in concert with the Queen.' *Annals of Queen* Anne.

(1) Those readers, that desire a larger account of what passed at *Utrecht*, may see it in the following particulars:

The Plenipotentiaries of the four associated Circles of *Germany* laid, the same day, a proposition before the *British* Ministers at *Utrecht*, wherein they represented, 'That they entered into the Grand Alliance, upon an invitation of King *William*, by a solemn treaty concluded at *Nordlingen*, and afterwards ratified by the present Queen of *Great-Britain*. That the Circles had,

12. in his dignities by his only Son, Father of the preſent King of *Pruſſia*.

Though the treaty of peace was now almoſt concluded, yet the advantages, which *Great-Britain* was to expect from her endeavours to aſſiſt and ſupport the cauſe of *France*, were in a great meaſure unſettled and undetermined. *France* began to cavil, and, as Lord *Bolingbroke* ſaid, go back from what the King had promiſed the Queen; and his Lordſhip could not be perſuaded, as he told Mr. *Prior*, 'That the *French* acted either fairly or wiſely. They preſs us, ſays he, to conclude, that they may have others at their mercy; and at the ſame time they chicane with us concerning the moſt eſſential article of all our treaty, and endeavour to elude an agreement made, repeated and confirmed.' The two great points of moment, in diſpute, were concerning the fiſhery at *Newfoundland*, and in what manner the ceſſion of *Cape-Breton* was to be made. The other was about the treaty of commerce. As to the firſt, it is to be obſerved, that, in the Queen's inſtructions to the Duke of *Strewsbury*, he is directed to propoſe, as the Queen's laſt reſolution, that ſhe will conſent to give and yield up to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty the intire poſſeſſion and propriety of the Iſland of *Cape-Breton*; but, with this expreſs condition, that his Majeſty ſhall, on his part, in conſideration of the ſame, relinquiſh all manner of right to fiſhing and drying fiſh on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland*, or any part, reſerved to his ſubjects by the articles ſigned at *London* the 27th of *September*, and 8th of *October*, 1711.

Several repreſentations were ſent backward and forward, ſhewing the fatal conſequences of what was demanded by *France*: And though Lord *Bolingbroke*, in his letter to Mr. *Prior* of the 19th of *January*, 1712-13, inſiſted, that the Queen had never yielded what *France* pretended to, which then remained an unſurmountable difficulty; yet, in his letter to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* of the ſame date, he tells him, 'if the *French* cloſe with the overture he then made them with regard to the diſputes concerning commerce, the Queen is willing to accept the laſt expedient, propoſed by Monſieur *de Torcy* for adjuſting our differences about *North America*, and to conſent, that the King, in the ceſſion of *Newfoundland*, do reſerve to his ſubjects a right of fiſhing and drying on the Coaſt of *Newfoundland* from *Port Riche*, North about, to *Cape Bonaviſta*.' And here no direction is given concerning *Cape-Breton*, of which the *French* got the intire ceſſion and propriety, although, in the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s inſtructions, *it is declared, That the Queen looked upon* Cape-Breton *to belong to her; and reckoned that Iſland a part of the ancient territory of* Nova Scotia, *which is by this treaty reſtored to her.* But, if the Duke could not prevail upon them to agree with him in the article of commerce, he was to declare, that neither would the Queen agree with them in their propoſition concerning *Newfoundland*.' As to Commerce, the great diſpute about it is thus repreſented in the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s letter to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*: In *Torcy*'s anſwer to Lord *Bolingbroke*'s memorial of the 24th of *May*, 1712, it was, among other things agreed, that *Britain* and *France* ſhould grant to the ſubjects of each reciprocally the ſame privileges and advantages, which they ſhall either of them grant to the ſubjects of any other Nation whatſoever. Upon this foundation was eſtabliſhed the principle of treating and being treated, as *Gens amiciſſima*; and, purſuant to this principle, the Tariff of 1664, which was granted to *Holland* (except the four ſpecies of merchandize) was likewiſe to be granted to *England*; and by the eighth and tenth articles of the project of the treaty

1712.

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had, on their part, punctually performed all the conditions of that treaty, and had borne all the calamities of ſo bloody and ruinous a war at their own expence, without troubling her Majeſty for one penny ſubſidy, with an intire confidence, that, as ſhe always declared her ſatisfaction with the firmneſs and conduct of the Circles, her Majeſty would not fail remembring the good ſervices they did the public; and that they ſhould reap the fruits of their labours, ſufferings, and expences: But that, notwithſtanding her Majeſty's gracious aſſurances, they heard with grief, that ſhe perſiſted in the opinion, that an univerſal peace might be made, without the Circles enjoying the leaſt comfort or effect of their Alliance; no amends, no barrier, no ſecurity; which would bring the utmoſt deſolation upon the Circles, and leave a fatal remembrance to poſterity. Wherefore they made their addreſſes to the juſtice and goodneſs of her Majeſty, to the wiſdom and equity of her Miniſters, and to the generoſity and honour of the whole *Engliſh* Nation, not to abandon ſo good and faithful Allies, nor leave them in the miſerable condition, in which they had been plunged by former treaties.' To this repreſentation the *Britiſh* Miniſters returned the following anſwer, 'That, if the aſſociated Circles did not obtain all they deſired, and all her Majeſty could wiſh them, the blame was by no means to be laid at her door: Firſt, becauſe, during the war, the Empire had very much neglected the proſecution of it on that ſide; and the Emperor and other Princes and *States* had been very deficient in furniſhing their reſpective quota's of troops, and other neceſſaries; which if they had done, the war had been long ſince at an end, and they in poſſeſſion of that, which was now impoſſible to obtain: But that they had left the whole burden of the war to fall upon her Majeſty and the *States-General* in *Flanders*; the getting whoſe money, by exorbitant bargains for their troops, they ſeemed to have more at heart, than the providing their contingents for their own army. That, beſides their negligence and remiſſneſs in the proſecution of the war, the oppoſition, they had made to her Majeſty's meaſures for peace, had put it out of her power to ſerve them. That, when a ceſſation of arms was found neceſſary, they were told from her Majeſty, that, if they would enter into it, the Allies being united in their counſels, might have obtained from the enemy any thing they could reaſonably have inſiſted upon; but that they rejected that propoſal, and deſerted her Majeſty, to follow Prince *Eugene*'s chimerical projects, which had already been, and might prove more fatal to the common cauſe, if they did not prevent another campaign by reaſonable propoſals of peace. That her Majeſty's caſe was therefore very hard, that, while ſhe proſecuted the war with the utmoſt vigour, ſome of the Allies acted with almoſt as much coldneſs and indifference, as if they had been in peace, or had no concern in the war; and, when ſhe found a peace neceſſary, they ſhould then only begin to think of war: And, after all, when by this unaccountable way of acting, they had brought themſelves into inextricable difficulties, they ſhould cry out, that they were deſerted, and endeavour to throw the odium and blame of it upon her. But that, nevertheleſs, ſhe would ſtill do for the four Circles, as well as for the reſt of her Allies, all that ſhe was obliged to by treaty, and whatever more they had, by their conduct, left in her power.' Both from this anſwer,

1712. treaty of commerce it was ſo ſettled. But *France*, pretending now, that this Tariff would be too beneficial to the *Engliſh*, refuſed to grant it, till another Tariff ſhould be made in *Great-Britain*, exactly conformable to that of 1664, whereby the *Britiſh* duties ſhould be reduced as low as theirs were in *France* by that Tariff. 'This (Lord *Bolingbroke* in his letter to the Duke of *Shrewſbury* ſays) is an open violation of faith; and by this (adds he) they are removing a corner-ſtone, which was laid early in the foundation of a building brought almoſt to perfection; the fall whereof muſt prove at laſt of as fatal conſequence to them as to us.' He confeſſes, 'I was ſtrangely ſurprized, when I ſaw the precedent of the *Ryſwick* Treaty quoted, to perſuade us to refer our commerce, as the *Dutch* then did theirs, to Commiſſioners, to be treated of after ſigning the peace. The behaviour of the *French* on that occaſion has given us warning; and it is from thence we have learned, that whatever is referred, is given up; and they muſt have a mean opinion of thoſe, whom they would perſuade to purſue the ſame method to get the Tariff of 1664, by which the *Dutch* then loſt it.' But it is very remarkable, that his Lordſhip on the 24th of *May*, had himſelf propoſed, *That, ſeveral points relating to commerce, requiring a longer diſcuſſion than that criſis would admit, Commiſſaries ſhould be appointed to ſettle and adjuſt the differences*. Indeed, in his letter to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, he offers an expedient, which was to ſolve all the difficulties; and tells his Grace, 'I am commanded to acquaint you, that, having fully opened to the *French* Miniſters her Majeſty's ſenſe of the King's engagements to her upon this head, you are to propoſe to them, to ſtrike out of the project of the treaty of commerce the ninth and tenth articles, and, inſtead thereof, to inſert one to the effect of that, which I have drawn, and which comes here incloſed.' And, as the acceptance of this amendment was to put an end to all differences, and, at the ſame time, gave ſuch ample advantages to *France*, the *French* readily agreed to it; and inſerted this article *verbatim*, as it was ſent, in the treaty of commerce, which makes the ninth article of the treaty, as it now ſtands, and is the ſame, that was afterwards rejected by the Parliament. And this article, which has been ſince ſo univerſally condemned, appears to be the work of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, and the price, for which they ſold to *France* the Fiſhery of *Newfoundland*.

Jan. 19. O. S.

This treatment of *France* could not but give the Miniſtry the greateſt uneaſineſs, though their apprehenſions, leſt the circumſtances they were in ſhould be known, far exceeded their concern at the diſappointment, which *Great-Britain* was like to meet with. They had ſigned a ſeparate treaty with *France* in *September* 1711, upon this ſingle principle, that the intereſts of *Great-Britain* were in the firſt place to be adjuſted; and, as long as they had this to ſay, they were unconcerned at all other events. They had gone on for fourteen months together, and acted in every thing as the inſtruments of *France*, and were at laſt in danger of being diſavowed by *France* in the moſt eſſential part of all their treaty. One of the chief inducements and principal conditions, upon which the fatal ceſſation of arms was granted, was, that no privileges or advantages relating to commerce with *France* ſhall be yielded to any foreign Nation, which ſhall not, at the ſame time, be granted to the ſubjects of her *Britannic* Majeſty; but *France* had now reaped the full benefit of the ſuſpenſion, and were at liberty to diſpute the principle of *Gens Amiciſſima*.

In

The ceſſation of arms prolonged.

anſwer, and the late ſteps of the *States*, it was generally believed, that the negotiations at *Utrecht* would ſpeedily be brought to a concluſion: But ſome unforeſeen difficulties, ſtarted by the Court of *France*, made it neceſſary to renew the ceſſation of arms for four months longer; which was done by an agreement ſigned at *London* the 26th of *November*, and *Verſailles* the 14th of *December*, *N. S.*

Monteleone *comes to* London. Dec. 5.

The Marquiſs *de Monteleone*, appointed by King *Philip* to be one of his Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, being about this time come to *London*, and the Queen returned from *Windſor* to St. *James*'s, he had the next day a private audience, wherein he told her, 'That his Maſter had ſent him to return her a thouſand thanks for the great pains ſhe had been pleaſed to take to procure peace to *Europe*. And that the whole *Spaniſh* Nation in particular owed their lives to her Majeſty; for, had the war continued, there was not one true *Spaniard*, who would not have ſpent the laſt drop of his blood in his Maſter's quarrel.' The Queen thanked her Brother, the King of *Spain*, for this compliment, and ſaid, 'She thought herſelf very happy in being able to contribute to the ſafety of ſo brave a Nation and ſo loyal a People.'

The Queen tries to prevent the Prince of Saxony *turning Papiſt.*

In the mean time, the Queen being informed, that the Electoral Prince of *Saxony* was expected at *Rome*, in order to make there public profeſſion of the Popiſh Religion, ſhe thought proper to renew her good offices with King *Auguſtus*, to perſuade him to recall his Son out of *Italy*, and diſmiſs the Popiſh ſervants about him; and at the ſame time invited the King of *Pruſſia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and the *States-General*, to join their efforts with her's to engage his *Poliſh* Majeſty not to induce his ſon to change his religion. But all theſe endeavours were rendered fruitleſs by the powerful allurement offered by the *Roman* Catholics to engage the young Prince, namely, the proſpect of a marriage between him and one of the Archducheſſes, which would open him the way to the Imperial Throne, in caſe the preſent Emperor ſhould die without male iſſue.

Negotiations at Utrecht. Anna.

The expreſs, ſent by Count *Zinzendorf* to *Vienna*, with the Queen's laſt plan of peace, being returned to *Utrecht* on the 3d of *January*, *N. S.* the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries had, at their own deſire a long Conference with thoſe of *Great-Britain*, in which they declared, that their Maſter was very well diſpoſed to promote a general peace; and the ſame day they acquainted alſo the Miniſters of the *States* with the Emperor's intentions. The ratifications of a treaty for a ſuſpenſion of arms between *France* and *Spain* on the one ſide, and *Portugal* on the other, were now exchanged, having been delivered into the hands of the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries, who long before this time had little elſe to do in the Congreſs, than to act as Mediators. In this capacity they had, on the 8th, a long Conference with the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, in which they delivered to them the draught of a project for bringing the Empreſs home from *Barcelona*, and withdrawing the Imperial troops out of *Catalonia*. On the 15th Count *Zinzendorf* had a long Conference with the *Portugueſe* Miniſters, about the terms of peace offered by *France* to that Crown, which the Emperor did not intirely approve. The Marſhal *de Bieberſtein* arriving at *Utrecht* the 17th, from the Court of *Berlin*, had a long Conference with the Earl of *Strafford*, by particular orders from the King of *Pruſſia* his Maſter. The ſame day the Miniſters of *France* were in Conference with thoſe of *Great-Britain*; and the next day Monſieur *Buys*

was

1712-13. In these circumstances were the *English* Ministry in *January* 1712-13; and, to extricate themselves, they gave up all points in dispute in *North America*, and the fishery of *Newfoundland*, upon the single consideration of the ninth article of the treaty of Commerce, which (as will be seen) the Parliament, with a just indignation, rejected. However, to bring *France* to a compliance, even upon these conditions, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, in the same letter, was instructed to prevail with *France* to come to this resolution, without the loss of one moment's time. The Parliament was suddenly to meet; and it would be necessary for the Queen to communicate to both Houses the present state of the Negotiation. The Duke is then to represent to *Torcy*, 'How smoothly every thing would glide along, if the Queen was able to speak of her own interests as absolutely determined with *France*; and, on the other hand, what travels we shall be exposed to, and what confusion may arise, if our Negotiation appears to be still open, and if the secret comes to be divulged, that *France* refuses to make good in the treaty the full effect of former promises to the Queen.' His Lordship having finished what he had to say concerning her Majesty's particular interests, he proceeds upon the general plan of peace, and instructs the Duke what he was to inform the *French* Ministers would be the measure of her Majesty's conduct, and what they might expect from her. 'That as the *French* Ministers desire, that the Queen would precipitate the conclusion of her peace, and leave all the Confederacy at their mercy; they must be told, that, when the mutual interests of *France* and *England* are settled, as they will be, if the propositions contained in the first part of this letter are accepted, the Plenipotentiaries of *Great-Britain* shall publickly declare in the Congress, that they are ready to sign with those of *France*, and shall call upon the Allies 1712-13. to quicken the Negotiations, and conclude without loss of time. But, if they seek unnecessary delays, or make unreasonable demands, her Majesty, who had induced them to treat, will, by the same measures, engage them to conclude, or at least she will sign without them. And, the Queen having once declared her interests to be settled, and her treaty ready to be signed, the general peace becomes from that moment sure, and the remainder of the Negotiation easy. It is therefore wise for the *French* to comply with her Majesty.'

The great distraction, the Ministry was in, appears sufficiently from this long letter of Lord *Bolingbroke*'s to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*; but still more, from two letters written by him about this time, and upon this subject, to Mr. *Prior*; one of *January* the 19th, the other of the 22d, *O. S.* The first was of the same date as his letter to the Duke, wherein he says to Mr. *Prior*, 'I have exhausted all my stock of arguments in the long letter, which, by the Queen's order, I write to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. To you I can only add, we stand upon the brink of a precipice, but the *French* stand there too. Pray tell Monsieur *de Torcy*, from me, that he may get *Robin* and *Harry* hanged; but affairs will soon run back into so much confusion, that he will wish us alive again. To speak seriously, unless the Queen can talk of her interests as determined with *France*; and unless your Court will keep our Allies in the wrong, as they are sufficiently at this time, I foresee inextricable difficulties. My scheme is this: Let *France* satisfy the Queen; and let the Queen immediately declare to her Parliament, and in the Congress, that she is ready to sign; and, at the same time, let the *French* Plenipotentiaries shew a disposition to conclude with all the Allies.'

And

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was also with the *British* Ministers, by whose interposition the difference between Monsieur *Mesnager* and Count *Rechteren* was brought into a fair way of being accommodated, in order to the resuming of the general Conferences. There was also that day a consultation at the Bishop of *Bristol*'s house, between the Protestant Ministers, about the abolition of the clause relating to Religion in the fourth article of the treaty of *Ryswick*, and the measures to be taken, that the Protestants in *Silesia* and *Hungary* might, for the future, enjoy intire liberty of conscience. The Ministers of *Great-Britain* pressed this affair more earnestly than all the rest, and exclaimed against the Imperial Court for persecuting the Protestants of the Empire and *Hungary*. But they spoke in a less vehement stile of the persecutions, which the Protestants had suffered in *France*. Soon after the *British* Plenipotentiaries conferred with the Imperial Ministers, who seemed at last inclined to come into the Queen's measures for procuring a general peace. To that end, Count *Zinzendorf* drew up some proposals for setting on foot a Negotiation between the Imperial and *French* Ministers, which were delivered to the latter by the Lord Privy-Seal, who the next day acquainted that Count and Baron *Kirchner*, how far they had proceeded in that affair. The Plenipotentiaries of *Prussia* had also a long Conference with the *British* Ministers, in which they expressed their Master's inclination to conclude a peace, whenever the Queen should think fit. On the other hand, the Ministers of *Savoy* returned thanks to the *British* Plenipotentiaries on the behalf of their Master, for the great care, that had been taken of his interests; and gave assurances, that they were ready to concur in whatever steps the Queen of *Great-Britain* should judge proper for the bringing the peace to a happy conclusion.

All this while the Ministers of the Protestant Powers Annals continued their private consultations about the abolition of the clause relating to Religion, in the fourth article of the treaty of *Ryswick*; and were very pressing with the *Roman* Catholic Ministers on that affair. But the Imperial and *French* Plenipotentiaries (agreed, perhaps, in this point only) found means to draw it out into length, referring it from the one to the other. The former pretended, it was the *French* inserted that clause into the treaty, and therefore ought to get it abolished: To which the *French* answered, 'That, it being an affair, which concerned the Empire, it was the business of the Imperialists to look after it.' The *Roman* Catholic Ministers of the Empire having demanded, that the Protestants should, by a deputation, communicate to them the resolution they had taken about that affair, the Counts *Wertheren* and *Metternich* were named to represent to them the justice of abolishing that clause, and put them in mind of the disputes, jealousies, and other ill consequences, with which it had been attended in the Empire. Count *Zinzendorf* signified, he was ready to return them an answer on the part of the Emperor; and, a meeting being held for that purpose, he Jan. 25. assured them, 'That his Master did not intend to oppose the abolition of the clause, but would acquiesce in the relief, that should be given to the Protestants in a general treaty of peace.' N. S.

The same day the Queen of *Great-Britain*'s answer to the letter of the *States-General* arrived at the *Hague*, but, being directed to her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, it was not brought to the Assembly of the *States* till the

1712-13. And then he enumerates the ſeveral offers, which he would have *France* to make to the ſeveral Allies; and, though theſe were very general and inſufficient, he ſays, 'If ſuch overtures as theſe (made to the Allies) were not inſtantly accepted, our ſeparate peace would, the Parliament ſitting, be addreſſed for and approved; and the cauſe of *France*, for once, become popular in *Britain*. If they were accepted, let Monſieur *de Torcy* ſit down, and conſider, what a bargain would be made for *France*. Let him remember his journey to the *Hague*, and compare the plans of 1709 and 1712. Monſieur *de Torcy* has a confidence in you: Make uſe of it once for all upon this occaſion, and convince him thoroughly, that we muſt give a different turn to our Parliament and our People, according to their reſolution at this criſis.' The next letter from Lord *Bolingbroke* to Mr. *Prior* was upon the ſame ſubject, and of the ſame ſtrain: 'We are now (*ſays he*) at the true criſis of our diſeaſe: We die at once, or recover at once. Let *France* depart from that ſhameful expedient, by which they thought to bubble us out of the advantages, which they had ſolemnly yielded, and all is well; otherwiſe, by God, both they and we are undone. The Queen can neither delay the meeting of the Parliament longer than the 3d, nor ſpeak to the Houſes till we hear from you. My compliments to Monſieur *de Torcy*. Let him know, that, if they do not agree with the Queen, I may, perhaps, be a *Refugee*. If I am, I promiſe beforehand to behave myſelf better in *France*, than the *French Refugees* do here. Make the *French* aſhamed of their ſneaking chicane. By Heaven, they treat like Pedlars, or, which is worſe, like Attornies.'

As all theſe public tranſactions paſſed through the hands of Lord *Bolingbroke*, who, although he was Secretary of State, acted *extra*-provincially in all his correſpondence with *France*; ſo 1712-13. it appears, at the ſame time, that he was not the only perſon in the ſecret, but that a greater influence chiefly directed and governed all theſe Councils; and the Lord-Treaſurer was in this tranſaction, as well as in the affair of *Tournay*, the chief Conductor; as may very reaſonably be concluded from ſeveral letters, which Mr. *Prior* wrote about this time to his Lordſhip, though that Gentlemen did not think fit to produce afterwards to the Committee of Secrecy one letter from his Lordſhip to him. It is obſerved, that theſe letters to the Lord-Treaſurer were chiefly wrote on the ſame days, that Mr. *Prior* ſent diſpatches to the Secretaries of State, giving an account of his proceedings, and deſiring the Queen's directions upon them; but, it ſeems, he did not think that ſufficient, without knowing his Lordſhip's particular pleaſure upon them. Mr. *Prior*'s diſpatch to the Secretary's Office, giving a full account of the preſent State of the treaty, together with ſeveral papers, memorials, and propoſitions relating to the points in diſpute, and concerning Commerce and *North America*, is dated *December* 28, 1712. The day after Mr. *Prior* wrote to the Lord-Treaſurer, and told him, 'I have written a book inſtead of a letter to my Lord *Bolingbroke*, which I deſire your Lordſhip would be pleaſed to run over, that, knowing what I have done, you may honour me with your commands as to what I am to do.' He hoped his propoſal about *Newfoundland*, which he ſends his Lordſhip incloſed, was ſuch as may terminate that affair to our advantage; and, if his Lordſhip was of the ſame opinion, he ſhould have intire ſatisfaction.

On the 8th of *January* 1712-13, Mr. *Prior*, having ſent another full account in form to the Secretary of State, wrote the ſame day to the Lord-Treaſurer, that he had been in Conference with

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next day, when it was read there, and alſo in the Aſſembly of the *States* of the Province of *Holland*, wherein were the following paragraphs:

'By the real and ſolid proofs we have given of our friendſhip for your State; by the continued efforts we have made to defeat the intrigues of thoſe, who, either through private paſſion or intereſt, have endeavoured to divide you from us; and, laſtly, by the grief we have been afflicted with, when any attempt has been made to break the good intelligence, that was between us and your republic, it will be eaſy for you to judge of the ſatisfaction, which your letter of the 29th paſt has given us.

Our conduct has ever run upon the conſtant principle of a ſincere deſire of preſerving the balance of *Europe*, and to procure, not only the ſafety, but alſo the augmentation of your State.

Your reſolution to enter with us into new engagements about the Succeſſion and Barrier, to make a new treaty thereupon, and to conclude and ſign it before the peace, cannot but be attended with the beſt conſequences. And, when all occaſions of diſpute about the reciprocal intereſts of the two Nations ſhall be removed, we ſhall then be in a condition to concert with you the providing for thoſe of our Allies, and to treat more effectually with the Potentates, againſt whom we have made war.

The declaration you have lately made, that you are *reſolved to join with us*, to enter into the meaſures we have taken for a peace, and to conclude and ſign it jointly, and at the ſame time with us, will, in ſome meaſure, make amends for the misfortunes, that have been occaſioned by the diſunion of the Allies, and prevent thoſe, that were to be feared for the future.

We ſhall take your intereſts to heart equally with our own; and we ſhall be ready to do all that lies in our power to advance them, being ſorry, that we are not in a condition to ſupport both yours and thoſe of our common Allies, as effectually as we could have done the laſt ſpring. Done at our Court at *St. James*'s the 17/8 of *January* 1712-13.

ANNE REGINA.

This letter quickened the paces of the Negotiation; but, previous to the general Conferences, it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the difference, which had ſo long obſtructed them, ſhould be adjuſted; which, by the mediation of the *Britiſh* Miniſters, was at laſt brought to paſs on the 29th of *January* in this manner: Three of the Plenipotentiaries of the *States*, viz. Monſieur *Vanderduſſen*, the Baron *de Renſwoude*, and Count *de Kniphuyſen*, went to the Marſhal *d'Uxelles*'s Houſe; where, in the preſence of the three Plenipotentiaries of *France*, they were to declare, that the diſpute between Monſieur *Meſnager* and Count *de Rechteren* had happened without the knowledge or approbation of the *States-General*. But Monſieur *Vanderduſſen*, who was the ſpokeſman, had ſcarce with gravity pronounced theſe words, *Our Maſters*, *the States-General*, when the Marſhal *d'Uxelles* interrupted him, and told him, 'Sir, the King, my Maſter, is thoroughly perſuaded, that Meſſieurs the *States-General* had no knowledge of Monſieur *de Rechteren*'s behaviour; and that they have too much reſpect for his Majeſty to approve it.' This difficulty

2-13. with the *French* Miniſters, to adjuſt the points undecided between her Majeſty and the King of *France*; that he had ſent Lord *Bolingbroke* the reſult of thoſe Conferences, as well what was agreed to by the *French* Miniſters, as his own remarks upon each particular head, and ſays, 'I hope your Lordſhip will find the whole adjuſted ſo far to your ſatisfaction, as that our Plenipotentiaries may receive the final orders. I will not doubt, but the whole affair of *Newfoundland* is adjuſted to your deſire. There were ſome points inſiſted upon by our Plenipotentiaries, which the Miniſters here thought very unreaſonable; and to ſay a truth to my Lord-Treaſurer plainly, which I a little mitigate to my Lord *Bolingbroke*, I think not very reaſonable.' He then gives an account, that *Torcy* was ſurprized, that the *Dutch* had but in part complied with what the Earl of *Strafford* declared to them to be her Majeſty's reſolutions, to which he hopes the Queen will ſend ſuch an anſwer, as may cut off all delays; and, upon this occaſion, Mr. *Prior* ſays to the Lord-Treaſurer, 'This I only write to your Lordſhip, it being a thing, that ſhould not be called in Council; and I have promiſed, that the King ſhould have her Majeſty's anſwer upon it, as he deſires.' *January* 19, 1712-13, *N. S.* Mr. *Prior* writes again to the Lord-Treaſurer, and acquaints him, 'That the Duke of *Shrewſbury* now ſends to Lord *Bolingbroke* the ſubſtance of their laſt Conferences with Monſieur *de Torcy*, upon the ſubject of *Newfoundland*; to which I take leave to add, That your friend *Torcy* is in the laſt concern to find the Duke's inſtructions ſo ſtrict in a point, which cannot be given up by *France*, at 1712-13. a time, when we well hoped that difference was adjuſted. Pray, my Lord, let us have your diſtinct and poſitive orders hereupon by the firſt. I ſend your Lordſhip incloſed a copy of my letter to my Lord *Bolingbroke*; and the Duke of *Shrewſbury* deſires, that we may have your orders to finiſh. I believe *Torcy* writes himſelf to you.' On the 23d of the ſame month, *N. S.* Mr. *Prior* writes once more to the Lord-Treaſurer, and tells him, 'I have already wrote ſo amply to your Lordſhip on the two great points of *Newfoundland* and the Tariff of 1664; and ſo expect daily your laſt orders upon theſe two points, that I will not trouble you at preſent further than to ſay, if theſe two are ſettled, the peace may be determined here to-morrow, and ſent the next day to *Utrecht* to be ſigned.' And, on the 2d of *February*, Mr. *Prior* writes to his Lordſhip, 'If I deſire you to write to me, it is, becauſe I really think it for the Queen's ſervice, that in this great poſt, where you have put me, I may be able to ſay, I have the immediate commands of my Lord-Treaſurer; and, in regard to that friendſhip, with which you have ſo publickly honoured me, and which, by the bye, does all the buſineſs here.' And, on *February* the 4th, 'I ſhall direct myſelf as you ſhall be pleaſed to inſtruct me privately.'

If the Committee of Secrecy had found, among the papers delivered by Mr. *Prior*, the Lord-Treaſurer's anſwers to theſe letters, it is highly probable, that it would have appeared from them, how far the giving up the fiſhery of *Newfoundland*, and the accepting of the ninth article

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difficulty being removed, the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries went to the Lord Biſhop of *Briſtol*'s Houſe, where they were in Conference with him and the Earl of *Strafford* from eleven at night till between four and five the next morning, when the new treaty of Barrier and Succeſſion was ſigned by the Miniſters of *Great-Britain*, and thoſe of the *States-General*; and, about an hour after, Mr. *Hariſon* was ſent over to *England* with it, for her Majeſty's ratification and approbation of ſome explanations, that were inſerted by the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries. The next day, *January* the 31ſt, the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries had for the firſt time a private Conference with thoſe of *France* at the Biſhop of *Briſtol*'s Houſe, where an agreement was propoſed concerning the tranſporting of the Empreſs, the evacuation of *Catalonia*, and the amneſty for the *Catalans*: So that all things ſeemed now to tend to a general peace.

On the 4th of *February*, *N. S.* the Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Pruſſia* met, for the firſt time, at the Lord Privy-Seal's Houſe, and the following days the Miniſters of the Emperor and the Queen of *Great-Britain* had ſeveral Conferences together, in which Count *Zinzendorf* communicated a ſecond plan, which was ſaid to come very near the contents of the Queen's ſpeech from the Throne. The 9th the Plenipotentiaries of *France* were in Conference with thoſe of *Portugal*, and afterwards with the Miniſters of *Savoy*, at the Houſe of the Lord Privy-Seal. But the Negotiations were for ſome days put to a ſtand by the ſudden departure of the Abbot *de Polignac*, who the night between the 10th and 11th of *February* ſet out for the Court of *France*, on pretence of his being lately named Cardinal by the Pope, at the recommendation, as was ſaid, of the Chevalier *de St. George*. Before his departure, he received from the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries a propoſal of the Emperor and Empire, importing, 'That *Catalonia* ſhould be evacuated, upon condition, that the inhabitants had a full pardon, and a confirmation of all their privileges. That the Elector of *Bavaria* ſhould have the title of King, but not the Iſland of *Sardinia*; and that his Electorate (but not the *Upper Palatinate*) ſhould be yielded to his Electoral Highneſs's Son; ſo that he himſelf ſhould not ſet foot in the Empire. That the Electorate of *Bavaria* ſhould be the laſt of the nine. That *Landau* ſhould remain to the Empire: And, in the laſt place, that *France* ſhould demoliſh *Saar-Louis*, and ſeveral other places:' Which Monſieur *de Polignac* promiſed to lay before the King his Maſter.

The Plenipotentiaries of *France* had almoſt from the beginning of the Negotiations demanded paſſports of the *Dutch* for the Admiſſion of the Duke of *Oſſuna*, the Marquiſs *de Monteleone*, and the Count *de Bergheyck* to the Congreſs, as Plenipotentiaries of *Philip* V. King of *Spain*; which the *States-General* had ſtill declined to grant, for fear of diſobliging the Emperor, with whom it was their intereſt to keep firmly united. But the Imperial Miniſters having by this time conſented, in their Maſter's name, to the evacuation of *Catalonia*, and Neutrality in *Italy*, which was a kind of tacit acknowledgment of King *Philip*'s title to the Crown of *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; the *States-General*, by the mediation of the *Britiſh* Miniſters, were at laſt prevailed with to grant the paſſports. The paſſports, which the *French* Plenipotentiaries demanded alſo for the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*, were granted with leſs difficulty, and delivered to them about the middle of *March*.

The Courier, ſent to the *French* Court, being come back to *Utrecht*, the Negotiation for evacuating *Catalonia*, and for a ceſſation of arms in *Italy*, was on the 19th of *February* ſet again on foot. On the 27th the Imperial and *French* Miniſters were together in Conference, in the preſence of the *Britiſh*, by whoſe mediation, they at laſt agreed upon the ſubject of evacuating *Catalonia*, and a Convention was ordered to be drawn up for that purpoſe. On the ſecond of *March*, the Miniſters of *France* and *Savoy* conferred about a Convention for the Neutrality in *Italy*. *See Annals of Queen* Anne.

1712-13. article of the treaty of Commerce, was owing to his immediate orders. It ſeems however to be a very extraordinary proceeding, that the Queen's Miniſters in *France* acting by her authority, and under her inſtructions, ſhould apply to the Lord-Treaſurer for his diſtinct and poſitive orders to releaſe them from the Queen's poſitive inſtructions, becauſe they are thought by the *French* Miniſters to be too ſtrict. And if it be a doubt, by whoſe order or advice it was procured, ſo much is certain, that theſe applications had their deſired effect; and the *Newfoundland* fiſhery was given up; and the advantages, which *Great-Britain* was to receive from being treated upon the foot of *Gens Amiciſſima*, were all buried in the ninth article, of the treaty of Commerce.

The difficulties relating to *North America* and Commerce being in this manner determined, *France* was wholly intent upon concluding and ſigning with *Great-Britain*, without taking in the reſt of the Allies; and in this they had the good fortune to have the concurrence and aſſiſtance of the *Britiſh* Miniſtry. By good management the diſpute raiſed at *Utrecht* had been ſo ordered, that the Miniſters of the Allies could not obtain any Conference with thoſe of *France*, till the points in difference were adjuſted between *England* and *France*; by which means it was *February* 1712-13, before the *Dutch* and *French* were ſuffered to meet. And, it being now the buſineſs of *France* to conclude with *England* ſeparately, the temper, the *French* Plenipotentiaries appeared in, made all buſineſs ſo impracticable, that the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries were under a neceſſity of complaining of it to Lord *Bolingbroke*, and to acquaint him, *February* 3, 1712-13: 'The *French* appear ſo very uncomplying in every point debated, and ſo very froward and poſitive in their refuſal of a great many things, which the *Dutch* took to be granted and ſettled, as well by her Majeſty's ſpeech, as the declarations lately made by Lord *Strafford*, that the diſappointment, they met with, put them into the greateſt conſternation. Reaſon was alſo given us to participate in theſe diſcontents, and to regard ſeveral things, which appear contrary to what her Majeſty has declared, as very unfair: Yet all that could be ſaid, prevailed not.' But it is not ſurpriſing, that the inſtances of the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries had ſo little effect with the *French*, who then expected, that orders ſhould be ſent to the *Britiſh* Miniſters immediately to ſign the peace, which, according to their expectation, were ſent *February* 20, 1712-13, by *St. John*, Brother to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, to conclude and ſign with *France* as ſoon as the Duke of *Shrewsbury* ſhould ſend them advice, that the propoſitions he was to make at the *French* Court were accepted; and, on the 28th, Lord *Bolingbroke* with the utmoſt joy acquainted them, 'That he had received from the Duke of *Shrewsbury* the expected returns, and which he doubted not would have reached their Lordſhips. He had therefore, without ſtaying to enter into any other detail, diſpatched a Courier to them, to renew thoſe inſtructions, which he hoped were clearly enough ſignified in thoſe papers, which his Brother carried. He acquaints them, that the Duke of *Shrewsbury* had declared, that their Lordſhips had orders, in caſe the *French* complied, as they now actually have done, to ſign her Majeſty's peace with *France* without farther delay; and that his Grace had alſo declared, that in this caſe her Majeſty would 1712-13. open the Parliament, by telling them, ſhe had made a peace with *France*. Theſe two conſiderations, his Lordſhip ſays, were perhaps the moſt prevalent inducements to the *French* Court, to come roundly into her Majeſty's propoſitions; and the Queen thinks herſelf, for this reaſon, ſtill the more obliged punctually and religiouſly to fulfil theſe promiſes. The latter ſhe will herſelf perform on *Tueſday*; and the former, it is her poſitive command, that your Lordſhips make good as faſt as the neceſſary forms of preparing and executing the inſtruments will allow. And his Lordſhip looking upon it now, that the chief difficulties, relating to the treaty of peace, were removed; as likewiſe in the treaty of commerce, by the article drawn by himſelf, and propoſed by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, he gives them poſitive orders, without any delay, to execute the treaties of peace and commerce between *Great-Britain* and *France*.' On the 7th, and on the 20th of *March*, *O. S.* Lord *Bolingbroke* repeats theſe poſitive orders, and inſiſts, that the peace ſhould be concluded with that precipitation, which her Majeſty would have uſed.

The Court of *France*, being acquainted with theſe good diſpoſitions of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry, thought proper now to comply with the Duke of *Shrewſbury*'s demand, that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans* ſhould make a ſolemn renunciation to the Crown of *Spain* in the Parliament of *Paris*, in like manner as King *Philip* had renounced the Crown of *France* in the Cortez of *Spain* *. This was ſolemnly done, on the 15th of *March*; and, at the ſame time, were eraſed out of the Regiſters of the Parliament the Letters Patents, by which the rights of the King of *Spain* to the Crown of *France* were preſerved, when he ſet out for *Madrid*. It will be neceſſary now to turn a little to the affairs of the North.

The favourable turn, which, towards the end of the year 1712, attended the *Swediſh* affairs, both in the North of *Germany* and in *Turkey*, as it preſaged new dangers to the Empire, and made the *States* and the Emperor uneaſy, was, no doubt, a powerful motive to incline them to hearken to the inſtances of the *Britiſh* Miniſters, to come into the Queen's meaſures. The *Muſcovites*, *Danes*, and *Saxons*, who miſcarried in their deſign to reduce *Pomerania* in the year 1711, ſeemed confident to have taken ſuch meaſures in 1712, as to be able to drive the *Swedes* from their territories on this ſide the *Baltic*: But their not going into the field, ſo ſoon as they intended, proved the cauſe of their diſappointment. The *Muſcovites* and *Saxons* had undertaken to conquer *Pomerania*; but through the miſunderſtanding of their Generals (ſome being for the ſiege of *Stralſund*, others of *Stetin*, and others again for the attack of the Iſle of *Rugen*) the whole campaign was ſpent in fruitleſs debates, and all that the Czar and King *Auguſtus* could do at laſt, was, to quarter their troops in *Pomerania*, as they had done the year before, in order to keep the *Swedes* in awe.

The King of *Denmark* made a better uſe of his time, he beſieged and took *Staden*, and reduced the Duchy of *Bremen*. After which, upon ſlight pretenſions, he obliged the City of *Hamburgh* to pay him three hundred thouſand Crowns, which proved a ſeaſonable ſupply to ſubſiſt his troops. The *Northern* Allies ſeeming

* *Sept.* 25.

12-13. ing contented with theſe ſucceſſes, had ſent their troops into quarters, when an unexpected motion of the *Swedes* obliged them once more to take the field. Count *Steenbock*, who ſome time before was arrived in the Iſland of *Rugen*, being ſenſible of the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting his forces in the narrow compaſs of land he was poſſeſſed of, reſolved to look for quarters in the country of *Mecklenburgh*; and ſucceeded in his deſign without the loſs of a man. The *Northern* Confederates reſolved to draw their forces from their lines, in order to oblige the *Swediſh* General to return into *Pomerania*, where they knew he could not maintain his army. But when it was generally expected, that both armies were ready to engage, a ceſſation of arms, for fifteen days, was on a ſudden concluded between the *Poliſh* and *Swediſh* Generals. This ſuſpenſion expiring, the troops were all again in motion. The King of *Denmark*, who appeared againſt the truce, marched five days before from *Holſtein* towards *Mecklenburgh*, in order to join his Allies, and endeavour to fight the *Swedes*. But Count *Steenbock*, with great foreſight, reſolved to prevent, and engage the *Danes*, before they were reinforced; which he did near *Gadesbuſh*, where the *Daniſh* troops and ſome *Saxon* cavalry ſuffered almoſt a total defeat. The *Swediſh* General was not wanting to improve this ſucceſs; and, entering *Holſtein*, not only raiſed great contributions, but, in a barbarous manner, and upon frivolous pretences, burnt the *Daniſh* open town of *Altena* near *Hamburgh*. At the ſame time the *Swedes* were animated by reports from *Conſtantinople*, of the war being like to break out again between the *Turks* and the Czar, on pretence, that the Czar had not performed one of the moſt eſſential articles of the late peace, namely, the withdrawing of his forces from the territories of *Poland*. This new rupture was attended with the diſgrace of the Grand Vizir, who was the third *Turkiſh* Miniſter of that rank, who fell a ſacrifice to the intrigues of the King of *Sweden*, and of thoſe, who ſupported his intereſt at the *Ottoman Port*. The King of *Sweden* had all the aſſiſtance the *French* could give him in ſolliciting this war, which gave the Emperor great apprehenſions. He was afraid diſorders in *Hungary* might follow upon it, which would defeat the meaſures he had taken to ſettle matters in that Kingdom, ſo that, being ſafe on that ſide, he might turn his whole force againſt *France*, and, by that means, encourage the *States* to continue the war. Thoſe in *Holland*, who preſſed the accepting the offers that *France* made them, repreſented that as a thing not poſſible to be ſupported: The promiſes of the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire had ſo often failed them, that they ſaid, they could not be relied on: And the diſtractions in the *North* made them apprehend, that thoſe Princes might be obliged to recall their troops, which were in the ſervice of the *States*.

The ſudden and unexpected proſperity of the King of *Sweden* ſoon came to an end. Whilſt he was uſing all poſſible means to engage the *Turk* into a new war with the Czar, the party at the *Port*, that oppoſed it, ſtudied to get rid of him and his importunities. By his intractable obſtinacy he threw himſelf into great dangers. Orders were ſent him to march back into his Kingdom: And they undertook to procure him a ſafe paſſage to it; but he treated the perſon, that was ſent with this meſſage, with great inſolence, and fortified himſelf, as well as he could, with the *Swedes* that were about him, and reſolved to defend himſelf. A force much ſuperior to his was brought againſt him; but he maintained himſelf ſo reſolutely in his houſe, that ſome hundreds of thoſe who attacked him were killed: The *Turks*, upon that, ſet fire to the houſe, whereupon he was forced to ſurrender, and was put under a guard; and moſt of his *Swedes* were ſold for ſlaves; he was carried to a houſe near *Adrianople*, but not ſuffered to come to Court; only the *Sultan* diſowned the violence uſed to his perſon. In the mean while, the Czar ſhipped an army from *Peterſburgh*, that landed in *Finland*: The *Swedes* were not able to ſtand before him; every place, as he advanced, ſubmitted to him; and he was now Maſter of *Abo*, the Capital of *Finland*, and of that whole Province. *Steenbock*, with his army, maintained himſelf in *Tonningen*, as long as their proviſion laſted: But, all ſupplies being carefully ſtopped, he was forced at laſt to deliver up himſelf and his army priſoners of war; and theſe were the beſt troops the *Swedes* had, ſo that *Sweden* was ſtruck with a general conſternation. 1712-13.

Though the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* had received ſuch poſitive orders from Lord *Bolingbroke* to ſign the peace, the behaviour of the *French* was ſo different from what had been promiſed, that they were mightily perplexed, and ſcrupled to ſign a ſeparate treaty. They wrote to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, 'That they could ſay a great deal to juſtify their cautious proceedings with the *French*; and were ſatisfied he would be of the ſame opinion, if he were to ſee their way of negotiating with all the Allies; and how hard it was for the *Britiſh* Miniſters to obtain, what to his Lordſhip ſeemed impoſſible the *French* ſhould make any difficulty to grant.' What made them ſtill more averſe, was the great importunity, with which the *French* preſſed them to conclude with them alone, of which they apprehended the conſequences at home; and, to juſtify themſelves, they had acquainted the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, in a letter of *March* 20, 'That, beſides other conſiderations, their chief objection was, that though they had orders to ſign a particular peace, yet their full powers under the Great-Seal only authorized them to negotiate, agree, and conclude the conditions of a good and general peace, agreeable to the intereſts of all and each of the Allies. The Lord *Bolingbroke*, in his letter of the 20th of *March*, *O. S.* pretended, that *he had not ſagacity enough to find the objections the Plenipotentiaries had made to their firſt full powers.* However, for their ſatisfaction, he ſent them a new Commiſſion, and repeated to them poſitive orders to ſign and conclude with *France*. By this new commiſſion he tells them they had a power, as before, to treat and conclude the conditions of a good and general peace, which, as his Lordſhip explained, *was no more than to offer, jointly with the Miniſters of* France, *the plan of a general peace to the Allies*. But the difficulties of the Plenipotentiaries made the Lord Treaſurer, who never failed to exert himſelf, when it was abſolutely neceſſary, think it high time to interpoſe his authority; and accordingly, on the 31ſt of *March*, wrote to the Earl of *Strafford* in this manner: I muſt felicitate your excellency upon the ſucceſs of all your zeal, and the true

The Britiſh *Plenipotentiaries ſcruple to ſign a ſeparate peace* Rep of the Com. of Sec. April 4. N. S.

1712-13. love you have ſhewn to your Queen, your Country, and the repoſe of all *Europe*. The remaining danger is, leſt we ſhould ſuffer ſhipwreck in the ſight of Port. The Nation here are five hundred to one for peace. The warriors are driven from their out-works; the laſt retrenchment they have is delay; and I muſt ſay, this operates much here. The ferment begins to work; and it will be impoſſible to anſwer for the turn the Houſe of Commons will take, if theſe delays provoke them farther. They all feel how many hundred thouſand pounds this needleſs protraction coſts them. We now maintain forty-nine thouſand effective men by land, and thirty thouſand, within a trifle, by ſea. In the mean time the Merchants lie off, and will not come into Port. The amuſement of ſtories invented by the faction, and the correſpondence and encouragement that party gives to their friends to hold out, and to wait for ſome unhappy accident, that may unravel all which is done: Add to this, the ill humour, which will grow in members by being kept ſo long in town idle; and, in one word, all, that has been unſettled for many days, is not worth one day's charge *England* is at extraordinarily by this delay. I find this ſeems to be the prevailing univerſal opinion here; and that *France* has acquitted herſelf. The only ſtop is now at *Utrecht*.' But this ſtop did not now remain long; and, as the Treaſurer never yet appeared in vain, all further obſtructions at *Utrecht* were after this ſoon removed (1). For on the 7th of *April*, *N. S.* the *Britiſh* Miniſters declared to the *Dutch* and Imperial Plenipotentiaries, that they were ready, as well as the Plenipotentiaries of ſome other Princes, to ſign their reſpective treaties on *Tueſday* the 11th of that month. The Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor immediately declared, that neither they, nor the Miniſters of the Empire, were ready to ſign the treaty; nor would they hearken to peace, without the reſtitution of *Strasburgh*; adding, that they were ordered to make a proteſtation againſt ſuch a treaty of peace. The Miniſters of the *States* deputed three members of their body, *Randwyck*, *Vanderduſſen*, and *Renſwoude*, to go to the *Hague*, to receive new inſtructions on this important affair. They arrived there *Sunday* morning, and, after having conferred with the Penſionary, had a Conference with the Deputies of the *States*. The Penſionary communicated the ſame day to the *States* of *Holland* and *Weſt Friſeland* what had been tranſacted at *Utrecht*; whereupon the *States* declared for peace. The Deputies of the *States* had a ſecond Conference with their Plenipotentiaries, and the next morning their laſt orders were drawn up, and communicated to the *States* of *Holland*, who having approved the ſame, the Plenipotentiaries ſet out in the evening for *Utrecht* with the character of Ambaſſadors, accompanied by Monſieur *Van Spanbroeck*, the new Plenipotentiary of the province of *Zealand*, in the room of Monſieur *Moermont*. Count *Zinzendorf*, who came the 10th in the morning from *Utrecht* to the *Hague*, had immediately a Conference with the Penſionary, in which he uſed all imaginable endeavours to have the ſigning of the peace put off, at leaſt till he had received new inſtructions from *Vienna*, and declared, that, if the *States* ſigned before his Maſter, his Imperial Majeſty would immediately withdraw his troops out of the *Netherlands*: But, finding his reaſons and repreſentations ineffectual, he proteſted againſt this peace, as he had done before at *Utrecht*, whither he returned that evening. The ſame day, in the morning, upon the return of Meſſieurs *Randwyck*, *Vanderduſſen*, and *Renſwoude*, the *Dutch* Miniſters had a Conference with the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries; and then another with thoſe of *France*, at the Lord Privy-Seal's houſe, from four in the afternoon till two in the night, wherein was ſettled whatever related to the treaty of peace and commerce of the *States-General*. The 11th in the morning, the Miniſters of the Proteſtant Allies had a Conference together in the Town-Houſe, to which the Marquiſs *de Miremont*, appointed by the Queen of *Great-Britain*, to take care of the intereſts of the Proteſtants of *France*, was, for form ſake, invited; but the reſult of this conſultation was only, that a *repreſentation* ſhould be made in favour of thoſe Sufferers to the Miniſters of *France*; which was immediately laid before them by the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries. This done, they went to Count *Zinzendorf*'s, and communicated to him the plan, which they had agreed on with the Miniſters of *France*, for the Emperor and Empire; having ſtipulated, that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould have time to conſider, whether he would accept of it or no, till the 1ſt of *June*, *N. S.* during which interval, however, *France* would not grant a ceſſation of arms; and withal declared to him, that they were going to ſign the *Queen's peace*. After this, the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries went to the other Miniſters of the Allies, to whom they made the ſame declaration; and, being returned to the Lord Privy-Seal's houſe, the *French* Ambaſſadors repaired thither, and about two in the afternoon ſigned, with thoſe of *Great-Britain*, the treaties of peace and commerce. One inſtrument of the treaty was drawn up in *Latin* by the *Britiſh* Miniſters; and another, on the part of the *French*, in their own language; each party ſigning firſt, in their reſpective inſtruments: And it was agreed, that the ratifications ſhould be exchanged at *Utrecht* within four weeks. The Miniſters of *Savoy*, who, ſoon after, came to the Lord Privy-Seal's houſe, ſigned alſo with thoſe of *France* their Maſter's treaty, which was drawn up in *French*, and by which it was particularly ſtipulated, 'That his Royal Highneſs ſhould not take upon him the title of King of *Sicily*, till after the peace was concluded and ſigned with *Spain*.' This done, all

They fixed a day for ſigning the peace.

1712-13.

(1) It is obſervable, that, among all the demands that were made, upon account of any Prince or State in the Grand Alliance, none, at this time, met with the leaſt regard from the *Britiſh* Court; when, at the ſame time, the intereſt of the Princeſs *Urſini*, who, at this juncture, had a prevailing influence at the Court of *Madrid*, was eſpouſed in the ſtrongeſt terms. For, in the ſame letter, where the Lord *Bolingbroke* ſays, 'That her Majeſty did not much enter into the notion of the degradation of *Hanover*, as a matter of any importance;' his Lordſhip declares, 'That the Principality, in ſome part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, with a revenue of thirty thouſand crowns, demanded for the Princeſs *Urſini*, muſt be made to the Emperor, and all parties concerned, a condition, *ſine qua non*, of the general peace.' *Rep. of the Com. of Secr.*

3. all the Ambaſſadors, who had ſigned the peace, as well as thoſe, who intended to ſign it, namely, thoſe of *Portugal*, *Pruſſia*, and the *States-General*, went and dined at the Earl of *Strafford*'s. As ſoon as dinner was over, moſt of thoſe Miniſters retired to their houſes, to collate their reſpective treaties; and, afterwards returning to the Earl of *Strafford*'s, the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador ſigned their treaty, drawn up in their own tongue, about eight o'clock in the evening, as the *Pruſſians* did theirs in *French* about eleven; the *French* having inſiſted, that they ſhould ſign before thoſe of the *States*, becauſe, in the treaty, their Maſter was ſtiled King, and acknowledged as ſuch by *France*. The Ambaſſadors of the *States* did not ſign till near three hours after, having not only been taken up longer than the reſt in collating their treaties of peace and commerce, but endeavoured to have ſome expreſſions altered, particularly as to the title of the Emperor, who, in the inſtruments drawn up in *French*, was not ſtiled otherwiſe than head of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but they were obliged to recede from all their pretenſions. This important Negotiation being thus brought to a concluſion, the *Britiſh* Miniſters immediately diſpatched an expreſs to Mr. *St. John*, Secretary to the *Britiſh* Ambaſſy, who, the day before, ſet out for the *Brill*, in order to carry over to *Great-Britain* the treaties of peace and commerce, for the Queen's ratification. At the ſame time, the *French* Miniſters diſpatched a Courier to Monſieur *de Beringhen*, who ſet out the 10th for *Malines*, in order to wait there the news of the ſigning of the peace. The other Miniſters diſpatched alſo expreſſes to their reſpective Courts. The *States-General* ſent copies of the treaties to the reſpective Provinces, as they did likewiſe, to the towns of the Province of *Holland* in particular. But, when the terms of peace were divulged, the body of the people was highly diſſatisfied to find, that woollen manufactures, ſugars, and ſome other merchandizes were excepted from the Tariff of 1664, and continued charged with high duties; being apprehenſive, that by theſe exceptions their trade with *Spain*, which ſets all the other branches of their commerce in motion, would in a manner be ruined.

On the 13th of *April*, Count *Zinzendorf* having declared to the Miniſters of *Great-Britain*, and of the *States-General*, that he was to ſet out two days after for *Germany*, the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries, on the 14th, delivered to him a writing, intitled, *Offers and demands of the* French *King*, *for making peace with the Houſe of* Auſtria *and the Empire*. The Imperial and other *German* Miniſters expreſſed the higheſt indignation at their being ſo meanly treated, as to have terms impoſed upon them by *France*, in relation to the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*. They alſo reſented the ſlight put upon the Emperor, by the *French* and *Spaniards* refuſing to give him that title; and they were particularly diſſatisfied with the *Dutch* for ſigning, before the return of the expreſs ſent laſt to *Vienna*. But the *Dutch* excuſed themſelves, alledging the common plea of the neceſſity of affairs. It was now given out, that the Emperor and Empire would carry on the war, and hazard their all, rather than ſubmit to theſe conditions. And, as *France* might turn all her force againſt *Germany*, Count *Zinzendorf* intimated to the Miniſters of the Empire, that it would be neceſſary to cauſe, not only the Imperial troops to march from *Flanders* to the *Rhine*, but alſo thoſe formerly in the pay of *Great-Britain*. To this purpoſe it may be obſerved, that the King of *Pruſſia* ſigned the peace only in that quality, and not as an Elector of the Empire, though it was ſaid, he made a private agreement with *France*, to furniſh no more troops than his quota, in caſe the Emperor and Empire ſhould continue the war. 1712-13.

On the 3d of *April*, being *Good-Friday*, Mr. *St. John* arrived at *Whitehall* with the treaties of peace and commerce, ſigned the *Tueſday* before, between the *Britiſh* and *French* Plenipotentiaries, and the news, that the Miniſters of *Portugal*, *Savoy*, *Pruſſia*, and the *States-General*, had likewiſe ſigned their reſpective treaties; which was immediately notified in the evening by popular rejoicings. Four days after, the Queen held a Council at *St. James*'s, in which the Lord-Keeper *Harcourt* was declared Lord-High-Chancellor of *Great-Britain*; and at the ſame time the Duke of *Athol* was ſworn of the Privy-Council. This done, the Queen propoſed to the Board the ratifying the treaties of peace and commerce: To which the Earl of *Cholmondley* objected, ſaying, 'This matter being of the higheſt importance for her Majeſty and her Kingdoms, as well as all *Europe*, it required the matureſt conſideration; and theſe treaties containing ſeveral terms of the Civil Law, in which the leaſt equivocation might be of great conſequence, and being, beſides, couched in *Latin* and *French*, it ſeemed very neceſſary to have them tranſlated into the vulgar tongue.' He was ſupported by another member; but, the time agreed on for the exchanging of the ratifications not admitting of delays, their opinion was over-ruled, and ſo the Queen ratified the treaties. The next day the White-ſtaff, as Treaſurer of the Houſehold, was taken from the Earl of *Cholmondley*, and Sir *Richard Temple* was removed from his command of the Regiment of Dragoons, formerly commanded by the Earl of *Eſſex*. The peace being thus ſigned and ratified, the Queen reſolved not to defer any longer the meeting of the Parliament. Accordingly on the 9th of *April*, to which day it was laſt prorogued, ſhe went to the Houſe of Peers, and made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

The treaty is brought to England.

1713. *The Parliament meets.* April 9.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech on the peace.

" I Ended the laſt Seſſion with my hearty
" thanks for the ſolemn aſſurances you had
" given me, by which I have been inabled to
" overcome the difficulties contrived to obſtruct
" the general peace.

" I have deferred opening the Seſſion until
" now, being very deſirous to communicate to
" you, at your firſt meeting, the ſucceſs of this
" important affair. It is therefore, with great
" pleaſure, I tell you, the treaty is ſigned, and
" in a few days the ratifications will be ex-
" changed.

" The Negotiation has been drawn into ſo
" great a length, that all our Allies have had
" ſufficient opportunity to adjuſt their ſeveral in-
" tereſts. Though the public charge has been
" thereby much increaſed, yet I hope my People
" will be eaſy under it, ſince we have happily
" obtained the end we propoſed.

" What I have done for ſecuring the *Proteſ-*

1713. " *tant Succeſſion*, and the *perfect friendſhip* there " is between Me and the Houſe of *Hanover*, " may convince ſuch, who wiſh well to both, " and deſire the quiet and ſafety of their coun- " try, how vain all attempts are to divide us ; " and thoſe, who would make a merit by ſepa- " rating our intereſts, will never attain their ill " ends.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" As great a progreſs has been made in re- " ducing the public expence, as the circum- " ſtances of affairs would admit.

" What force may be neceſſary for ſecuring " our Commerce by ſea, and for Guards and " Garriſons, I leave intirely to my Parliament.

" Make yourſelves ſafe, and I ſhall be ſatiſ- " fied.

" Next to the protection of the Divine Provi- " dence, I depend upon the loyalty and affec- " tion of my people.

" I want no other guaranty.

" I recommend to your care thoſe brave " men, who have ſerved well, by ſea or land, " this war, and cannot be employed in time of " peace.

" I deſire you to provide the ſupplies you " ſhall judge requiſite ; and to give ſuch diſ- " patch, as may be neceſſary for your own eaſe " and the public ſervice.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The many advantages, I have obtained for " my own ſubjects, have occaſioned much oppo- " ſition and long delay to this peace.

" It affords me great ſatisfaction, that my " people will have it in their power, by degrees, " to repair what they have ſuffered during ſo " long and burdenſome a war.

" The eaſing of our foreign trade, as far as " is conſiſtent with national credit, will deſerve " your care.

" And to think of proper methods for im- " proving and encouraging our home trade and " manufactures, particularly the Fiſhery, which " may be carried on, to employ all our ſpare " hands, and be a mighty benefit, even to the " remoteſt parts of this Kingdom.

" Several matters were laid before you laſt " Seſſion, which the weight and multiplicity of " other buſineſs would not permit you to per- " fect. I hope, you will take a proper oppor- " tunity to give them a due conſideration.

" I cannot, however, but expreſsly mention " my diſpleaſure at the unparalleled licentiouſ- " neſs in publiſhing ſeditious and ſcandalous " libels.

" The impunity, ſuch practices have met with, " encourages the blaſpheming every thing ſacred, " and the propagating opinions tending to the " overthrow of all Religion and Government.

" Proſecutions have been ordered ; but it will " require ſome new law to put a ſtop to this " growing evil, and your beſt endeavours in " your reſpective ſtations, to diſcourage it.

" The impious practice of duelling requires " ſome ſpeedy and effectual remedy.

" Now we are entering upon peace abroad, let " me conjure you all, to uſe your utmoſt en- " deavours for calming men's minds at home, " that the arts of peace may be cultivated.

" Let not groundleſs jealouſies, contrived by " a faction, and fomented by a party-rage, ef- " fect that, which our foreign enemies could " not.

" I pray God to direct all your conſultations " for his glory and the welfare of my peo- " ple."

The Queen being retired, and the Commons gone back to their Houſe, the Duke of *Beaufort* made a motion for an addreſs of thanks, which occaſioned a debate, chiefly about the expreſſion of a *general peace*. Some Peers urged, that it could not be ſaid to be general, ſince the Emperor, the Elector of *Hanover*, and other Princes and *States* of the Empire were not yet come into it. But they were anſwered, that it might juſtly be called *general*, ſince the major part of the Allies had ſigned it. After this another motion was made, that, in the addreſs of thanks, a clauſe might be inſerted, *That her Majeſty would be pleaſed to lay before the Houſe the treaties of peace and commerce :* But, the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative by a majority of ſeventy-four againſt forty-three. The addreſs of congratulation being agreed to, tho', without any approbation of the peace, it was preſented to the Queen (1). The Commons obſerved the ſame caution in their addreſs, and waved the motion for having the treaties laid before them (2).

Moſt

(1) In their addreſs, ' They returned thanks for communicating to them, that a peace was concluded ; by which they hoped, with the bleſſing of God, that the people would, in a few years, recover themſelves after ſo long and expenſive a war ; and they congratulated her Majeſty upon the ſucceſs of her endeavours for a general peace. They declared, that they never had the leaſt doubt, but that her Majeſty, who was the great ſupport and ornament of the Proteſtant Religion, would continue to take, as ſhe had always done, the wiſeſt meaſures for ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion, towards which nothing could be more neceſſary than the perfect friendſhip there was between her Majeſty and the Houſe of *Hanover*. And they aſſured her Majeſty, that, as ſhe expreſſed her dependance, next under God, upon the duty and affection of her people, they thought themſelves bound, by the ſtricteſt ties of Religion, Loyalty, and Gratitude, to make all the dutiful returns, that could be paid by the moſt obedient Subjects to the moſt indulgent Sovereign.

(2) There was a ſmall debate about the words, *to ſee accompliſhed*, which, by a great majority, were voted to ſtand. The addreſs was as follows :

' We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave, with all humility, to approach your Royal perſon with our unanimous acknowledgments for all the benefits we enjoy under your Majeſty's moſt auſpicious Reign.

The many and great ſucceſſes, which have attended your Majeſty's arms, had left nothing to be wiſhed, but ſuch a peace, as might be conducted by your Councils, which now we have the happineſs to ſee accompliſhed. And as we are truly ſenſible of your Majeſty's gracious and generous intentions, in undertaking that great work ; ſo we have all poſſible reaſon to admire your

Moſt of the Corporations and other bodies of men ſoon followed the example of both Houſes of Parliament, in returning the Queen thanks for the peace, before they knew what that peace was. However, General *Stanhope* having renewed the motion for addreſſing the Queen, to communicate to the Houſe the treaties of *Peace* and *Commerce*, it was carried in the affirmative, with the addition of the words, *in due time*, inſiſted on by the Court-party; and ſo the addreſs met with a gracious reception, and the Queen was pleaſed to anſwer, 'That ſhe intended to communicate to her Parliament the treaties this Houſe deſired, as ſoon as it was practicable.'

After the addreſſes of thanks for the Peace, and a vote for a Supply, the Commons, in complaiſance to the Court, proceeded to the ſtigmatizing of thoſe that *delighted in war*. To this end, Mr. *Shippen* made a report of miſmanagements from the Committee, to examine the debts due to the army. They paſſed a ſlight cenſure on *William Churchill*, a Member of their Houſe, for being, when a Commiſſioner for ſick and wounded, a Partner in contracts relating to that office. They alſo made an attempt to faſten a miſdemeanor on the Earl of *Wharton*, for taking 1000 *l.* of one *Hutchinſon*, for procuring him the office of Regiſter of *Seizures* in the Cuſtoms, but it was dropped, becauſe it was done before the laſt act of Indemnity.

On the 28th of *April* the ratifications of the treaties of peace and commerce were exchanged at *Utrecht* between the Miniſters of *Great-Britain* and *France*; and, being brought to *London* by Mr. *Ayerſt*, Chaplain and Secretary to the Earl of *Strafford*, the Queen on the 4th of *May*, the ſame day of the month, on which the war had been proclaimed eleven years before, ſigned a Proclamation for publiſhing the peace; which was performed the next day with the uſual ceremonies. The ratifications of the treaties between *France* and the *States-General* were alſo to have been exchanged on the 29th of *April*; but upon an unexpected difficulty about the Elector of *Bavaria*'s renunciation of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* (yielded to him by King *Philip*) which the *Dutch* Miniſters alledged not to be in due form, that exchange was deferred till the 12th of *May*, *N. S.* About this time moſt of the Miniſters at *Utrecht* received by the poſt under a cover a printed *Proteſtation* of the Pretender to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, who ſtiled himſelf *James the Third*, and addreſſed himſelf to all *Kings*, *Princes*, *Republics*, &c. By the date *April* 12, 1712, it appeared to have been drawn up a year before, and imported, 'That, ſince after a war ſo long and ſo pernicious to all Chriſtendom, all parties ſeemed ready to come to a peace, and were ſpeedily about to ſign it, he thought it fit and neceſſary, by this ſolemn proteſtation, to aſſert his undoubted right againſt any thing, that might be done towards the diminution of it. That he would not inlarge upon what had been unjuſtly done againſt him, ſince no body could doubt of the juſtice of his cauſe. Nor was he indeed only moved with the condition of his own affairs, but, being incapable to change his affection towards his ſubjects, he could not, without the moſt ſenſible grief, behold, that neither their blood, nor their wealth, had hitherto been ſpared, to ſupport the great injuſtice, that had been done him; and that they were at laſt reduced ſo far, that, if a peace were made excluſive of him, they muſt neceſſarily become a prey to Foreigners. That, ſince he underſtood, that the Confederate powers had no regard to his right, he thought himſelf moſt indiſpenſably obliged to himſelf, to poſterity, and to his ſubjects, not to ſeem, by his ſilence, to conſent to what was tranſacting to the prejudice of him, and the lawful heirs of his Kingdoms. And therefore he ſolemnly proteſted againſt all that might be agreed or ſtipulated to his prejudice, as being void by all the laws in the world.' No manner of public notice was taken of this Proteſtation. 1713. *The Pretender's Proteſtation.*

Baron *de Kirchner*, the only Imperial Miniſter now at *Utrecht*, having received repeated orders to leave that place, the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries made their laſt effort to remove the difficulties, that ſtill obſtructed the concluſion of a general peace. At their requeſt the Imperial Miniſter met thoſe of *France*, at the Lord Privy-Seal's Houſe, where the *French* made ſome new overtures

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your ſteadineſs in carrying it on, and overcoming the many difficulties contrived to obſtruct it: And it is with the higheſt ſatisfaction we congratulate your Majeſty upon the happy concluſion of this treaty; for we are ſo much convinced of your Majeſty's tender regard to the public welfare, and the many inſtances of your wiſdom have taught us to have ſo perfect a reliance upon it, that we cannot doubt but your Majeſty hath procured all reaſonable ſatisfaction for your Allies, and eſtabliſhed the intereſt of your own Kingdoms in ſuch a manner, as to make us not only ſecure for the future, but a flouriſhing and a happy people.

Your Majeſty can give no higher proof of the care you take of poſterity, than by the concern you are pleaſed to expreſs for the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, upon which the future happineſs of this Kingdom ſo much depends. We hope, and truſt, that nothing will ever be able to interrupt the friendſhip between your Majeſty and that illuſtrious Family, ſince the wicked deſigns of thoſe, who would endeavour to ſeparate your intereſts, muſt be too plain ever to ſucceed.

Your faithful Commons can never enough expreſs the grateful ſenſe they have of the many gracious aſſurances contained in your Majeſty's ſpeech; and after what your Majeſty hath done to eaſe your ſubjects of the heavy burthen, which before lay upon them, and after your unparalleled goodneſs in demanding nothing from them for the time to come, but what they themſelves ſhall judge requiſite for their own ſafety; the beſt return, they can make, will be a ready and dutiful compliance with every thing you have been pleaſed to recommend; and they cannot fail moſt chearfully to ſet about providing the ſupplies neceſſary for this year's ſervice. Your Majeſty's repeated condeſcenſions muſt in the ſtrongeſt manner engage the hearts and affections of all your ſubjects to your Majeſty; and we are ſatisfied we cannot more truly repreſent them, than by contributing our utmoſt endeavours to make your reign as proſperous, glorious, and eaſy to yourſelf, as it is beneficial and happy to your people.'

To which addreſs the Queen returned this anſwer, 'That this addreſs could not but be very agreeable to her, as it came from her loyal Commons, and as it was a continuation of thoſe expreſſions of duty and affection, which they had ſhewn through this whole Parliament.'

1713. tures relating to the Emperor and Empire: But, this Conference having proved ineffectual, and *Kirchner*'s orders for leaving the place of Congreſs being poſitive, he ſet out from *Utrecht* on the 17th of *May*, *N. S.*

The treaties of peace and commerce laid before the Parliament. Pr. H. C. Burnet.

The Parliament had now ſate a month, when Mr. *Benſon*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, delivered to the Houſe of Commons a meſſage from the Queen, importing, 'That, as it is the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to make peace and war, ſhe had ratified the treaties of peace and commerce with *France*, which had been ſigned by her order, and had concluded a treaty with *Spain*, which would be ſigned, as ſoon as the *Spaniſh* Miniſters were arrived there. That ſhe determined from the firſt, on this extraordinary occaſion, to communicate theſe treaties to her Parliament, and had therefore now ordered them to be laid before the Houſe.' After this meſſage, he preſented to the Houſe the copies of the treaties of peace and commerce made at *Utrecht*, with tranſlations of them.

Subſtance of the treaties. Burnet.

By the treaty of peace, the *French* King was bound to give neither harbour nor aſſiſtance to the Pretender, but acknowledged the Queen's title and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as it was ſettled by ſeveral acts of Parliament: *Dunkirk* was to be razed in a time limited, within five months, after the ratifications; but that was not to be begun, till an equivalent for it was put in the hands of *France*. *Newfoundland*, *Hudſon's Bay*, and *St. Chriſtopher's* were to be given to *England*; but *Cape Breton* was to be left to the *French*, with a liberty to dry their fiſh on *Newfoundland*: This was the main ſubſtance of the articles of peace (1). The treaty of commerce ſettled a free trade, according to the Tariff in the year 1664, excepting ſome commodities, that were ſubjected to a new Tariff in the year 1699, which was ſo high, that it amounted to a prohibition: All the productions of *France* were to come into *England* under no other duties, but thoſe that were laid on the ſame productions from other Countries; and, when this was ſettled, then Commiſſaries were to be ſent to *London*, to agree and adjuſt all matters relating to trade: The treaty of commerce with *Spain* was not yet finiſhed. As for the Allies, *Portugal* and *Savoy* were ſatisfied; the Emperor was to have the Duchy of *Milan*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the *Spaniſh Netherlands*: *Sicily* was to be given to the Duke of *Savoy*, with the title of King: And *Sardinia*, with the ſame title, was to be given to the Elector of *Bavaria*, in lieu of his loſſes: The *States* were to deliver up *Liſle*, and the little places about it: And, beſides the places of which they were already poſſeſſed, they were to have *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Luxemburg*, *Ypres*, and *Newport*: The King of *Pruſſia* was to have the *Upper Guelder*, in lieu of *Orange*, and the other Eſtates, which the family had in *Franche Comté*. The Emperor was to have time to the firſt of *June*, to declare his accepting it. 1713.

Debates about the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of commerce.

The treaties being read, a day was appointed to conſider of the treaty of commerce, particularly the eighth and ninth articles; by the eighth all the ſubjects of *Great-Britain* and *France* were to enjoy, as to all duties and impoſitions whatever, the ſame privileges, which any other Nation, the moſt favoured, did then, or ſhall hereafter enjoy. By the other article, a law was to be made within two months in *Great-Britain*, that no more cuſtoms be paid for goods brought from *France* than what are payable for the like goods imported from any other country in *Europe*. Theſe were articles very diſadvantageous to *England*. During King *Charles* the Second's reign, our trade with *France* was often and loudly complained of, as very prejudicial to the Nation; there was a commiſſion appointed, in the year 1674, to adjuſt the conditions of our commerce with that Nation; and then it appeared, in a ſcheme that was prepared by very able Merchants, that we loſt every year a million of money by our trade thither. This was then ſo well received, that the ſcheme was entered into the journals of both Houſes of Parliament, and into the books of the Cuſtom-Houſe: But the Court at that time favoured the intereſts of *France* ſo much, preferably to their own, that the trade went ſtill on till the year 1678, when the Parliament laid, upon all *French* commodities, ſuch a duty as amounted to a Prohibition, and was to laſt for three years, and to the end of the next Seſſion of Parliament: At the end of the three years, King *Charles* called no more Parliaments; and that Act was repealed in King *James*'s Parliament: But, during the whole laſt war, high duties were laid on all the productions and manufactures of *France*; which by this treaty were to be no higher charged, than the ſame productions from other countries. It was ſaid that, if we had been as often beat by the *French*, as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard treaty; and, if the articles of our commerce had been ſettled, before the Duke of *Ormond* was ordered to ſeparate his troops from the Confederates, the *French* could not have pretended to draw us into ſuch terms, as they had inſiſted on ſince that time, becauſe we put ourſelves into their power. We were engaged by our treaty with *Portugal*, that their wines ſhould be charged a third part lower than the *French* wines; but, if the duties were, according to this treaty of commerce, to be made equal, then, conſidering the difference of freight, which is more than double from *Portugal*, the *French* wines would be much cheaper; and, the Nation

Objections to them.

(1) It was obſerved on theſe articles: As to *Newfoundland*, it was thought that the *French* ſettling at *Cape Breton*, inſtead of *Placentia*, would be of great advantage to them with relation to the Fiſhery, which is the only thing, that makes Settlements in thoſe parts of any value. The *Engliſh* have always pretended, that, the firſt diſcovery of *Newfoundland* being made in *Henry* the Seventh's Time, the right to it was in the Crown of *England*. The *French* had leave given them, in King *Charles* the Firſt's time, to fiſh there, paying tribute, as an acknowledgment of that licenſe: It is true, they carried this much further, during the Civil wars; and this grew to a much greater height in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second: But, in King *William*'s time, an act of Parliament paſſed, aſſerting the right of the Crown to *Newfoundland*, laying open the trade thither to all the ſubjects of *Great-Britain*, with a poſitive and conſtant excluſion of all Aliens and Foreigners. *Burnet*, II. 619.

(1) The

Nation generally liking them better, by this means we ſhould not only break our treaties with *Portugal*, but, if we did not take off their wines, we muſt loſe their trade, which was at preſent the moſt advantageous, that we drove any where: For, beſides a great vent of our manufactures, we brought over yearly great returns of gold from thence; four, five, and ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year. We had brought the ſilk manufacture here to ſo great perfection, that about 300,000 People were maintained by it. For carrying this on, we brought great quantities of ſilk from *Italy* and *Turky*, by which people in thoſe countries came to take off as great quantities of our manufactures: So that our demand for ſilk had opened good markets for our woollen goods abroad, which muſt fail, if our manufacture of ſilk at home ſhould be loſt: Which, if once we gave a free vent for ſilk ſtuffs from *France* among us, muſt ſoon be the caſe; ſince the cheapneſs of proviſions and of labour, in *France*, would enable the *French* to underſell us, even at our own markets. Our linnen and paper manufactures would likewiſe be ruined by a free importation of the ſame goods from *France*.

Notwithſtanding all this, a motion was made on the day appointed, *May* 14, to bring in a bill to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with *France*. A debate aroſe, which laſted till ten in the evening, when it was reſolved, by a great majority, that the bill ſhould be brought in (1).

The peace had been proclaimed in *London*, and afterwards throughout *Great-Britain*, with the loudeſt acclamations of the people, who fondly expected great benefits from it; but it was not long before the eyes of the generality were opened. For, about the beginning of *May*, Signior *Bruciado*, the *Portugueſe* Miniſter in *London*, in a memorial repreſented to the Court, 1713. 'That, in caſe any breach was made in the treaty concluded in 1703, whereby the duties on *French* wines were ſtipulated to be, at leaſt, one third higher than on thoſe of *Portugal*, the King, his Maſter, would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures and products of *Great-Britain*:' Which alarmed not only the *Portugal* Merchants in *London*, but alſo all perſons concerned in the woollen manufacture. On the other hand, the treaties of peace and commerce having been publiſhed in print, that of commerce raiſed ſuch a general clamour, as awakened the whole Nation, which before ſeemed to have been ſunk into a lethargy. Several Gentlemen, and particularly Mr. *Robert Walpole*, General *Stanhope*, Sir *Theodore Janſſen*, &c. exerted themſelves, and publiſhed ſeveral excellent pieces, which ſhewed the advantages of the trade with *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, to which Nations we conſtantly exported more than we imported from them, and brought the balance in money; whereas a trade with *France* would be deſtructive of our home-manufactures, and of our commerce with other Nations. Theſe things came to be ſo well underſtood, that, even while flattering addreſſes were coming to Court from all parts of *England*, petitions were ſent up from the Towns and Counties concerned in trade, ſetting forth the prejudice, which they apprehended from this treaty of commerce. The treaty, however, was to be ſupported at any rate; the perſons concerned in making it either could not, or would not, ſee the miſtakes in it; and the Nation was to be convinced, that, thro' their great ſkill in trade, they had made an excellent treaty of commerce. To theſe ends *Daniel de Foe* was employed; though, in a weekly paper publiſhed ſome years before, called the *Review*, he had very often condemned the *French*

Great clamour againſt the treaty.

Burnet.

King's Preface to the *Britiſh* Merchant.

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(1) The ſubſtance of the debate on this occaſion was as follows:

Mr. *Arthur Moore*, one of the Commiſſioners of trade, and whoſe ſkill and knowledge, in commercial affairs, the *Britiſh* Miniſtry had chiefly relied on in drawing up the treaty in queſtion, endeavoured to ſhew the great advantages, that would accrue to the Nation from a free trade with *France*; and Sir *James Bateman*, Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Shepherd*, and ſome others, ſpoke on the ſame ſide. Mr. *Nicholas Lechmere* endeavoured, on the contrary, to prove, that the trade with *France* would be very prejudicial to our woollen, ſilk, and paper manufactories; and to our commerce with *Portugal*; and he was ſupported, not only by General *Stanhope*, Mr. *John Smith*, Mr. *Nathaniel Gould* (an eminent Merchant, formerly Governor of the Bank of *England*) Sir *Peter King*, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Mr. *Wortley Montague*, the Lord *Caſtlecomer*, and ſome others of the Whigs; but alſo by Sir *George Newland* and Mr. *Robert Heyſham*, who had before gone with the Court. Mr. *Moore*, in order to make good his aſſertion, having enumerated the different ſorts of commodities of the growth and manufacture of *Great-Britain*, which the *French* drew from hence before the two laſt wars, inſinuating, that in all probability they would do the ſame again for the future, if a free trade with them were ſet upon an equal foot: Mr. *Gould* anſwered him, that he begged the very thing in queſtion; and that, in his opinion, the opening a free trade with *France* would rather be highly detrimental to the Nation. To make this out, Mr. *Gould* urged, 'That, ſince the Revolution, the ſtate of commerce was intirely changed; and as *France* had ſet up, and very much encouraged woollen manufactures, and made ſhift without ſeveral goods, which they drew from hence; ſo *England* had learned to be without the product of *France*, by ſetting up ſilk manufactures and paper-mills; encouraging the making of all manner of toys, &c. which ſaved and gained vaſt ſums of money to the Nation, and employed an infinite number of artificers, who would be reduced to beggary, if the importation of *French* goods of the ſame kind were allowed; becauſe the *French* had their work done for leſs money, and conſequently could ſell their commodities cheaper. He added, that the moſt valuable branch of our trade was that to *Portugal*; the increaſe of which, of late years, was mainly owing to the great quantities of wines, that were imported from thence, and conſumed in *Great-Britain*, inſtead of *French* wines, by reaſon of the high duties laid on the latter. But, if theſe duties were, purſuant to the treaty of commerce in queſtion, reduced, and made equal with thoſe on *Portugal* wines, the importation and conſumption of the latter would infallibly decreaſe, and thereby our profitable commerce to *Portugal* be in danger of being loſt.' On the other hand, Sir *William Wyndham* took this occaſion to reflect on the late Miniſtry, 'who, in his opinion, had let ſlip the opportunity of making a good peace, when they had it in their power: But that a time might come, and, he hoped, was not far off, when the miſmanagement of the enemies to their country ſhould be animadverted upon. As to our *Portugal* trade, he ſaid, that that Kingdom would ever have occaſion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of *England*, and conſequently be obliged to take off great quantities from hence, as they did before the year 1703, even at a time, when the Court

of

1713. *The* Mercator *published.*

French trade as detrimental to this Kingdom. He undertook, however, the cauſe now, and publiſhed a paper thrice a week, by the title of *Mercator, or Commerce retrieved; being conſiderations on the ſtate of the* Britiſh *trade, particularly as it reſpects* Holland, Hanover, *and the* Dutch *Barrier; the trade to and from* France; *the trade to* Portugal, Spain, *and the* Weſt-Indies, *and the fiſheries of* Newfoundland *and* Nova Scotia: *With other matters and advantages accruing to* Great-Britain, *by the treaties of peace and commerce lately concluded at* Utrecht. In this paper he undertook to prove, that the trade to *France*, though contrary to all experience, had always been beneficial to this Kingdom, and would be ſo again upon the foot of the treaty. And as he had the art of writing very plauſibly, and thoſe, who employed him, and furniſhed him with materials, had the command of all public papers in the Cuſtom-Houſe; he had it in his power to do a great deal of miſchief, eſpecially amongſt ſuch, as were unſkilled in trade, and at the ſame time very fond of *French* wines, which it was then a crime to be againſt. Several ingenious Merchants, of long experience and well ſkilled in trade, joined together to contradict the impoſitions of this Writer: They knew he had many heads, beſides the advantages of public papers, to help him; and therefore thought the publication of a joint weekly paper the moſt feaſible way to confute him, and ſet our trade in a clear light, becauſe they were ſenſible, that it was impoſſible for any one man to be maſter of ſo much experience, as was required to furniſh materials from ſo many different branches of our trade, as would be touched upon in this debate. The paper they publiſhed was, in oppoſition to *Daniel de Foe*'s title, called the Britiſh *Merchant, or Commerce preſerved*, and was publiſhed twice a week (1). The perſon, to whom the public was chiefly obliged for this paper, and who had the greateſt hand in it, was *Henry Martin*, who was afterwards made Inſpector General of the Exports and Imports. He was aſſiſted by Sir *Charles Cooke* Merchant, afterwards made Commiſſioner of trade; Sir *Theodore Janſſen*, Bart. *James Milner*, *Nathaniel Torriano*, *Joſhua Gee*, *Chriſtopher Haynes*, *David Martin*, Merchants; and *Charles King*, who afterwards collected and reprinted thoſe papers. Lord *Hallifax* and General *Stanhope* had likewiſe a conſiderable ſhare in the encouragement of this paper, which had ſo great an effect, that the thoughts of the Whigs about commerce, which, at firſt, were repreſented as the reſult of diſcontent and ſpirit of party, appeared to be the univerſal ſenſe of all Traders.

The Britiſh Merchant *publiſhed.*

The Houſe of Commons gave an aid of two ſhillings in the pound, though the Miniſters hoped to have carried it higher; but the Members durſt not venture on that, ſince a new election was ſoon to follow the concluſion of the Seſſion. They proceeded next to renew the duty on malt for another year; and here a debate aroſe, that was kept up ſome days in both Houſes of Parliament, whether it ſhould be laid on the whole Iſland. It was carried in the affirmative; of which the *Scots* complained heavily, as a burden, that their Country could not bear: And whereas it was ſaid, that theſe duties ought to be laid equally on all the ſubjects of the united Kingdom, the *Scots* inſiſted on an article of the Union, by which it was ſtipulated, that no duty ſhould be laid on the malt in *Scotland* during the war, which ought to be obſerved religiouſly. They ſaid, it was evident, the war with *Spain* was not yet ended: No peace with that Crown was yet proclaimed, nor ſo much as ſigned: And though it was as good as made, and was every day expected, yet it was a maxim in the conſtruction of all laws, that odious matters ought to be ſtrictly underſtood; whereas matters of favour were to be more liberally interpreted: It was farther ſaid on the *Scots* ſide, that this duty was, by the very words of the act, to be applied to deficiencies during the war: So this act was, upon the matter, making *Scotland* pay that duty during the war, from which the articles of Union did, by expreſs words, exempt them. A great number of the *Engliſh* were convinced of the equity of theſe grounds, which the *Scots* went upon, but the majority was on the other ſide. So, when the bill had paſſed through the Houſe of Commons, all the *Scots* of both Houſes met together, and agreed to move for an act, diſſolving the

Aid granted by the Commons. Burnet.

The Scots oppoſe the malt act.

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of *Portugal* had laid high duties on *Engliſh* goods and merchandizes.' General *Stanhope* made hereupon a long ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, 'That the affair now in queſtion was not a party buſineſs; neither did it concern the late or the preſent Miniſtry, but the whole *Britiſh* Nation, and therefore, for his own part, he would freely ſpeak his thoughts about it with the utmoſt impartiality. That, the peace being made, it was now prepoſterous to ſay any thing for or againſt it. But, that as no treaty could bind the Commons of *Great-Britain* to make any act or deed againſt their own intereſt; the only point to be conſidered was, Whether a free trade with *France* would be advantageous or no? And that, in order to clear that important matter, it was neceſſary to conſult the Merchants and Manufacturers, who had preſented ſeveral petitions and repreſentations about it.' This was likewiſe urged by Mr. *John Smith*, who made a motion for adjourning the debate, and taking the papers before them into conſideration. But the main queſtion, being put, was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and fifty-two voices againſt one hundred and thirty. Mr. Speaker having reſumed the chair, Sir *Gilbert Dolben* made his report from the Committee, and, after further debate, the Whigs, finding themſelves over powered by the Court-party, moſt of them went out of the Houſe; and ſo it was reſolved by above an hundred voices againſt twelve or thirteen, that *a bill be brought in, to make effectual the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce and navigation between* Great-Britain *and* France.

(1) The authors of this work, *Vol.* I. *p.* 180. 2d Edit. aſſert, 'that, if the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of commerce between us and *France* had been rendered effectual by a law, this very thing had been more ruinous to the *Britiſh* Nation, than if the City of *London* were to be laid in aſhes. This City has been once burnt to the ground; but the people were ſtill in being. They were, notwithſtanding this calamity, a conſtant mart for the product and manufactures of the country. But, if ſuch a law, as that abovementioned, had paſſed, *France* would have gone on from that moment to exhauſt the treaſures of the Kingdom. We ſhould have preſently loſt our beſt markets both at home and abroad. Our Gentlemen muſt have felt a ſudden and univerſal decay of their rents; and our common people muſt have either ſtarved for want of work, come to the lands or the pariſh for ſubſiſtance, or have retired to foreign parts for bread.'

(1) This

1713. the Union; they went firſt to the Queen, and told her how grievous, and indeed intolerable, this duty would be to their Country, ſo that they were under a neceſſity to try, how the Union might be broken. The Queen ſeemed uneaſy at the motion; ſhe ſtudied to divert them from it, and aſſured them, that her Officers ſhould have orders to make it eaſy to them. This was underſtood to imply that the duty ſhould not be levied; but they knew this could not be depended on: So the motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, and moſt of the Lords of that Nation ſpoke to it: They ſet forth all the hardſhips, that they lay under ſince the Union; they had no more a Council in *Scotland*; their Peers at preſent were the only perſons in the whole Iſland, that were judged incapable of Peerage by deſcent; their laws were altered in matters of the higheſt importance, particularly in matters of treaſon; and now an impoſition was to be laid on their malt, which muſt prove an intolerable burden to the poor of that Country, and force them to drink water. Upon all theſe reaſons, they moved for liberty to bring in a bill, to diſſolve the Union, in which they would give full ſecurity, for maintaining the Queen's Prerogative, and for ſecuring the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. This was oppoſed with much zeal by the Miniſters, but was ſupported by others; who, though they did not intend to give up the Union, yet thought it reaſonable to give a hearing to this motion, that they might ſee how far the Proteſtant Succeſſion could be ſecured, in caſe it ſhould be entertained; but the majority were for rejecting the motion: When the malt-bill was brought up to the Lords, there was ſuch an oppoſition made to it, that fifty-ſix voted againſt it, but ſixty-four were for it, and ſo it paſſed (1). 1713.

A bill for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual is rejected. Burnet.

The matter of the greateſt conſequence in this Seſſion was, the bill for ſettling the commerce with *France*, according to the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty, which had been ordered by the Commons to be brought in. The Traders in the City of *London*, and thoſe in all the other parts of *England*, were alarmed, with the great prejudice this would bring on the whole Nation. The *Turkey* Company, thoſe that

(1) This affair more at large is thus related: During the adjournment of the Parliament for a week on account of the *Whitſun-Holidays*, there appeared an uneaſineſs in many of the *Scots* Members upon the diſappointment of their endeavours to get their country eaſed of part of the *Malt-Tax*. Hereupon they conferred with ſeveral of the *Scots* Peers ſitting in Parliament; and laying aſide all party diſtinctions, conſulted together how to redreſs their grievances. They deputed the Duke of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Mar*, Mr. *Lockhart*, and Mr. *Cockburne*, who, by word of mouth repreſented to the Queen, 'That their countrymen bore, with great impatience, the violation of ſome articles of the Act of Union; and that laying ſuch an inſupportable burthen as the *Malt-Tax* upon them was like to raiſe their diſcontent to ſuch an height, as to prompt them to declare *the Union diſſolved*.' To this unexpected remonſtrance the Queen anſwered, *This was a precipitate reſolution; and ſhe wiſhed they might not have reaſon to repent it: But, however, ſhe would endeavour to make all things eaſy*. The *Scots* Members being met again the next day, and their Deputies having made their report of her Majeſty's anſwer, it was unanimouſly agreed, that, before they proceeded farther, they ſhould lay their grievances before the Houſe of Lords. Accordingly on *Thurſday* the 28th of *May*, after the Lords had adjourned the debate about the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce, the Earl of *Findlater* made a motion, that ſome day ſhould be appointed to conſider the State of the Nation: Whereupon the Lords appointed *Monday* the 1ſt of *June*, when all the Lords in town were ſummoned. The debate began between one and two, being opened by the Earl, who made the motion, and who repreſented the grievances of the *Scots* nation, which he reduced to four heads: 'Firſt, Their being deprived of a Privy-Council. Secondly, The laws of *England* in caſes of treaſon extending to *Scotland*. *Thirdly*, The *Scots* Peers being incapable of being made Peers of *Great-Britain*, as it was adjudged and declared in the caſe of the late Duke of *Hamilton*. And, Fourthly, The *Scots* being ſubjected to the *Malt-Tax*, which would be the more inſupportable to them now, in that they never were ſubjected to it during the war, and had reaſon to expect to reap and enjoy the benefits of peace: Concluding, that, ſince the Union between the two Nations had not theſe good effects, as were expected from it, he therefore moved, That leave might be given to bring in a bill *for diſſolving the ſaid Union, and ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of* Hanover, *ſecuring the Queen's prerogative in both Kingdoms, and preſerving an intire amity and good correſpondence between the two Kingdoms*.' This motion was ſeconded by the Earl of *Mar*; but oppoſed by the Lord *North* and *Grey*, who, in a long ſpeech, endeavoured to ſhew, that the complaints of the *Scots* were groundleſs, and the diſſolving the Union impracticable; not without ſome reflections on the poverty of the *Scots* Nation. He was anſwered by the Lord *Eglington*, who allowed the *Scots* Nation to be poor, and therefore unable to pay the *Malt tax*. The Lord *North* and *Grey* replied, 'That it was nothing but what was agreed to by the treaty of Union; the fourteenth article of which imported, that *Scotland* ſhould not be charged with any impoſition on malt during the war only, which was now at an end.' The Earl of *Ilay* confeſſed, that there was ſuch a clauſe, but that the ſame article imported, 'That, ſeeing it could not be ſuppoſed, that the Parliament of *Great-Britain* would ever lay any ſort of burdens upon the united Kingdom, but what they ſhould find of neceſſity, at that time, for the preſervation and good of the Whole, and with due regard to the circumſtances and abilities of every part of the united Kingdom; therefore it was agreed, that there ſhould be no further exemption inſiſted on for any part of the united Kingdom, but that the conſideration of any exemption, beyond what was already agreed on in this treaty, ſhould be left to the determination of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*.' He urged, 'That, when this treaty was made, the *Scots* concluded the Parliament of *Great-Britain* would never go about to lay any impoſition, that they had reaſon to believe grievous;' and having ſet forth the inability of the *Scots* to pay the *Malt-tax*, concluded for the Earl of *Findlater*'s motion. Hereupon the Earl of *Peterborough* made a long ſpeech, wherein he endeavoured to ſhew the impoſſibility of diſſolving the Union, ſaying, among other things, 'That he had often heard the Union compared to a Marriage; and, according to that notion, ſince it was made, it could not be diſſolved by any power upon earth. That, though *England*, who, in this national marriage, muſt be ſuppoſed to be the Huſband, might, in ſome inſtances, have been unkind to the Lady, yet ſhe ought not preſently to ſue for a divorce, the rather, becauſe ſhe had very much mended her fortune by this match:' Adding, 'That the Union was a contract, than which nothing could be more binding.' To this the Earl of *Ilay* anſwered, 'That, if the Union had the ſame ſanction as Marriage, which was an ordinance of God, he ſhould be for obſerving it as religiouſly as that; but that he thought there was a great difference.' To which the Earl of *Peterborough* replied, 'He could not tell how it could be more ſolemn than it was,

1713. that traded to *Portugal* and *Italy*, and all who were concerned in the woollen and ſilk manufactures, appeared before both Houſes, and ſet forth the great miſchief, that a commerce with *France*, on the foot of the treaty, would bring upon the Nation; while none appeared on the other ſide, to anſwer their arguments, or to ſet forth the advantage of ſuch a commerce. It was manifeſt, that none of the trading bodies had been conſulted in it; and the Commiſſioners for trade and plantations had made very material obſervations on the firſt project, which was ſent to them for their opinion: And afterwards, when this preſent project was formed, it was alſo tranſmitted to that Board by the Queen's order, and they were required to make their remarks on it: But *Arthur Moor*, who had riſen up from being a Footman without any education, to be a great dealer in trade, and was the perſon of that Board, in whom the Lord-Treaſurer confided moſt, moved, that they might firſt read it every one a-part, and then debate it; and he deſired to have the firſt peruſal: So he took it away, and never brought it back to them, but gave it to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who carried it to *Paris*, and there it was ſettled. The bill was very feebly maintained by thoſe who argued for it; yet the majority went with the bill till the laſt day; and then the oppoſition to it was ſo ſtrong, that the Miniſters ſeemed inclined to let it fall: But it was not then known, whether this was only a feint, or whether the inſtances of the *French* Ambaſſador, and the engagements, that our Miniſters were under to that Court, prevailed for carrying it on. It was brought to the laſt ſtep; and then a great many of thoſe, who had hitherto gone along with the Court, broke from them in this matter, and beſtirred themſelves ſo effectually, that, when it came to the laſt diviſion, a hundred and eighty-five were for the 1713

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except they expected it ſhould have come from Heaven like the *Ten Commandments*:' Animadverting, in the concluſion, on the *Scots*, 'as a people, that would never be ſatisfied: That they would have all the advantages of being united to *England*, but would pay nothing by their good will: And that they had more money from *England*, than all their eſtates amounted to in their own Country.' To him the Duke of *Argyle* replied, in a very warm ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, 'That he was by ſome reflected on, as if he was diſguſted, and had changed ſides; but that he deſpiſed their perſons, as much as he undervalued their judgments. That it was true, he had a great hand in making the Union: That the chief reaſon, which moved him to it, was the ſecuring the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; but that he was ſatisfied, that might be done as well now, if the Union were diſſolved: That he ſpoke as a Peer of *England*, as well as of *Scotland:* That he believed in his conſcience, it was as much for the intereſt of *England* as of *Scotland*, to have it diſſolved; and, if it were not, he did not expect long to have either property left in *Scotland*, or liberty in *England*. He urged, that the tax upon malt in *Scotland* was no leſs unequal, than the taxing land by the acre throughout *England* would be; becauſe land is worth five or ſix pounds an acre about *London*, and not ſo many ſhillings in remote parts of the Country. That this was the caſe between the *Scots* and *Engliſh* malt; the latter being worth three or four ſhillings the buſhel, the other not above one; ſo that, if this tax were collected in *Scotland*, it muſt be done by a regiment of dragoons.' Some other *Scots* Peers ſaid, 'That the end of the Union was the cultivating amity and friendſhip between the two Nations; but it was ſo far from having that effect, that they were ſure, the animoſities between the two Nations were now much greater than before the Union; and therefore they were of opinion, that, if the Union were diſſolved, the two Nations would be better friends.' The Lord Chief-Juſtice *Trevor* urged, on the other hand, the impoſſibility of ſuch a diſſolution; and he was ſupported by the Lord-Treaſurer, who ſaid, 'That the Earl of *Findlater*'s motion was no leſs ſtrange than unexpected: That, the Union being made by two diſtinct Parliaments of both Kingdoms, he did not ſee how it could be diſſolved, now the two Nations were in different circumſtances, becauſe the power, that made it, was no more in being; and nothing could make it void, but the power, that created it: Concluding, that, if the *Scots* had any grievances to complain of, there might be ſome other method thought of to redreſs them, without proceeding to that extraordinary way of diſſolving the Union, which had been made in ſo ſolemn a way, and brought about with ſo much difficulty.' This was anſwered by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who repreſented the advantages of the Union, if the views, with which it was made, had been ſteadily purſued. He added, 'That, though the two Nations were now in other circumſtances, than when the Union was made, yet the ſame power, that was in the two Parliaments, when they were ſeparated and diſtinct, was lodged in them now they were conſolidated; and therefore, if they had power to make it, they certainly had it ſtill to diſſolve it: And that he knew not any thing, but what the Parliament could do, except deſtroying the preſent Conſtitution; which, he owned, they had not power to do. That the inconveniencies, which had attended the Union, could not be foreſeen, till the trial was made: And, ſince the *Scots*, who were the beſt judges of the affairs of their Kingdom, found, that it did not anſwer the ends propoſed, he was for diſſolving it.' The Earl of *Sunderland* ſaid, to the ſame purpoſe, 'That, tho' he had a hand in making the Union, yet, if it had not that good effect, which was expected from it, he was likewiſe for diſſolving it.' The Lord Viſcount *Townſhend* ſaid, That he was of the ſame opinion, provided that means could be found to ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion; and therefore he deſired to know, what ſecurity the *Scots* could give for that eſſential point, before they proceeded any further? To this ſome of the *Scots* Lords replied, That would appear, when the bill was brought in: That then it was a proper time to ſhew, what ſecurity they could give; and therefore moved, That the queſtion might be put immediately, Whether a bill ſhould be brought in, or not? The Earl of *Nottingham* deſired, that another day might be appointed, to conſider further of a matter of ſuch conſequence, that the Lords might be better apprized of it. The Lord *Hallifax* declared alſo for diſſolving the Union, provided it could be made appear, that the Succeſſion could be ſecured; but yet deſired, that a further day might be appointed to conſider of ſo important a matter. And the Earls of *Mar* and *Loudon*, who were before for putting the queſtion, immediately, declared themſelves better ſatisfied by that Lord's reaſons. There were ſeveral other ſpeeches made both by the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Lords, particularly by the Earl *Paulet*, and the Earls of *Scarborough* and *Scarſdale*. And it is obſervable, that, when the danger *England* would be in from the Pretender, if the Union were diſſolved, was urged, the Lord *Townſhend* anſwered, 'That the Queen, Lords, and Commons of *England*, if joined in one intereſt, need fear no enemy in the world; and therefore ought to deſpiſe the Pretender and all his abetters.' The Duke of *Argyle*, having mentioned the Pretender, ſaid, *He knew not what appellation to give him, his name being now as uncertain as his parents.* But the Earl of *Scarſdale* called him *the Prince*, or, added he, *the Pretender, which you will.* Upon the whole matter, all the *Engliſh* Court Lords were againſt diſſolving the Union; and, on the other hand, ſuch Whig Peers, as appeared

713. the bill, and a hundred and ninety-four were againſt it: By ſo ſmall a majority, was a bill of ſuch great importance loſt (1).

reſs of ks for trea- of and merce. 26. The rejecting this bill being an expreſs condemnation of the treaty of commerce, and laying the Managers of it open to future inquiries, the Miniſtry uſed their utmoſt efforts to procure a palliative addreſs from the Commons; which the majority of that Houſe were the more ready to come into, becauſe the Whigs began to exult, as if they had already triumphed over their adverſaries. Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, by whoſe influence chiefly the bill had been loſt, was engaged to make a motion for an addreſs, 'returning her Majeſty the humble thanks of this Houſe, for the great care ſhe had taken of the ſecurity and honour of her Kingdoms in the treaty of peace; and alſo, for what ſhe had done in the treaty of commerce with *France*, by laying ſo good a foundation for the intereſts of her people in trade: And humbly to deſire her Majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to appoint Commiſſioners, to treat with Commiſſioners on the part of *France*, for adjuſting ſuch matters, as ſhould be neceſſary to be ſettled in the treaty of commerce between her Majeſty and *France*; that the treaty might be explained and perfected, for the good and welfare of her people.' Many of the Members, who voted againſt the bill, being abſent, it was carried for the addreſs by a majority of one hundred and fifty-ſix voices againſt ſeventy-two: Whereupon General *Stanhope* made a motion, 'to repreſent in the addreſs the ſenſe of the Houſe, that her Majeſty's Commiſſioners, who were to treat of the commerce between *Great-Britain* and *France*, ſhould inſiſt, that liberty be given to her Majeſty's ſubjects, to trade to all the ports in the *French* King's Dominions.' But this was rejected. 1713.

The addreſs being preſented to the Queen by the whole Houſe, ſhe 'thanked them moſt heartily for an addreſs, which ſo fully expreſſed their approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce with *France*: Adding, that it was with no ſmall difficulty, that ſo great advantages in trade were obtained for her ſubjects; and that ſhe would readily comply with their deſires, in continuing her utmoſt care to ſecure the benefits ſhe had ſtipulated for her people.' This was very ſurpriſing, ſince the Houſe of Commons had ſufficiently ſhewn, how little they were pleaſed with the treaty of commerce, by their rejecting the bill, which was offered to confirm it; and this was inſinuated in their addreſs itſelf. But it was pleaſantly ſaid, that the Queen anſwered them, according to what ought to have been *The Queen's anſwer.* Burnet.

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to be for it, had principally in view the fomenting the diſcontents of the *Scots*, in order to incline them to chuſe, at the next election, ſuch repreſentatives as ſhould oppoſe the preſent Miniſtry. The queſtion being put upon the Earl of *Findlater*'s motion, it was carried in the negative by four voices, there being fifty-four Lords preſent on each ſide; and ſeventeen proxies for the negative, and only thirteen for the affirmative. It is remarkable, that the Lord-Treaſurer having, in the courſe of this debate, advanced, 'That, though the malt-tax were laid, it might be afterwards remitted by the Crown, and not levied;' the Earl of *Sunderland* ſaid, 'He wondered ſuch expreſſions, as tended to eſtabliſh a *deſpotic diſpenſing power*, and *arbitrary Government*, ſhould come from that noble Lord.' To this, the Lord-Treaſurer ſaid, 'That his family had never been for promoting and adviſing arbitrary meaſures, as others had done:' Which the Earl of *Sunderland* taking to be a reflection upon his father, he not only vindicated him, but added, 'That the other Lord's family was hardly known in thoſe days.' *Pr. H. L.*

(1) The proceedings at large were as follow:

On the 9th of *June*, the Commons, in a Grand Committee, took that bill into conſideration, Sir *Robert Davers* being in the Chair; and heard Mr. *Cooke*, a Merchant, who, in behalf of the *Levant* Company made a long ſpeech; wherein, with great ſolidity of reaſon, he ſhewed, how detrimental the opening a trade with *France* would be to the *Britiſh* woollen and ſilk manufactures, and to all the branches of our trade. The Merchants being withdrawn, the Commons took their allegations into conſideration; and, among the reſt, General *Stanhope*, to corroborate what Mr. *Cooke* had alledged, quoted the preamble of an act of Parliament, made in the thirteenth year of King *Charles* the Second, which runs thus: 'Foraſmuch as it has been by long experience found, that the importing *French* wines, brandy, linnen, ſilk, ſalt, and paper, and other commodities of the growth, product, or manufacture of the Territories and Dominions of the *French* King, has much exhauſted the treaſure of this Nation, leſſened the value of the native commodities and manufactures thereof, and cauſed great detriment to this Kingdom in general: Be it therefore enacted, &c.' Hereupon the Speaker, ſuppoſing, that Mr. *Stanhope* had made a miſtake, ſaid, *There was no ſuch thing in that act.* But Mr. *Stanhope* inſiſted, that the Clerk ſhould read the ſaid act; and, his quotation appearing to be right, he and other Members animadverted with ſome vehemence on the Speaker's blunder. At laſt, the debate cooled, and was put off till the next day; and it was reſolved, that the Petitioners, who had not been yet, ſhould then be heard.

On the 10th of *June*, the Queen came to the Houſe of Peers, and, the Commons attending, her Majeſty gave the Royal aſſent to the *act for continuing the duties on malt*, &c. *the act to revive and continue the act for taking and ſtating the public accounts*, &c. and to ſome other private and public bills. The Commons being returned to their Houſe, and having reſolved themſelves into a Grand Committee upon the bill relating to the treaty of commerce, the *Spaniſh*, *Italian*, and *Portugal* Merchants, and the Weavers of *London*, were admitted to be heard upon their ſeveral petitions. Mr. *Torriano*, who ſpoke in behalf of the *Spaniſh* trade, having animadverted on the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce, and mentioned the tenth and eleventh as relating to the two former, ſome Court-Members were offended at it; and, after he had done ſpeaking, moved the Committee, that a mark of their diſpleaſure might be ſet upon him. But General *Stanhope*, Mr. *Lechmere*, Sir *Peter King*, and Mr. *John Smith* ſaid, 'That, unleſs they gave the Merchants full liberty of ſpeech, the Houſe would never be able to form a right judgment on that important affair; and they hoped, that no man ſhould be reprimanded for ſtanding up for the trade of *Great-Britain*.' This, with a noble ſpirit, which appeared in the Houſe on behalf of the Merchants, by the great number of Members, both Tory and Whig, who, all at once, ſtood up to defend Mr. *Torriano*, made the Courtiers drop that matter; and then Mr. *Wyat* ſpoke for the *Italian* Merchants, Mr. *Milner* for the *Portugal* trade, and Colonel *Lekeux* for the *London* Weavers. The Merchants being withdrawn, the Speaker reſumed the Chair; and it was reſolved, That the Grand Committee ſhould, the next day, conſider further of the bill, and that the other Petitioners be then heard. It was alſo ordered, That the Miniſters of the *Levant* Company, and all memorials, petitions, repreſentations, ſchemes of trade, and papers relating thereunto, that were either before the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations, or before the Commiſſioners of the

1713. been in their addreſs, and not according to what was in it. Beſides, it was obſervable, that her promiſe, to maintain what was already ſtipulated, did not at all anſwer the prayer of their addreſs. However, the Speaker having, early the next day, reported the Queen's anſwer to a very thin Houſe, it was unanimouſly reſolved to return her thanks for it.

Addreſs about the equivalent for Dunkirk

As it did not appear in the treaty of peace, what equivalent the King of *France* was to have for *Dunkirk*, the Commons addreſſed the Queen, deſiring to know what that equivalent was. Some weeks paſſed before they had an anſwer; but, at laſt, the Queen by a meſſage ſaid, that in purſuance to the treaties, as well between her and the *French* King, as between that King and the *States*, the equivalent to be given for the demolition of *Dunkirk* was already in the hands of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. This ſtill left the matter in the dark, no further explanation being made of it; however, though many Members were diſſatisfied with this dubious anſwer, the majority acquieſced in it. At the ſame time, 1713. the Queen being alſo addreſſed 'for an account of what ſhe had ſtipulated for the trade of *Great-Britain* in *Flanders*, and how the ſame was ſecured, the report of the Commiſſioners of trade about this matter was laid before the Commons; which being read, an addreſs was preſented to her, 'That ſhe would take care, the towns in *Flanders* in her poſſeſſion be not evacuated, till thoſe who were to have the Sovereignty of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* agreed to ſuch articles for regulating trade, as might put the ſubjects of *Great Britain* upon an equal foot with thoſe of any other Nation.' To this ſhe returned a favourable anſwer.

June 3.

June 20.

This was all that paſſed in this Seſſion of Parliament with relation to the peace. It was once apprehended, that the Miniſters would have moved for an act, or at leaſt for an addreſs, approving the peace, but no ſuch motion was made (1).

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the Cuſtoms, relating to the trade between *England* and *France*, be laid before the Houſe.

The next day, *June* 11, the Grand Committee heard ſeveral Petitioners, and read many petitions, and other papers; and, two days after, a clauſe was ordered to be inſerted in the bill, declaring, 'That the privileges, liberties, and immunities, as to all duties, impoſitions, or cuſtoms, relating to commerce, or to any other right whatſoever, that had been, or might be granted by *France*, with reſpect to the ſubjects, goods, or merchandizes, of any foreign Nation, ſhould be underſtood to extend as well to the four ſpecies of goods, excepted in the ninth article from the Tariff of 1664, as to all other merchandizes whatſoever imported into *France* by the ſubjects of *Great-Britain*.' Then the Commons, in a Grand Committee, made a further progreſs in the bill, and went through it on the 15th of *June*. Three days after, Sir *Robert Davers* reported the amendments made to the bill; which, with ſome others, were agreed to by the Houſe. Then a motion being made, that the bill be ingroſſed, it occaſioned a warm debate from three o'clock in the afternoon till near eleven at night. General *Stanhope*, Sir *Peter King*, Mr. *Gould*, Mr. *Hampden*, and ſome others, ſhewed the diſadvantage of an open trade with *France*, upon the foot of the laſt treaty of commerce: And the Member, who ſpoke moſt in favour of the bill, was the ſame, who had been chiefly employed in that treaty, Mr. *Arthur Moore*; but, ſome of his arguments being ſtrained and precarious, the majority even of his own party adhered to the opinion of Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, who made a long and elaborate ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he ſaid, 'That, before he had fully examined the affair in queſtion, he had given in his vote for bringing in the bill; but, that having afterwards maturely weighed and conſidered the allegations of the Traders and Manufacturers in their ſeveral petitions and repreſentations, he was convinced, that the paſſing of it would be of great prejudice to the woollen and ſilk manufactures of this Kingdom; conſequently increaſe the number of the poor, and, in the end, affect the land. That, while he had the honour to ſit in that Houſe, he would never be blindly led by any Miniſtry; neither, on the other hand, was he biaſſed by what might weigh with ſome men, *viz.* the fear of loſing their elections. But that the principles, upon which he acted, were the intereſt of his Country, and the conviction of his judgment; and, upon theſe two conſiderations alone, he was againſt the bill.' This ſpeech made a great impreſſion on many of the Members; and, Mr. *Aiſlabie*, one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and Mr. *Francis Anneſley*, one of the Commiſſioners of the *public accounts*, having ſpoke alſo againſt the bill, the queſtion, Whether it ſhould be ingroſſed, was at laſt carried in the negative, by a majority of one hundred and ninety-four voices, againſt one hundred and eighty-five. It was obſerved, that, of the four Members for the City of *London*, one only, Sir *William Withers*, voted for the bill; and that Sir *Richard Hoare*, then Lord-Mayor, Sir *George Newland*, and Sir *John Caſs*, voted againſt it; as did alſo the two Members for *Weſtminſter*, Mr. *Medlicot*, and Mr. *Thomas Croſs*. On the other hand, it was given out, that the Lord-Treaſurer, foreſeeing the ill effects of paſſing ſuch a bill at this juncture, wrote, the night before, a letter to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, deſiring him to uſe his intereſt, that it might drop; which ſtep he might probably be induced to take from the oppoſition the bill was like to meet with in the Houſe of Lords; where, that very afternoon, *July* 17, the Earls of *Angleſey* and *Abingdon*, and ſome other Peers, had declared againſt it. However, ſome ſuſpected either the reality or true deſign of ſuch a letter, becauſe moſt of the Court and *Scots* Members voted for the bill. *Pr. H. C.*

(1) Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that, if ſuch a motion had been made he would have ſpoken the following ſpeech, being the only one he ever prepared beforehand, which he has inſerted in his hiſtory, in order to deliver down to poſterity his thoughts of this great tranſaction.

'My Lords, this matter now before you, as it is of the greateſt importance, ſo it may be ſeen in very different lights; I will not meddle with the political view of it; I leave that to perſons, who can judge and ſpeak of it much better than I can: I will only offer to you what appears to me, when I conſider it, with relation to the rules of morality and religion; in this I am ſure I act within my proper ſphere. Some things ſtick ſo with me, that I could have no quiet in my conſcience, nor think I had anſwered the duty of my function, if I did not make uſe of the freedom of ſpeech, that our conſtitution and the privileges of this Houſe allow me: I am the more encouraged to do this, becauſe the bringing thoſe of our order into publick councils, in which we have now ſuch a ſhare, was originally intended for this very end, that we ſhould offer ſuch conſiderations, as ariſe from the rules of our holy religion, in all matters that may come before us. In the opening my ſenſe of things, I may be forced to uſe ſome words, that may perhaps appear ſevere: I cannot help it, if the nature of theſe affairs is ſuch, that I cannot ſpeak plainly of them, in a ſofter ſtrain: I intended not to reflect on any perſon: And I am ſure I have ſuch a profound reſpect for the Queen, that no part of what I may ſay, can be underſtood to reflect on her in any ſort: Her intentions are, no doubt, as ſhe

declares

The Houſe of Commons was, as to all other things, except the affair of commerce, ſo intirely in the hands of the Miniſters, that they ventured on a new demand of a very extraordinary nature, which was made in as extraordinary a manner. The civil liſt, which was eſtimated at 600,000 *l.* a year, and was given for the ordinary ſupport of the Government, did far exceed it. And this was ſo evident, that, during the three firſt years of the Queen's Reign, 100,000 *l.* was every year applied to the war; 200,000 *l.* was laid out in building of *Blenheim-Houſe*; and the entertaining the *Palatines* had coſt the Queen 100,000 *l.* So there was apparently a large overplus, beyond what was neceſſary towards the ſupport of the Government. Yet theſe extraordinary expences had put the ordinary payments into ſuch an arrear, that, at *Midſummer* 1710, the Queen owed 510,000 *l.* But, upon a new account, this was brought to be 80,000 *l.* leſs; and, at that time, there was an arrear of a 190,000 *l.* due to the civil liſt: Theſe two ſums amounting to 270,000 *l.* the debt, that remained, was but 240,000 l. Yet now, in the end of the Seſſion, when, upon rejecting the bill of commerce, moſt of the Members were gone into the Country, ſo that there were not one hundred and eighty left, a meſſage was ſent, on the 25th of *June*, to the Commons, from the Queen, 'acquainting them with the difficulties, which, in a particular manner, ſhe lay under, by the debts contracted in her civil Government, occaſioned by ſeveral extraordinary expences formerly incurred; ſo that ſhe thought herſelf obliged, in juſtice to many creditors, to order an eſtimate to be laid before them of what was owing on the civil liſt, in the year 1710. Adding, ſhe had uſed unexampled parſimony, to remove, if poſſible, this burden from herſelf; but, that the granting away, and leſſening ſome part of her revenue by Parliament, having made that impracticable, ſhe therefore hoped, that they who, on all occaſions, had ſhewed themſelves ſo well-affected to her, would not be unwilling to impower her to raiſe ſuch a ſum of money on the civil liſt funds, as might inable her to diſcharge the debts, and ſettle the expence to be regularly paid for the future.' With this meſſage, was preſented to the Houſe an eſtimate of the debts owing to the ſeveral heads of expence about *Midſummer* 1710; to which Mr. *John Smith*, one of the Tellers of the *Exchequer*, having raiſed ſome objections, ſaying, in vindication of the late Miniſtry, 'That, to his certain knowledge, the debts of the civil liſt, in the month of *Auguſt* 1710, did not amount to one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; for the payment of part of which there were ſome monies ſtanding out, beſides great quantities of tin; whereas, by the eſtimate now laid before them, the debts to *Midſummer* 1710, that is, about two months before, were made to amount to four hundred thouſand pounds.' A motion was then made to addreſs the Queen for an account of the arrears of the civil liſt funds, ſtanding out at *Midſummer* 1710: And alſo, for an account of the debts of the civil liſt, as they were at this time, and of the arrears of the civil liſt funds to pay the ſame: But this was rejected, to the great ſurprize of many. On the contrary, a bill for inabling the Queen to raiſe five hundred thouſand pounds on the civil liſt revenues, to be applied towards payment of ſuch debts and arrears owing to her ſervants, tradeſmen and others, was read, *June* 30, a ſecond time, and committed. After this, the motion, made ſome days before, being again propoſed with better ſucceſs, it was reſolved to addreſs the Queen, firſt, for 'an account of the debts on the civil liſt to *Midſummer* 1713.

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declares them to be, all for the good and happineſs of her people; but it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſhe can read long treaties, or carry the articles of them in her memory: So, if things have been either concealed from her, or miſrepreſented to her, *She can do no Wrong*: And, if any ſuch thing has been done, we know on whom our Conſtitution lays the blame.

The treaties that were made ſome years ago with our Allies are in print; both the Grand Alliance, and ſome ſubſequent ones: We ſee many things in theſe, that are not provided for by this peace; it was in particular ſtipulated, that no peace ſhould be treated, much leſs concluded, without the conſent of the Allies. But, before I make any obſervations on this, I muſt deſire you will conſider how ſacred a thing the publick faith, that is engaged in Treaties and Alliances, ſhould be eſteemed.

I hope, I need not tell you, that even Heathen Nations valued themſelves upon their fidelity, in a punctual obſerving of all their treaties, and with how much infamy they branded the violation of them: If we conſider that, which revealed religion teaches us to know, that man was made after the image of God, the God of all truth, as we know who is the father of lyes; *God hates the deceitful man, in whoſe mouth there is no faithfulneſs.* In that leſs perfect religion of the *Jews*, when the *Gibeonites* had, by a fraudulent proceeding, drawn *Joſhua* and the *Iſraelites* into a league with them, it was ſacredly obſerved; and the violation of it, ſome ages after, was ſeverely puniſhed. And, when the laſt of the Kings of *Judah* ſhook off the fidelity, to which he had bound himſelf to the King of *Babylon*, the Prophet thereupon ſaid with indignation, *Shall he break the oath of God, and proſper?* The ſwearing deceitfully is one of the worſt characters; and *He who ſwears to his own hurt, and changes not*, is among the beſt. It is a maxim of the wiſeſt of Kings, that *the throne is eſtabliſhed by righteouſneſs.* Treaties are of the nature of oaths; and, when an oath is asked to confirm a treaty, it is never denied. The beſt account that I can give of the diſuſe of adding that ſacred ſeal to treaties is this:

The Popes had for ſome ages poſſeſſed themſelves of a power, to which they had often recourſe, of diſſolving the faith of treaties, and the obligation of oaths: The famous, but fatal, ſtory of *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Hungary*, breaking his faith to *Amurath* the *Turk*, by virtue of a papal diſpenſation, is well known. One of the laſt publick acts of this ſort was, when Pope *Clement* the Seventh abſolved *Francis* the Firſt, from the treaty made and ſworn to at *Madrid*, while he was a priſoner there: The ſevere revenge that *Charles* the Fifth took of this, in the ſack of *Rome*, and in keeping that Pope for ſome months a priſoner, has made Popes more cautious, ſince that time, than they were formerly: This alſo drew ſuch heavy but juſt reproaches, on the Papacy, from the Reformers, that ſome ſtop ſeems now to be put to ſuch a barefaced protection of perjury. But the late King told me, that he underſtood from the *German* Proteſtant Princes, that they believed the Confeſſors of Popiſh Princes had faculties from *Rome*, for doing this as effectually, though more ſecretly: He added, that they knew it went for a maxim among Popiſh Princes, that their word and faith bound them as they were men, and members of ſociety; but that their oaths, being acts of religion, were ſubject to the direction of their Confeſſors; and that they, apprehending this, did, in all their treaties with

1713. *mer* 1710:' And, ſecondly, for 'a yearly account of the neat produce of the civil liſt funds, ſince her Acceſſion to the Throne.' This laſt addreſs was made upon a ſuggeſtion, that the civil liſt funds yielded now above eight hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. But, whether this was ſo or not, it is certain, no anſwer was returned to the addreſs.

Reaſons againſt it. The bill for raiſing the 500,000 *l.* met with great oppoſition, as it appeared to be of bad conſequence, ſince the granting of ſuch demands to one Prince would be a precedent to grant the like to all future Princes; and as the account of the Queen's debts was deceitfully ſtated, ſo it was known, that the funds, ſet off for the civil liſt, would increaſe conſiderably in times of peace. However, though there was a great ſuperiority in point of argument againſt the bill, there was a conſiderable majority for it. And all people concluded, that the true end of getting ſo much money into the hands of the Court, was to furniſh their creatures ſufficiently for carrying their elections.

But it was granted.

The Lords were ſenſible, that the method of procuring this Supply was contrary to their privileges, ſince all public Supplies were either aſked from the Throne, or by a meſſage, ſent to both Houſes at the ſame time. This practice was inquired into by the Lords: No precedents came up to it; but ſome came up ſo near it, that nothing could be made of the objection. But the Miniſters apprehending, that an oppoſition would be made to the bill, if it came up alone, got it conſolidated with another of 1,200,000 *l.* that was before them. And the weight of theſe two joined together made them both paſs in the Houſe of Lords, without oppoſition.

Addreſs to get the Pretender removed. While this was in agitation, the Earl of *Wharton* moved in the Houſe of Peers, 'That an addreſs be preſented to the Queen, that ſhe would uſe her moſt preſſing inſtances with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and with all the Princes and States in amity or correſpondence with her, not to receive, or ſuffer to continue in their Dominions, the Pretender to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms.' Several Members being ſurprized at this unexpected motion, which was deſigned to try the inclinations and affections of ſome perſons, there was a pauſe for a long while. At laſt, the Lord *North* and *Grey* broke ſilence, and endeavoured to have that motion laid aſide; repreſenting, 'That ſuch an addreſs would ſhew a diſtruſt either of the Queen, or of the Miniſters: And that her Majeſty would be puzzled what to do, in caſe the Princes and States in amity with her ſhould be unwilling to comply with her inſtances, ſince it would not be in her power to compel them:' Concluding with this queſtion, 'Where would they have the Pretender reſide, ſince moſt, if not all the powers in *Europe*, were in amity with her Majeſty?' To this the Earl of *Peterborough* anſwered, 'That, ſince he began his ſtudies in *Paris*, the fitteſt place for him to improve himſelf was *Rome*.' After ſome warm expreſſions between the Earl of *Wharton* and the Lord-Treaſurer, the motion made by the Earl was carried; and, on the 2d of *July*, the Houſe of Lords attended the Queen with their addreſs. To which ſhe anſwered, 'That ſhe took extreme kindly their addreſs; and the thanks they gave her for what ſhe had done, for eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant Succeſſion. That ſhe would *repeat* her inſtances to have that perſon removed, according to their deſire: And that ſhe promiſed herſelf, they would concur with her, that, if they could cure their animoſities and diviſions at home, it would be the moſt effectual method to ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion.' This anſwer ſeemed to import,

Pr. H. L.

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with the Princes of that religion, depend upon their honour, but never asked the confirmation of an oath, which had been the practice of former ages. The Proteſtants of *France* thought they had gained an additional ſecurity, for obſerving the edict of *Nantes*, when the ſwearing to obſerve it was made a part of the coronation oath: But it is probable, this very thing undermined and ruined it.

Grotius, *Puffendorf*, and others who have wrote of the law of Nations, lay this down for a rule, that the nature of a treaty, and the tie that ariſes out of it, is not altered by the having or not having an oath; the oath ſerves only to heighten the obligation. They do alſo agree in this, that Confederacies do not bind States, to carry on a war to their utter ruin; but, that Princes and States are bound to uſe their utmoſt efforts, in maintaining them: And it is agreed by all, who have treated of theſe matters, that the common enemy, by offering to any one Confederate all his pretenſions, cannot juſtify his departing from the Confederacy; becauſe it was entered into with that view, that all the pretenſions, upon which the Confederacy was made, ſhould be inſiſted on or departed from, by common conſent.

It is true, that in Confederacies, where Allies are bound to the performance of ſeveral articles, as to their quota's or ſhares, if any one fails in the part he was bound to, the other Confederates have a right to demand a reparation for his non-performance: But, even in that caſe, Allies are to act as friends, by making allowances for what could not be helped, and not as enemies by taking advantages, on deſign to diſengage them from their Allies. It is certain, Allies forfeit their right to the Alliance, if they do not perform their part: But the failure muſt be evident, and an expoſtulation muſt be firſt made: And, if upon ſatisfaction demanded, it is not given, then a Proteſtation ſhould be made, of ſuch non-performance; and the reſt of the Confederates are at liberty, as to him who fails on his part: Theſe are reckoned among the cuſtoms and laws of Nations: And, ſince nothing of this kind has been done, I cannot ſee how it can be made out, that the tie of the Confederacy, and by conſequence, that the publick faith has not been firſt broken on our ſide.

My Lords, I cannot reconcile the carrying on a treaty with the *French*, without the knowledge and concurrence of the other Confederate States and Princes, and the concluding it, without the conſent of the Emperor, the principal Confederate, not to mention the viſible uneaſineſs that has appeared in the others, who ſeem to have been forced to conſent, by declarations, if not by threatenings, from hence: I ſay, I cannot reconcile this, with the articles of the Grand Alliance, and the other later treaties, that are in print: This ſeems to come within the charge of the Prophet againſt thoſe *who deal treacherouſly*, *with thoſe who had not dealt treacherouſly with them*; upon which, the threatening that follows may be juſtly apprehended: It will have a ſtrange ſound among all Chriſtians, but more particularly among the Reformed, when it is reported, that the Plenipotentiary of the Head of the Reformed Princes ſaid openly to the other Plenipotentiaries, that the Queen held herſelf free from all her Treaties and Alliances: If this be ſet for a precedent, here is a ſhort way of diſpenſing with the publick faith; and, if

13. port, that the Queen had already preſſed the Duke of *Lorrain* to remove the Pretender; though the Miniſters in the Houſe of Lords, and particularly the Duke of *Buckingham*, Preſident of the Council, acknowledged, that they knew of no applications made to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and therefore thought the words of the anſwer related only to the inſtances the Queen had uſed, to get the Pretender to be ſent out of *France*. But, the natural ſignification of the words ſeeming to relate to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Sunderland* made a motion for a ſecond addreſs, which was ſupported by the Earl of *Nottingham*; and, after ſome oppoſition, it was ordered, 'That an addreſs be preſented to the Queen, to thank her for her anſwer to their addreſs, and for the aſſurances ſhe had given them, of repeating her inſtances for removing the Pretender; and to expreſs their ſurprize, that ſuch inſtances had not had their full effect, notwithſtanding the *French* King, and the King of *Spain*, had ſhewn their compliance with her deſires on that occaſion: And to aſſure her, that this Houſe would ſupport her, in whatever ſhe ſhould judge proper for obtaining a demand, which was ſo warranted by the laws of Nations, and ſo neceſſary for the honour and ſafety of her Majeſty, and for the preſent and future peace and quiet of the people.' All the anſwer brought to this addreſs was, that her Majeſty received it graciouſly. Though applications of this nature were known to be ungrateful both to the Queen and her Miniſters, yet, on the 1ſt of *July*, General *Stanhope* made a motion in the Houſe of Commons, to the ſame purpoſe with that of the Earl of *Wharton* in the Houſe of Peers, and was ſeconded by Mr. *Lechmere*. The only objection, againſt it, was made by Sir *William Whitlocke*, who ſaid, he remembered, 'That the like addreſs was formerly made to the Protector, for having *Charles Stuart* removed out of *France*; notwithſtanding which, that Prince was, *ſome time after*, reſtored to his Father's Throne.' But, the Members, who were ſuſpected of favouring the Pretender, being unwilling to diſcover their inclination in ſo critical a juncture, when the Parliament was ſo near expiring, and a new election coming on, it was, according to Mr. *Stanhope*'s motion, reſolved unanimouſly, 'That an addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, acknowledging the great care ſhe had always taken, particularly in the late treaties of peace and guaranty, to prevent the Pretender to her Throne being in a condition to diſturb theſe Realms; and to beſeech her, that ſhe would uſe the moſt ſpeedy and preſſing inſtances with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and with all other Princes in amity with her, that they would not, under any pretext whatſoever, receive, or ſuffer to continue within their Dominions, the perſon, who, in defiance of her Majeſty's moſt undoubted title to the Crown, and the ſettlement thereof in the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, had aſſumed the title of King of theſe Realms; and, to aſſure her, that the Commons of *Great-Britain* would, on all occaſions, ſupport her in ſuch ſteps, as ſhould be neceſſary towards rendering thoſe inſtances effectual.' The addreſs, being prepared and approved, was, *July* 8, preſented by the whole Houſe to the Queen, who coldly told them, 'She thanked them for it, and would give directions according as they deſired:' Which, however, was not complied with till two or three months after, at the ſollicitation of the Lord-Treaſurer. It was generally believed, that the Duke of *Lorrain* did not conſent to receive the Pretender, till he ſent one over to know the Queen's pleaſure upon it, of which he was very readily informed. 1713.

Second addreſs againſt the Pretender. H. L.

The Commons addreſs againſt the Pretender. H. C.

Thoſe, who inquired into the reaſons of theſe addreſſes againſt the Pretender, rightly aſcribed them, not only to the good reception he met with in *Lorrain*, but alſo to the affection, which many ſhewed openly for him in *Great-Britain*. To this purpoſe it is remarkable, that two addreſſes were about this time preſented to the Queen by Sir *Hugh Paterſon*, introduced by the Earl of *Mar*, and afterwards inſerted in the *London Gazette*. The firſt, of the Magiſtrates and Town-Council of the Burgh of *Inverneſs* in *North Britain*, contained the following paragraphs: 'We, without reſerve, depend on your Majeſty's wiſdom in ſecuring our Religion, and the Succeſſion to the Hereditary Crown of *Great-Britain* in the family of your Royal Progenitors, the moſt antient line of Succeſſion in the world; being as much convinced, that our guaranty is intirely in your hands, as your ſerene Majeſty does

Two remarkable addreſſes in favour of lineal Succeſſion.

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if this was ſpoken by one of our Prelates, I am afraid it will leave a heavy reproach on our Church; and, to ſpeak freely, I am afraid it will draw a much heavier curſe after it. My Lords, there is a God in Heaven, who will judge all the world, without reſpect of perſons: Nothing can proſper without his bleſſing: He can blaſt all the counſels of men, when laid in fraud and deceit, how cunningly ſoever they may be either contrived or diſguiſed: And I muſt think that a peace made, in oppoſition to the expreſs words of ſo many treaties, will prove a curſe inſtead of a bleſſing to us: God is provoked by ſuch proceedings, to pour heavy judgments on us, for the violation of a faith ſo often given, which is ſo openly broken: By this our Nation is diſhonoured, and our Church diſgraced: And I dread to think, what the conſequence of thoſe things is like to prove. I would not have expreſſed myſelf in ſuch a manner, if I had not thought, that I was bound to it by the duty that I owe to Almighty God, by my zeal for the Queen, and the Church, and by my love to my Country. Upon ſo great an occaſion, I think my poſt in the Church and in this Houſe lays me under the ſtricteſt obligations to diſcharge my conſcience, and to ſpeak plainly without fear or flattery, let the effect of it, as to myſelf, be what it will: I ſhall have the more quiet in my own mind, both living and dying, for having done that, which ſeemed to me an indiſpenſable duty.

I hope this Houſe will not bring upon themſelves, and the Nation, the blame and guilt of approving that, which ſeems to be much more juſtly cenſurable: The reproach that may belong to this treaty, and the judgments of God, that may follow on it, are now what a few only are concerned in. A national approbation is a thing of another nature; the publick breach of faith, in the attack that was made on the *Smyrna* fleet forty years ago, brought a great load of infamy on thoſe, who adviſed and directed it; but they were more modeſt than to ask a publick approbation of ſo opprobrious a fact: It lay on a few; and the Nation was not drawn in to a ſhare in the guilt of that, which was then univerſally deteſted, though it was paſſed over in ſilence: It ſeems enough, if not too much, to be ſilent on ſuch an occaſion. I can carry my compliances no further.' *Burnet*, Vol. II. 623.

1713. does place your's in your people.' The other addreſs, from the Town-Council and Inhabitants of the Loyal Burgh of *Nairn*, had this paſſage in it: 'We know not with what modeſty we can preſume to addreſs your Majeſty in the matter of Succeſſion, leſt we ſhould ſeem to call in queſtion your Majeſty's unqueſtionable prudence, or the faithfulneſs of your Majeſty's Council: And therefore we ſincerely declare, that our utmoſt wiſhes reach no further, than that our poſterity may reap the effects of your Majeſty's wiſe *choice*, while we think ourſelves happy under your Majeſty's Adminiſtration all our days.' But, on the other hand, an addreſs from the City of *Glaſgow*, in a quite different ſtrain as to the Succeſſion, was preſented to the Queen by the Members for that City, introduced by the Duke of *Argyle*.

Thankſgiving for the peace. July 7.

The Queen having appointed the 7th of *July* for a public thankſgiving, *for the ſafe and honourable peace* lately concluded, and invited her Parliament to attend her to *St. Paul*'s, both Houſes went with the uſual State; but the Queen not having intirely recovered her ſtrength ſince her laſt fit of the gout, ſhe could not be preſent at that ſolemnity. The Whigs were abſent for another cauſe. In the evening there were great bonefires and illuminations throughout the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and magnificent fireworks were played off on the *Thames* over-againſt *Whitehall*.

The Parliament is prorogued. July 16. Pr. H. C.

On the 16th of *July*, the Queen came to the Houſe of Peers to paſs the bills, and put an end to the Seſſion, when ſhe made the following ſpeech to the Parliament:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both Houſes.

"I Come now to put an end to this Seſſion with great ſatisfaction, and return you all my hearty thanks for the good ſervice you have done to the public.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I muſt particularly thank you for the Supplies you have now given: I will take care to apply them, as far as they will reach, to ſatisfy the ſervices you have voted.

"I hope, at the next meeting, the affair of commerce will be ſo well underſtood, that the advantageous conditions, I have obtained from *France*, will be made effectual for the benefit of our trade.

"I cannot part with ſo good and ſo loyal an Houſe of Commons, without expreſſing how ſenſible I am of the affection, zeal, and duty, with which you have behaved yourſelves; and I think myſelf therefore obliged to take notice of thoſe remarkable ſervices you have performed.

"At your firſt meeting you found a method, without farther charge to my people, to eaſe them of the heavy load of more than nine millions; and the way of doing it may bring great advantage to the Nation.

"In this Seſſion you have enabled me to be juſt in paying the debts to my ſervants.

"And, as you furniſhed Supplies for carrying on the war, ſo you have ſtrengthened my hands in obtaining a peace.

"Thus you have ſhewed yourſelves the true repreſentatives of my loyal Commons, by the juſt regard you have paid to the good of your Country and my Honour. Theſe proceedings will, I doubt not, preſerve the memory of this Parliament to poſterity. 1713

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"At my coming to the Crown, I found a war prepared for me. God has bleſſed my arms with many victories, and at laſt has enabled me to make them uſeful by a ſafe and honourable peace.

"I heartily thank you for the aſſiſtance you have given me, therein, and I promiſe, myſelf, that, with your concurrence, it will be laſting.

"To this end I recommend it to you all, to make my ſubjects truly ſenſible what they gain by the peace; and that you will endeavour to diſſipate thoſe groundleſs jealouſies, which have been ſo induſtriouſly fomented amongſt us, that our unhappy diviſions may not weaken, and in ſome ſort endanger, the advantages I have obtained for my Kingdoms.

"There are ſome (very few, I hope) who will never be ſatisfied with any Government: It is neceſſary therefore, that you ſhew your love to your Country, by exerting yourſelves, to obviate the malice of the ill-minded, and to undeceive the deluded.

"Nothing can eſtabliſh peace at home, nothing can recover the diſorders, that have happened during ſo long a war, but a ſteady adhering to the Conſtitution in Church and State.

"Such, as are true to theſe principles, are only to be relied on; and, as they have the beſt title to my favour, ſo you may depend upon my having no intereſt nor aim, but your advantage, and the ſecuring of our religion and liberty.

"I hope, for the quiet of theſe Nations, and the univerſal good, that I ſhall next winter meet my Parliament reſolved to act upon the ſame principles, with the ſame prudence, and with ſuch vigour, as may enable me to ſupport the liberties of *Europe* abroad, and reduce the ſpirit of faction at home."

Few ſpeeches from the Throne have been more ſeverely reflected on than this was. It ſeemed ſtrange, that the Queen, who did not pretend to underſtand matters of trade, ſhould paſs ſuch a cenſure on both Houſes for their not underſtanding the affair of commerce; ſince at the bar of both Houſes, and in the debates within them upon it, the intereſt of the Nation did appear ſo viſibly to be contrary to the treaty of commerce, that it looked like a contempt put upon them, to repreſent it as advantageous to *England*, and to rank all thoſe, who oppoſed it, among the ill-minded, or at leaſt among the deluded. Nor did it eſcape cenſure, that ſhe ſhould affirm, that the Nation was by the Parliament eaſed of the load of nine millions, without any further charge, ſince the Nation muſt bear the conſtant charge of intereſt at ſix *per Cent.* till the capital ſhould be paid off.

The ſharpneſs, with which ſhe expreſſed herſelf, was ſingular, and not very well ſuited to her dignity or ſex: Nor was it well underſtood, what could be meant by her ſaying, that ſhe found

found a war prepared for her at her coming to the Crown; ſince ſhe herſelf began it upon the addreſſes of both Houſes. It was alſo obſerved, that there was not in all her ſpeech one word of the Pretender, or of the Proteſtant Succeſſion. But that, which made the greateſt impreſſion upon the whole Nation, was, that this ſpeech diſcovered plainly, that the Court was reſolved to have the bill of commerce paſs in the next Seſſion. All people concluded, that the Miniſters were under engagements to the Court of *France* to get it ſettled; and this was taken to be the ſenſe of the Queen's words concerning the making the peace laſting.

After this ſpeech both Houſes were prorogued to the 28th, but never to meet again, being diſſolved before that day came. And thus ended the third and laſt Seſſion of the third *Britiſh* Parliament, which ſome have diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of *pacific*. It may however be obſerved, that how far ſoever the Commons carried their obſequiouſneſs to the Miniſters in the affair of peace; yet the majority could not be prevailed with to approve the treaty of commerce, ſo deſtructive to the trade of *England* (1).

The ſentence of the Houſe of Lords, by which Dr. *Sacheverel* was forbid to preach during the ſpace of three years, expiring on the 23d of *March*, that day was celebrated in *London*, and in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, with extraordinary rejoicings. The *Sunday* following in the afternoon the Doctor preached the firſt time at his Church of *St. Saviour*'s, where a great multitude thronged to hear, or at leaſt to ſee him, expreſſing their joy at his returning to the exerciſe of his function. His ſubject was the duty of praying for our enemies from St. *Luke* xxiii. 34. *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* In his ſermon he made a tacit but obvious parallel between his ſufferings and thoſe of Jeſus Chriſt. Not long after, the Houſe of Commons, to ſhew their diſlike of his former proſecution and cenſure, deſired him to preach before them at *St. Margaret's Weſtminſter* on the 29th of *May*, being the Reſtoration Day; which he did, and had the thanks of the Houſe for his Sermon. Nor was the Court backward in rewarding his late ſervice; for, the Rectorſhip of *St. Andrew's Holborn* becoming vacant, he was promoted to that rich benefice. About this time alſo Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, who had ſerved the preſent Managers by writing ſeveral libels againſt the Whigs and laſt Miniſtry, by whom he had been diſappointed in his ſollicitations for preferment, was, by the Duke of *Ormond*, promoted to the Deanery of *St. Patrick*, *Dublin*.

In the end of *May*, died *Sprat*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; his parts were very bright in his youth, and gave great hopes; but theſe were blaſted by a lazy libertine courſe of life, to which his temper and good nature carried him, without conſidering the duties, or even the decencies of his profeſſion: He was juſtly eſteemed a great Maſter of our language, and one of our correcteſt writers. *Atterbury* ſucceeded him in that See, and in the Deanery of *Weſtminſter*: Thus was he promoted, and rewarded for all the flame, that he had raiſed in our Church. Dr. *Smalridge*, a Divine of the ſame principles with *Atterbury*, and Dean of *Carliſle*, was made Dean of *Chriſt-Church*, *Oxford*. At the ſame time, care was taken to put the moſt important towns in the Kingdom in the hands of ſuch perſons, as were prepared blindly to follow the Queen's meaſures. With this view, the Earl of *Dorſet*, being removed from being Governor of *Dover*, and Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, was ſucceeded by the Duke of *Ormond*, whoſe ſon-in-law, the Lord *Aſhburnham*, was made Deputy-Governor and Deputy-Warden; and Sir *Henry Bellaſyſe* was appointed Governor of the town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*. Not long after, a penſion of five thouſand pounds *per annum* was granted to the Duke of *Ormond*, for the term of fifteen years, out of the revenues of *Ireland*, in conſideration of his eminent ſervices; and the Lord *Aſhburnham* was appointed Colonel and Captain of the firſt troop of horſe-guards, in the room of the Earl of *Portland*, who was ordered to diſpoſe of that poſt for the ſum of ten thouſand pounds. Sir *John Powel*, one of the Judges of the *Queen's-Bench*, dying in *June*, on his return from *Bath*, was ſuccceded by Sir *Thomas Powis*; and Sir *William Baniſter*, a Serjeant at law, was made one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, in the room of Sir *Salathiel Lovel*, lately deceaſed. The Duke of *Mountague*, having obtained the Queen's leave to travel beyond ſea, reſolved to follow the fortune of the Duke of *Marlborough*, his father-in-law. The Duke of *Montroſs*, who was well-affected to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, being removed from the place of Lord Privy-Seal of *Scotland*, was ſucceeded in it by the Duke of *Athol*; which change rather increaſed than abated the preſent ferment in that part of *Great-Britain*. For, on the one hand, the Preſbyterian Miniſters refuſed to obſerve the public thankſgiving-day for the peace, appointed by the Queen; and, on the other hand, the friends of the Pretender made great preparations to celebrate his birth-day.

1713.

Duke d'Aumont's Ambaſſy.

The danger, with which the *Hanover* Succeſſion was threatened, appeared to be the more real and imminent, by reaſon of the great countenance, which the *Roman* Catholics and Jacobites received from the diſtinguiſhing marks of favour, which, at this juncture, were ſhewn to the Duke *d'Aumont*, Ambaſſador Extraordinary from *France*, who came to *London* on the ſecond of *January* 1712-13, and was lodged at *Powis* Houſe in *Ormond-ſtreet*. He was at firſt attended in public with great acclamations by the populace, amongſt whom he threw out from his coach handfuls of money; but, having ſoon diſ-

He is inſulted by the mob.

(1) *Burnet* concludes his Hiſtory with ſaying: I am now come to the end of the War, and of this Parliament, both at once: It was fit they ſhould bear ſome proportion to one another; for, as this was the worſt Parliament I ever ſaw, ſo no Aſſembly, but one compoſed as this was, could have ſate quiet under ſuch a Peace: But I am now arrived at my full period, and ſo ſhall cloſe this work: I had a noble proſpect before me, in a courſe of many years, of bringing it to a glorious concluſion; now the ſcene is ſo fatally altered, that I can ſcarce reſtrain myſelf from giving vent to a juſt indignation, in ſevere complaints: But an Hiſtorian muſt tell things truly as they are, and leave the deſcanting on them to others: So I here conclude this Hiſtory of above three and fifty years. *Burnt* Vol. II. 631.

1713. diſcontinued that cuſtom, they changed their note, and inſulted him with the cry of, *no Papiſt, no Pretender*; and great inſolencies were offered before his Houſe by ſome, who being oppoſed by others, it occaſioned a ſcuffle between them; whereupon it was thought proper to order the Conſtables of the Pariſh to look to the ſecurity of his Houſe. Nor was this precaution unneceſſary; for by this time there was a general clamour among the people againſt him, on account of great quantities of wines, ſilks, and other goods, which his domeſtics were ſaid to have imported cuſtom free, to the prejudice of the Tradeſmen of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. The fact was, ſome *French* Merchants took that opportunity to bring over a good deal of Burgundy and Champaigne; which, before his arrival, were ſold by retail at his houſe, and other places, at lower rates than at the Taverns; and at the ſame time other *Frenchmen*, who pretended to be of his retinue, brought alſo ſilks, buttons, perukes, toys, and other ſmall wares, which they expoſed to ſale, unknown to the Ambaſſador. But though it was certain, that all the wines imported on this occaſion (except two tuns allowed to an Ambaſſador Extraordinary) paid the full duties, which amounted to about 2500 *l.* And though the Duke *d'Aumont*, upon his arrival at *London*, forbid the ſelling of wines or any other commodities in his houſe, yet the people put up the ſign of a *Bunch of Grapes* before it in the night-time; and ſeveral ballads were writ both in *French* and *Engliſh*. One of them called, *The Merchant a-la-mode*, containing many ſevere reflections, not only againſt the Ambaſſador, but againſt the Queen's Miniſters; ſtrict ſearch was made after the publiſhers of it, one of whom was committed to *Newgate*. Beſides theſe public inſults, ſeveral letters were ſent to the Ambaſſador, to give him notice, that his houſe would be ſet on fire; which, whether by deſign or accident, happened on the 26th of *January*. That day the Duke *d'Aumont* entertained at dinner the Ambaſſador of *Venice*, the Envoys of *Sweden* and *Florence*, the Lord *Waldgrave*, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, whom, by way of jeſt, he acquainted with the threatening letters, he had received. But the company were ſoon alarmed in good earneſt by a cry of fire; which, having broke out about three in the afternoon in an upper room, ſpread itſelf with ſuch violence, that, in leſs than two hours, the whole houſe was burnt to the ground; and all that the Ambaſſador's domeſtics could do was to ſave his plate, and part of his richeſt furniture. The Duke of *Ormond*, having notice of this accident, cauſed detachments of the horſe and foot guards to march to *Ormond-ſtreet*, to ſecure the Ambaſſador's goods, and went himſelf to direct and encourage the Engineers and Firemen. The loſs, the Ambaſſador and his Domeſtics ſuſtained, was by ſome magnified to an immenſe degree, whilſt others made it inconſiderable. How the fire began, was then, and ſtill remains a more difficult queſtion to be reſolved. It was at firſt given out, that it happened by the careleſneſs of his Confectioner. Others ſaid, the houſe was ſet on fire by an iron-pot full of charcoal, that had been put in the middle of a room newly painted, in order to dry it. Others again reported, it was ſet on fire by two Bricklayers, who had been employed to mend the tiles of the houſe, and who did it, at the inſtigation of the Whigs. Upon this ſuſpicion the two Bricklayers were taken into cuſtody, and an advertiſement was publiſhed in the *London Gazette*: 'That her Majeſty thought fit to promiſe, that if any of the perſons, who wrote the letters to the Duke *d'Aumont*, or any other perſon whatſoever, ſhould diſcover the contrivers or actors of ſo ſcandalous and wicked a deſign, ſo that they, or any of them, might be brought to juſtice; ſuch perſon, or perſons, ſhould receive the reward of five hundred pounds, and her Majeſty's pardon for the offence.' The ſtricteſt inquiry, that could be made, not affording ground to fix this fire upon any particular perſon; the generality continued in their firſt opinion, that it happened through accident. But many, who conſidered, that, as ſoon as the Queen was informed of the misfortune, that had befallen the *French* Ambaſſador, ſhe gave immediate orders, that the beſt apartment in *Somerſet-Houſe* ſhould be prepared for his accommodation, began to entertain a ſuſpicion, that *Powis-Houſe* was deſignedly ſet on fire, for a pretence to remove the *French* Ambaſſador to a royal Palace on the *Thames*, where any perſon might have private acceſs to him. Others carried their ſurmiſes ſo far, as to imagine, that the Pretender himſelf was come over with the Ambaſſador, and had private interviews with the Queen and ſome of her Miniſters. Theſe jealouſies were increaſed by the frequent entertainments and balls, which the Duke *d'Aumont* gave in his apartment; where a great concourſe of perſons reſorting in masks, he had an opportunity to ſound the ſentiments of many about the Chevalier *de St. George*.

His houſe burnt.

Mr. *Prior* having, in the Queen's name, ſolicited the releaſe of the *French* Proteſtants, who were on board the gallies on account of their Religion; the Marquiſs *de Torcy* took that opportunity of complaining to him, that the *French* Refugees in *England* made it their buſineſs to inveigh againſt the King his Maſter; and naming, in particular, Mr. *Dubourdieu*, a *French* Miniſter of the Royal Chapel in the *Savoy* (who indeed had diſtinguiſhed himſelf that way) deſired, he might be puniſhed, and made an example to the reſt. At the ſame time, *Torcy* directed the Duke *d'Aumont* to demand the ſame at the Court of *Great-Britain*; upon which he preſented a memorial againſt *Dubourdieu*, to deſire that exemplary puniſhment might be inflicted on him and all Miniſters, who abuſed their pulpits by declamations againſt his Maſter.

Mr. *Prior* having beforehand acquainted the Lord *Bolingbroke* with the purport of this memorial, which claſhed with the Conſtitution of our free Government, the Queen was prepared with an anſwer, 'That this was none of her buſineſs, but the Biſhop of *London*'s;' to whom the memorial was referred, with orders to examine *Dubourdieu*. He having appeared before the Biſhop with four Elders of his Church, the Biſhop communicated to them the *French* Ambaſſador's memorial; and aſked the *French* Miniſter, What he had to ſay to it? *Dubourdieu* anſwered, 'The memorial containing only general complaints, he had nothing elſe to ſay, but that, during the war, he had, after the example of ſeveral Prelates, and other Clergymen of the Church of *England*, freely preached againſt the common enemy and perſecutor of the Church;

13. and that, the greateſt part of his ſermons being printed with his name affixed, he was far from diſowning them; but that, ſince the proclamation of the peace, he had not ſaid any thing that in the leaſt concerned the perſon of the *French* King.' The Biſhop made him repeat the words, *Since the proclamation of the peace*; and aſking of the Elders, *Whether this was true?* They anſwered, *That it was.* Upon which the Biſhop ſaid, he would make his report to the Queen: Which he did in ſuch a manner, that the *French* Ambaſſador found no encouragement to inſiſt on his demand.

On the 1ſt of *July*, the Duke *d'Aumont* made his public entry with great magnificence, attended by two Gentlemen of horſe, twelve Pages, thirty Footmen, and nine of his own coaches, five of which were drawn by eight horſes, the other by ſix; his liveries being of ſcarlet-cloth, covered with a gold and green lace. Having, according to cuſtom, been ſplendidly entertained for three days at the Queen's expence in *Somerſet-Houſe*, he was from thence conducted to his firſt audience of the Queen, to whom he addreſſed himſelf in a ſpeech full of compliment and flattery.

About the middle of *July*, the *French* Miniſtry reſolved to try the weight of their intereſt with the Court of *Great-Britain*. Monſieur *Tugghe*, Deputy from the Magiſtrates of *Dunkirk*, preſented to the Queen an addreſs or petition, 'wherein he begged her Majeſty's clemency for ſparing the harbour and port of that town.' But he was told by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, 'That the Queen beheld with ſorrow the damages, which the inhabitants of that town would ſuſtain by the demolition of its ramparts and harbour: But ſhe did not think it convenient to make any alteration in an affair agreed on by a treaty.' *Tugghe*, not diſcouraged by this repulſe, preſented a ſecond addreſs, wherein he ſuggeſted, 'That the preſervation of the harbour of *Dunkirk*, without works and fortifications, might, in time, be equally uſeful, and become even abſolutely neceſſary, both for her Majeſty's political views, and the good of her ſubjects.' This he endeavoured to evince, by a long deduction of ſeveral particulars, and then concluded with preſuming to hope, 'That her Majeſty would graciouſly be pleaſed to recall part of her ſentence, by cauſing her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, which might have incurred her diſpleaſure, and by ſparing only the mole and dykes, which, in their naked condition, could, for the future, be no more than an object of pity.' What anſwer was returned to this memorial never came to public knowledge; but, *Tugghe*, whether of his own head, or by the encouragement of other perſons, having cauſed it to be printed and diſperſed in *Engliſh*, to try how it would be reliſhed by the people, Mr. *Richard Steele*, who, with Mr. *Addiſon*, and Mr. *Arthur Maynwaring*, exerted himſelf in defence of the liberties of *England*, and of the Whig cauſe, and who, at this very juncture, was writing a weekly paper, called the *Guardian*, anſwered *Tugghe*'s memorial with great ſpirit, and, in order to expoſe it to the reſentment of all men, who valued their Country, or had any reſpect to the honour, ſafety, or glory of their Queen, ſuggeſted, in his paper of the 7th of *Auguſt* 1713, 'That the *Britiſh* Nation expected the immediate demolition of *Dunkirk*.

'That the very common people knew, that, within two months after the ſigning of the peace, the works towards the ſea were to be demoliſhed, and, within three months after it, the works towards the land. 1713.

'That the peace was ſigned the laſt of *March*, *O. S.*

'That the Parliament has been told from the Queen, that the equivalent for it is in the hands of the *French* King.

'That the Sieur *Tugghe* has the impudence to aſk the Queen, to remit the moſt material part of the articles of peace between her Majeſty and his Maſter.

'That the *Britiſh* Nation received more damage in their trade from the port of *Dunkirk*, than from almoſt all the ports of *France*, either in the Ocean or in the *Mediterranean*.

'That fleets of above thirty ſail have come together out of *Dunkirk*, during the late war, and taken ſhips of war, as well as merchantmen.

'That the Pretender ſailed from thence to *Scotland*; and that it is the only port the *French* have till you come to *Breſt*, for the whole length of the *Channel*, where any conſiderable naval armament can be made.

'That deſtroying the fortifications of *Dunkirk* is an inconſiderable advantage to *England*, in compariſon to the advantage of deſtroying the mole, dykes, and harbour, it being the naval force from thence, which only can hurt the *Britiſh* Nation.

'That the *Dutch*, who ſuffered equally with us from thoſe of *Dunkirk*, were probably induced to ſign the treaty with *France*, from this conſideration, that the town and harbour of *Dunkirk* ſhould be deſtroyed.

'That the ſituation of *Dunkirk* is ſuch, as that it may always keep runners to obſerve all ſhips ſailing on the *Thames* and *Medway*.

'That all the ſuggeſtions, which the Sieur *Tugghe* brought concerning the *Dutch*, were falſe and ſcandalous.

'That, whether it might be advantageous to the trade of *Holland*, or not, that *Dunkirk* ſhould be demoliſhed, it was neceſſary, for the ſafety, honour, and liberty of *England*, that it ſhould be ſo.

'That, when *Dunkirk* was demoliſhed, the power of *France*, on that ſide, ſhould it ever be turned againſt us, would be removed ſeveral hundred miles further off *Great-Britain* than it was at preſent.

'That after the demolition, there could be no conſiderable preparations made at ſea by the *French* in all the *Channel*, but at *Breſt*; and that, *Great-Britain* being an Iſland, which cannot be attacked but by a naval power, we might eſteem *France* effectually removed by the demolition from *Great-Britain*, as far as the diſtance from *Dunkirk* to *Breſt*.'

Theſe reflections were not only a great mortification to *Tugghe* and the other *French* agents, but alſo gave no ſmall offence to ſome of the *Britiſh* Miniſters, as appeared by the ſevere animadverſions that were publiſhed by the authors of the *Examiner*. But, on the other hand, the neceſſity of the immediate demolition of *Dunkirk* was urged by ſeveral other writers, and particularly by Mr. *Toland* in a Pamphlet, intitled, *Dunkirk* or *Dover*.

About

1713. *Demolition of the fortifications of* Dunkirk.

About the beginning of *September*, the Colonels *Armſtrong* and *Clayton* were appointed Commiſſioners to ſee the fortifications of *Dunkirk* demoliſhed; and at the ſame time two Captains of men of war were, by the Admiralty, named to ſee the harbour filled up. Accordingly, on the 7th of *September*, the two Colonels ſet out for *Dunkirk*, where three *French* Battalions, and as many *Swiſs* being come, and incamping, the one without *Port-Newport*, the other without *Port-Royal*, they began on the 26th the demolition, the *French* between theſe two gates, and the *Swiſs* between the Baſon and the Citadel. The ſame day a diſpute aroſe between Sir *James Abercromby*, the *Britiſh* Commandant, and Monſieur *le Blane*, the *French* Intendant of the Province, about the manner of carrying it on. The *French* intended to have made a breach in the ramparts, or main fortifications of the town; but the two *Engliſh* Commiſſioners having made the Commandant ſenſible, that, if the ſame was permitted, the *Engliſh* garriſon was not ſafe, and the *French* might eaſily make themſelves maſters of the place; Sir *James* inſiſted, and it was at laſt agreed to by *le Blane*, that all the outworks, both towards the ſea and the land, ſhould be firſt demoliſhed; next, the harbour ruined and filled; afterwards the main fortifications of the place razed and deſtroyed; and laſt of all, the citadel. This point being cleared, the *French* and *Swiſs* ſoldiers went to work again, and removed the great guns from *Fort-Gallard*, *Fort de Revers*, the *Riſbank*, and the two forts at the heads or enterance of the port; and the miners made preparations to blow up theſe forts, and the other outworks; which was done towards the end of *November*. But, notwithſtanding all this, the *French* found afterwards an expedient to evade the letter of this treaty, by making a new canal in *Mardyke*, which had a communication from the ſea to the baſon of *Dunkirk*.

The Duke *d'Aumont* having taking his audience of leave at *Windſor* about the end of *Auguſt*, he ſet out from *London* on his return to *Paris* the 7th of *November*.

Promotions.

Before the Queen left *Kenſington*, ſhe reſolved to beſtow ſome marks of her favour on the Earl of *Peterborough*, who, though not in any great confidence with the prime Managers, had yet been inſtrumental in the change of the Miniſtry in 1710, and had ſupported their pacific meaſures. He was, on the 3d of *Auguſt*, elected Knight of the Garter, in the room of the late Duke of *Hamilton*; and the next day inſtalled at *Windſor*, with the Dukes of *Beaufort* and *Kent*, Earl *Paulet*, the Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*, and the Earl of *Strafford*; Sir *Jacob Banks* ſtanding proxy for this laſt. About the ſame time the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, Lord Privy-Seal, was tranſlated to the See of *London*, vacant by the death of Dr. *Henry Compton*, a generous and good-natured man, but eaſy and weak, and much in the power of others. On the 8th of *Auguſt*, a proclamation was publiſhed for diſſolving the Parliament, and another, on the 17th, for calling a new one.

Letters in favour of the Pretender.

Some days before, ſeveral letters ſubſcribed with an *H* (the initial letter of the Earl of *Oxford*'s family-name) were ſent by the poſt to the Mayors, and other Magiſtrates of divers Corporations, 'recommending to them to promote the intereſt of the Pretender in the next elections; which, it was ſuggeſted, would be acceptable to the Queen and Miniſtry.' Some of theſe letters having been tranſmitted to the Secretaries of State, an advertiſement, ſigned by the Lord *Dartmouth*, was inſerted in the *Gazette*, promiſing the Queen's pardon, and a reward of one hundred pounds, to any perſon, who ſhould diſcover the Author of the letters. This occaſioned various conjectures. Some aſcribed the letters to the diſcontented Whigs; others to the Pretender's friends, both of whom hated the Lord-Treaſurer; the Whigs, for having done too much, and the others, for having done too little for the Pretender's intereſt. On this account he was in a very difficult ſituation, eſpecially, as he had been for ſome time upon ill terms with the Lord *Bolingbroke*, as appears from his own letter to the Queen, of the 9th of *June* 1713. Before the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, *Bolingbroke* had formed a ſcheme to put himſelf and Chancellor *Harcourt* at the head of the High-Church party, and had oppoſed the Duke of *Shrewſbury*'s being ſent over to *France*. However, with Lady *Maſham*'s aſſiſtance, the Lord-Treaſurer brought his own ſcheme to bear, which was, 'That the Duke of *Ormond* ſhould ſtay in *England*, to attend the army affairs, which was neceſſary at the time of diſbanding: That the Duke of *Shrewſbury* ſhould go to *Ireland*, as Lord-Lieutenant, upon his return from *France*: That the Earl of *Findlater* ſhould be Chancellor of *Scotland*; the Earl of *Mar* third Secretary of State; the Lord *Dartmouth* Privy-Seal; Mr. Speaker *Bromley* Secretary of State; and Sir *William Wyndham* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, in the room of *Robert Benſon*, lately created Lord *Bingley*, and named Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *Madrid*.' This new ſcheme perfectly defeated that of Lord *Bolingbroke* and his friends, which threw them into a great rage; and the Lord Chancellor declared the promotion of the Earl of *Findlater* to be againſt law, and would not treat that Earl with decency; and Lord *Mar* and Secretary *Bromley* received many inſtances of ill uſage. Moſt of theſe changes were declared from the middle of *Auguſt* to the middle of *September*; and, about that time, *Thomas Foley* was appointed Auditor of the impreſt accounts, in the room of Mr. *Maynwaring* deceaſed; the Lord *Lanſdown*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold, in the room of the Earl of *Cholmondley*, formerly removed; Sir *John Stonehouſe*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, in the room of the Lord *Lanſdown*; the Lord *de la War*, Treaſurer of the Chamber, in the room of the Lord *Fitzharding* deceaſed; *Francis Gwin*, Secretary of War, in the room of Sir *William Wyndham*; and *Thomas Moore*, brother to *Arthur Moore*, Paymaſter of the land-forces abroad, in the room of Mr. *Bridges*. About this time, likewiſe, the Duke of *Northumberland* and Sir *John Stonehouſe* were ſworn of the Privy-Council; and the Earl of *Denbigh* made one of the Tellers of the *Exchequer*.

All this while the party writers and managers on both ſides were extremely buſy in preparing the minds of the people to favour their reſpective intereſts in the new elections for Parliament men. But notwithſtanding the weight and influence of the Court, and the viſible partiality of

713. of ſome returning officers, a far greater number of Whigs were choſen, than was by many expected.

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There happened about this time an incident, which did not a little contribute to ſecure the Treaſurer's intereſt at Court. An advertiſement had been inſerted in the *London Gazette*, whereby it was propoſed to raiſe three hundred thouſand pounds for paying off part of the debts of the Navy, by way of Loan, on the ſecurity of the *South-Sea* Stock, depoſited, for that purpoſe, into the hands of the Chamberlain of *London*, and Deputy-Tellers of the *Exchequer*. Whether monied men did not like the ſecurity, or the truſtees; or whatever was the reaſon, not above ſeventy thouſand pounds were ſubſcribed into this Loan in ſix or ſeven weeks; which made many believe, it would never be filled up. But, upon an order of the 9th of *September* by the Lord-Treaſurer, that whoever ſhould ſubſcribe one hundred pounds to the Loan, ſhould be intitled to buy ten Tickets of ten pounds each in the Houſhold Lottery of five hundred thouſand pounds, there was the next day ſuch a croud of Subſcribers, both at the *Exchequer* and *Guild-Hall*, that more than the three hundred thouſand pounds were ſubſcribed. The Treaſurer improving the opportunity inlarged the Loan to five hundred thouſand pounds, which in a few days was filled up, as was at the ſame time the Lottery of the like ſum: So that, by this means, the Treaſurer raiſed a million Sterling in two or three days, which greatly advanced his credit and reputation.

The Marquiſs de Miremont intercedes for the Proteſtants in the Gallies.

The Marquiſs *de Miremont*, whom the Queen had ſent to *Utrecht* with a commiſſion to take care of the intereſt of the *French* Proteſtants, being come over, waited on the Queen, and returned her thanks for procuring the inlargement from the Gallies of *France* of one hundred and thirty-ſix Proteſtants. He deſired her ſtill to interpoſe her good offices for the deliverance of one hundred and eighty-five more of theſe ſufferers, who were ſtill detained in the Gallies on the ſame account. The Marquiſs *de Rochegude* ſpoke to her likewiſe in their behalf, and delivered to her letters from the *States* and the Princeſs *Sophia* to the ſame purpoſe. The Queen, who had been given to underſtand, that all the *French* Proteſtant ſufferers had been inlarged, was ſurprized to find, there were ſo many ſtill under affliction; and deſired the Marquiſs *de Rochegude* to give her a liſt of them. The Archbiſhop of *York*, Lord Almoner, having likewiſe been informed about this matter, he ſeconded both the *French* Marquiſſes ſollicitations with great Zeal; which had the deſired effect. About this time *Charles Roſs*, Colonel-General of the Dragoons, and Lieutenant-General, was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the King of *France*.

A petition ſigned at Edinburgh for diſſolving the Union.

Some days before a very remarkable thing happened in *Scotland*. *George Lockhart* of *Carnwath*, an avowed friend of the Pretender, having been unanimouſly choſen Member of Parliament for *Edinburgh*; a great number of the inhabitants ſigned a petition, to be preſented to the Houſe of Commons, for bringing in a bill to diſſolve the Union. This done, the populace went to the Parliament Cloſe in *Edinburgh*, and there, by the Statue of King *Charles* II, drank healths to the Queen, the diſſolution of the Union, and all true *Scotch-men*; and afterwards went to the Market-Croſs, and did the like, with repeated acclamations. It was likewiſe reported, that ſome *Scots* Merchants cauſed a petition to be preſented to the King of *France* by Mr. *Arbuthnot*, their agent at *Roan*, repreſenting their grievances in point of trade, and other matters, and deſiring his protection for their redreſs, in conſideration of the antient alliances between *France* and *Scotland*. But, this application bordering upon treaſon, no further ſteps were made in it. 1713.

A dangerous miſtake diſcovered and rectified in regard to the Regency-act.

About the latter end of the year 1713, the following incident happened: By the Regency-bill, which was to take place on the Queen's death, power was given to the perſon next in Succeſſion, to nominate as many as he or ſhe pleaſed, to act with the great Officers named in the bill. This was, properly ſpeaking, the ſafe-guard of the Proteſtant Succeſſion. The act was very particular, in directing ſeveral things to be done in that affair, by the perſon next in Succeſſion abroad, and by his Miniſter or Agent here. Mr. *William Benſon*, apprehending ſome omiſſions in this reſpect, by which the nomination could not be of any uſe, applied to Baron *Bothmar* for information, and found his fears were not groundleſs. The act directed, that the inſtruments of Nomination ſhould be three in number, and tranſmitted hither to the Reſident of the perſon next in Succeſſion, whoſe Credentials were to be inrolled in *Chancery*; and, after ſuch inrollment, the Reſident was to depoſite one part with the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, another with the Lord-Chancellor or Keeper, and the third was to remain with the Reſident, and that the Seals of theſe three perſons ſhould be affixed to the covers in which the inſtruments were included. Now *Bothmar*, in whoſe hands one of theſe inſtruments was left, had not the character of Reſident; and Mr. *Kreinberg*, who was Reſident, and whoſe Credentials were inrolled, was not concerned in the matter. Nor was *Bothmar*'s, nor *Kreinberg*'s, nor the Chancellor's Seal affixed to the inſtruments, but the Seal of Baron *Schutz* and of the Lord *Cowper*, who was no longer Chancellor. If therefore the Queen had died, whilſt the matter was in this ſituation, theſe inſtruments could not have been opened, becauſe the act had not been complied with. In this light *Benſon* repreſented the affair to *Bothmar*, who deſired that Chief Juſtice *Parker* might be acquainted with it. *Parker* appointed a meeting of the chief perſons truſted by the Houſe of *Hanover*, and *Bothmar* was to bring his part of the depoſited inſtruments with him. Accordingly, there was the next morning a meeting at the Duke of *Devonſhire*'s, and, upon examination, all were of opinion, the whole was wrong, and that it was of the utmoſt conſequence it ſhould be redreſſed as ſoon as poſſible. *Parker* undertook to direct the proper forms; and a Meſſenger was diſpatched to *Hanover*, who returned with great expedition with inſtruments according to law; the firſt of which was to appoint *Kreinberg* Reſident, and, after the inrollment of his Credentials, he had new inſtruments to be depoſited by him, purſuant to the act. *Kreinberg* went immediately to Chancellor *Harcourt*, and, delivering his new Credentials, deſired they might be inrolled, which the Chancellor ſaid ſhould be done in a few days. But, the thing being delayed, *Kreinberg* went to the Chancellor,

1713. and told him, if his Credentials were not inrolled by the next poſt, he muſt acquaint the Princeſs *Sophia* with it. This was reſented; but, however, he was bid to come again in a day or two, at which time the Chancellor delivered to *Kreinberg*, not his Credentials, but a copy only, or a common piece of paper.

When this paper was ſhewn to Chief-Juſtice *Parker*, as delivered by the Chancellor to *Kreinberg*, for his credentials inrolled, he was greatly ſurpriſed and carried the paper with him to *Weſtminſter-Hall* (where he was then going) to ſhew it to the Chancellor, and ſpeak to him about it. *Parker* producing the paper to the Chancellor told him, it had been delivered to the *Hanover* Reſident as his Credentials inrolled, without ſaying who had done it. The Chancellor, as if he knew nothing of the matter, ſaid with great warmth, 'This is very wrong, but this is a young fellow juſt come into his office, his father being lately dead; but let me have the paper, and I will take care to ſet this matter to rights for Mr. *Kreinberg*, if he will come to me in a day or two.' *Kreinberg* did not fail going, and at laſt got his Credentials again properly inrolled about the 27th of *March* 1714. Shortly after the inſtrument appointing the perſons to be added to the Lords Regents on the Queen's deceaſe were depoſited in proper form, which had not been done before in eight years, for ſo long the act had ſubſiſted, being paſſed in 1706.

Affairs of Ireland. *Ireland*, ſince the Lord *Wharton* had reſigned the Government of it, was become *Jacobite* almoſt without reſerve, and the boldneſs of the Papiſts, countenanced by Chancellor *Phipps*, alarmed the Proteſtants and put them upon their guard againſt the attempts of their enemies, who, about this time, induſtriouſly fomented the diſputes occaſioned by the election of a Lord-Mayor for the City of *Dublin*. The Aldermen having choſen Mr. *Pleaſants*, it was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the then Lord-Mayor, and the deciſion of the affair being left to the Privy-Council (where the Lords-Juſtices, of whom Sir *Conſtantine Phipps* was one, had [the direction) they came on the 4th of *September* to theſe reſolutions: '1. That the Lord-Mayor of the City of *Dublin*, for the time being, has the right of nominating three Aldermen to be put in election for Lord-Mayor of *Dublin*; and that the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen are obliged to elect one of the three to be ſucceeding Lord-Mayor, unleſs juſt objections be made againſt them. 2. That the proceeding of ſeventeen Aldermen in the election of Alderman *Pleaſants* for Lord-Mayor, and *James King* for Sheriff, in the abſence of Sir *Samuel Cooke*, Lord-Mayor, was a breach of the new rules; and that ſuch elections were null and void.' Six days after the Lord-Mayor ſummoned the Aldermen to meet, and proceed to a new choice; and, in purſuance of the reſolution of the Council, he named Sir *William Fownes* and Aldermen *Conſtantine* and *Maſon*, the ſame, who were in nomination before. But twenty Aldermen inſiſted on a previous queſtion concerning the firſt in nomination, and offered ſome objections to him; upon which the Lord-Mayor having diſſolved the court, nothing was determined.

In this ferment the Duke of *Shrewsbury* found the City of *Dublin*, when he arrived there on the 27th of *October*, to take upon him the government of *Ireland*; and, perceiving the Pretender's friends had received no ſmall encouragement from Chancellor *Phipps*, he took all proper occaſions to make good the expectations of the well affected to the *Revolution* and the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*; but more particularly on King *William*'s Birth-Day, when he declared, *He was ſtill the ſame he was in the year* 1688, and publickly drank *to the pious and glorious memory of King* William. 1714

A new Parliament being called, the ſtruggle in *Ireland* between the two parties was as great as in *England*. The warmeſt contention was in the City of *Dublin*, where Sir *William Fownes* and Mr. *Tucker* were ſet up by the Tories, and Mr. Recorder *Forſter* and Mr. *Burton* by the Whigs. The poll began on the 6th of *November*; and the Sheriffs, perceiving the Electors were going into a riot, ſent for ſome of the guards to prevent it: Upon which a tumult aroſe, and the guards, being aſſaulted by the populace, fired ſome ſhot among them, killed one man, and wounded ſome others. Both parties immediately made their complaints to the Lord Lieutenant, who, the next day, appointed a committee to make a ſtrict inquiry into the diſorder, and directed the Sheriffs to take the poll at two different places, to prevent the meeting and claſhing of the two contending parties; and upon information, that the Papiſts and Jacobites were the chief promoters of the riot, he cauſed ſeveral Popiſh Chapels in *Dublin* to be ſhut up; which was very grateful to all Proteſtants. On the 17th of *November* the Sheriffs cloſed the poll; and *Forſter* and *Burton* were declared duly elected by a great majority.

The Parliament of *Ireland* being met on the 25th of *November*, the Lord-Lieutenant made a ſpeech to both Houſes, importing, 'That her Majeſty, having procured a ſafe and honourable peace, had nothing now to wiſh, but that her ſubjects might enjoy the benefits and advantages of it. That her Majeſty had nothing more at heart, than the preſervation of the rights and liberties of her people, and the ſettling them upon a laſting foundation, by ſecuring the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*.' He earneſtly recommended to the Commons, 'That, as the Proteſtants in that Kingdom were united in one common intereſt, they might all agree in the ſame means of promoting it, by laying aſide all warmth or reſentment; which would appear by the unanimity of their proceedings.'

Notwithſtanding this caution, there was the next day a great conteſt in the Houſe of Commons about the choice of a Speaker; Sir *Richard Levinz* being put up by the Tory party, and *Alan Broderick* by the Whigs; but, upon a diviſion, *Broderick* was choſen by a majority of four voices.

The addreſſes of compliment to the Queen and the Lord-Lieutenant having been preſented, the Commons proceeded in providing, by good laws, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, againſt the deſigns of the Papiſts. They ordered a bill to be brought in to attaint the Pretender, and all perſons that adhered to him, of high-treaſon, with the promiſe of a reward to any perſon that ſhould take the Pretender alive or dead. They appointed a Committee to inquire into the proceedings againſt *Edward Lloyd*,

13. *Lloyd*, for publiſhing a book called, *The Memoirs of the Chevalier* de St. George (1), and againſt *Dudley Moore*, and others, relating to a pretended riot at the Play-Houſe, occaſioned by that Gentleman's ſpeaking the Prologue to *Tamerlane*, in praiſe of King *William*. They confirmed the election of *Forſter* and *Burton*, and unanimouſly reſolved upon an addreſs to the Queen, for the removal of Sir *Conſtantine Phipps* from the Chancellorſhip (2).

On the other hand, the Biſhops of *Ireland*, reſolving not to leave the Chancellor to the reſentment of the Commons, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to get a contrary addreſs voted in the Houſe of Lords, where it was reſolved, That Chancellor *Phipps* had, in his ſeveral ſtations, acquitted himſelf with honour and integrity. And, a Committee being ordered to draw up the addreſs, it was preſented to the Lord-Lieutenant to be tranſmitted to *England* (3).

On the 21ſt of *December*, the Commons, taking into conſideration the State of the Nation, came to ſeveral reſolutions againſt the proceedings of thoſe, who had lately been the Managers of the affairs of that Kingdom (4).

Mr. *Moleſworth* (afterwards Viſcount *Moleſworth*) famous for his Preface to the State of *Denmark*, being a Privy-Counſellor in *Ireland* as well as Member of Parliament, was at the Caſtle of *Dublin* with ſome other Members, on the day the Commons preſented their addreſs againſt the Chancellor: The two Houſes of Convocation coming thither, to preſent a contrary addreſs, Mr. *Moleſworth* ſaid in the hearing of ſome Gentlemen about him, *They, that have turned the world upſide down, are come hither alſo?* Upon this the Lower Houſe of Convocation ſent a complaint to the Upper, 1713.
repreſenting, 'That they looked upon the words uttered by Mr. *Moleſworth* to be an intolerable profanation of the Holy Scriptures; and that his ſpeaking to them at that time, and in that place, was with deſign to caſt an odium and aſperſion on their Graces and their Lordſhips, and the whole Clergy, and to repreſent them as a turbulent and ſeditious body. That they thought themſelves in duty obliged to lay the matter before the Upper Houſe; not only for the reaſons above mentioned, but becauſe they conceived it to be a high affront to her Majeſty, and great diſreſpect to her repreſentative, the Lord-Lieutenant: And they humbly prayed their Lordſhips to vindicate the whole Clergy from this wicked calumny.' The Biſhops immediately laid this complaint before the Houſe of Lords; who deſired a Conference with the Commons, and left with them a copy of the paper delivered by the Biſhops. The Commons laid no great ſtreſs on that complaint; but, the matter having been repreſented in *England* in the moſt odious colours, Mr. *Moleſworth* was removed from the Privy-Council.

It is obſervable that Chancellor *Phipps* had many Champions for him in *Great-Britain*; every Tory thinking himſelf obliged to vindicate him, upon the account of his zealous adhering to the Church's cauſe in Dr. *Sacheverel*'s Tryal, and giving out, that the reſolutions of the Commons againſt him *were not of* Iriſh *growth, but the reſult of the joint counſels of the Whigs of both Kingdoms*. On the other hand, the Whig party loudly juſtified the proceedings of the *Iriſh* Houſe of Commons againſt that Miniſter,

(1) This book was written in defence of the legitimacy of the Pretender, and of his title to the Crown. *Lloyd* had publiſhed advertiſements of his intentions to reprint that book, exhorting all good people to ſubſcribe for it. For this he had been indicted, and the bill found in *Michaelmas-Term*, 1712. Notwithſtanding which, he went about at large till *July* 1713; and Chancellor *Phipps* wrote a letter to the Duke of *Ormond* in favour of *Lloyd*, recommending him *as an object of the Queen's mercy, and as a perſon who had no evil intention in printing and publiſhing that book*; upon which *Lloyd* obtained a *noli proſequi*. *See Conduct of the Purſe in* Ireland, p. 35.

(2) The Commons, *December* 18, unanimouſly reſolved, 1. That the Memoirs of the Chevalier *de St. George* was a ſeditious and treaſonable libel. 2. That the remiſs proſecution of *Lloyd* was an encouragement to the Popiſh, and other friends of the Pretender. 3. That Sir *Conſtantine Phipps*, in repreſenting *Lloyd* as an object of mercy, in order to obtain a *noli proſequi*, acted contrary to the Proteſtant intereſt. 4. That an addreſs be preſented to the Queen, to remove Sir *Conſtantine Phipps* from the place of Lord High-Chancellor, for the peace and ſafety of her Proteſtant ſubjects.

(3) At the ſame time, Mr. *Richard Nuttal*, a Lawyer, was cenſured by the Lords, for ſaying, 'The Lord Chancellor of *Ireland* is a Canary-bird and a Villain, and has ſet the Kingdom together by the ears, and ought to be hanged.'

(4) As theſe reſolutions will explain the conduct of the Duke of *Ormond*, and thoſe employed under him, and other Lord-Lieutenants and Juſtices, it may not be improper to inſert them:

'1. That for ſome years laſt paſt there had been a deſign formed and carried on, to ſubvert the Conſtitution, and alter the Government of the City of *Dublin*.

2. That, to carry on that deſign, a corrupt and illegal attempt, was made in 1711, to corrupt Alderman *Ralph Gore*, then Lord-Mayor, by offering him a bribe of five hundred pounds, to name thirty-two perſons, marked in a liſt, then delivered to him by *Martin Tucker*, Eſq; Sub-Collector of the port of *Dublin*, to be Common-Council-Men for the ſaid City. 3. That it appears, on the examination of *Martin Tucker*, Eſq; that he was ſent to offer the ſaid ſum of five hundred pounds to Alderman *Ralph Gore*, while Sir *Conſtantine Phipps*, Knight, Lord High-Chancellor of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant-General *Ingoldsby*, were Lord-Juſtices. 4. That the City of *Dublin* had, of late, been, and ſtill continued, in great diſorder and confuſion, by reaſon of the frequent diſapprobations of perſons elected Lord-Mayors and Sheriffs of the ſaid City, all of them of known affection to her Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and to the Conſtitution in Church and State. 5. That Sir *Conſtantine Phipps* had been the chief cauſe and promoter of ſuch frequent diſapprobations, and thereby the occaſion of the ſaid diſorder and confuſion. 6. That, ſince the making the new rules in 1672, until Sir *Conſtantine Phipps* arrived in that Kingdom, no perſon, elected Lord-Mayor of the City of *Dublin*, had been diſapproved, except in the Government of the Earl of *Tyrconnel* 7. That the Council-board had not at this time, nor had not ſince the time (given them by the act of explanation) expired, any power to make rules or orders for regulating the election of Magiſtrates in any Corporation in that Kingdom. 8. That the right of election of Lord-Mayor of *Dublin* is in the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the ſaid City; and that the Aldermen are in no ſort reſtrained, in the choice of the ſucceeding Lord-Mayor, to one of any three perſons nominated or propoſed, to be put in election by the Lord-Mayor.'

(1) We

1713. Miniſter, who, to ſay no worſe, had been the occaſion of unhappy diſtinctions among the Proteſtants of that Kingdom (1). Theſe diviſions gave ſo great encouragement to the Pretender's friends, that men were almoſt publickly inliſted for his ſervice; of which the Commons took notice in their votes of the 22d of *December*. And the Grand-Jury of the County of *Dublin* having made a preſentment of that traiterous practice, and laid it before the Lord-Lieutenant, a Proclamation was iſſued out for apprehending Lieutenant *Butler*, in Lord *Galway*'s Regiment, who had inliſted *William* and *Michael Letry* to ſerve the Pretender, and told them, he had inliſted fourteen men more for the ſame purpoſe.

This Parliament not being reliſhed by the Miniſtry in *England*, the Duke of *Shrewſbury* received orders to prorogue them; but, before he did it, he ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons out of the country, and told him, the Queen was willing to give them an opportunity to do themſelves juſtice; but, if they did not proceed with unanimity at their next meeting, he had orders to diſſolve them. As the Parliament was by no means diſpoſed to acquieſce in all the Miniſters meaſures (which was the meaning of *proceeding with unanimity*) they ſat no more in this reign. The Duke himſelf did not much like his ſituation, and, having conſtant intelligence of the ill ſtate of the Queen's health from Dr. *Shadwell*, one of her Phyſi- 171

(1) We have a large account of his behaviour there, in a pamphlet printed at *London* in 1714, in 8*vo*. intitled, *The Conduct of the Purſe in* Ireland: *In a letter to a Member of the late* Oxford *Convocation, occaſioned by their having conferred the degree of Doctor upon Sir* Conſtantine Phipps. The Author obſerves, *p.* 10, 'That he will not take upon him ſo far to judge Sir *Conſtantine*, as to ſay, he was an enemy to the Proteſtant Intereſt and Proteſtant Succeſſion. I will, ſays he, ſuppoſe, that he might not have had any intention of prejudicing either the one or the other. But whether it hath happened through miſtake, or through paſſion, and too warm a purſuit of his own particular quarrels and reſentments, or of the reſentments of others; whether he hath been miſguided by miſrepreſentations of men and things, or the true intereſt of the Country, where he preſided, or of the true temper and genius of that People; whatſoever his intentions really were, I think I may very confidently affirm this, that, had a profeſſed enemy to the Proteſtant intereſt of that Kingdom been placed in that Government, when he was, ſuch perſon could not with any diſcretion or ſafety have purſued meaſures more likely to divide, weaken, and ſubvert the Proteſtant intereſt of that Kingdom, than this Doctor hath purſued from the time of his landing there.' The Author remarks, *p.* 19, that, before Sir *Conſtantine*'s arrival in *Ireland*, the inhabitants knew little of the diſtinction of *Whig* and *Tory*, of *High-Church* and *Low-Church:* Theſe diviſions had not affected them in any great degree; the chief diſtinction amongſt them was that of *Papiſt* and *Proteſtant*. But ſoon after his arrival the diſtinctions of *Whig* and *Tory* were propagated with great induſtry, and thoſe, who were of the firſt claſs, fell under his diſpleaſure, and were diſplaced from their employments, and, as far as was in the power of him, or his wife, or their dependents, by their ſollicitations or influence to effect, they were removed from, or cramped in all manner of buſineſs or trade, by which they got their livelihood: And he deſcended ſo low, when in the Government, as in perſon to ſollicit Gentlemen to change their Taylors, and their other Tradeſmen, upon theſe accounts. Informers, or, as they call them, *Lions*, were encouraged to put themſelves into the companies of Gentlemen, and to report to the Government what was ſaid there. Several Gentlemen of *Weſt-Meath*, for having only drank the health of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the late Lord *Godolphin*, were accuſed by a Fryar, one of the new Converts, of having formed a plot againſt the Government, and thereupon were ſent for in cuſtody of Meſſengers. Other Gentlemen were informed againſt for words of little or no ſignification. In a word, an end was put to almoſt all converſation, and to the intercourſe of all good offices, charity, and love amongſt Proteſtants. And tho' the diſcoveries were of very little ſignificance; yet the trouble given to Gentlemen by theſe informations was ſo conſiderable, that the whole ſeemed as it were deſigned to convince Proteſtant Gentlemen, that the Government had no mind to let them meet together at all. The rooms of the Gentlemen diſplaced (excepting the place of Attorney and Sollicitor General) were filled up for the moſt part with perſons of little or no fortunes, and ſuch as were moſt remarkable for a temper violent againſt the Diſſenters, and moderate towards the Papiſts. Such, and the new Converts, were chiefly the objects of his favour, and were brought into all Stations, Magiſtracies, and Employments. But the Corporations being in the hands of men, who were thankful for the Revolution, in order to reform them, the chief Governors and the Privy-Council having an authority of approving or diſapproving the elections of Magiſtrates of moſt Corporations in that Kingdom (which authority was veſted in them by Act of Parliament, only with intent to exclude Papiſts and perſons Popiſhly inclined;) as it was not to be imagined, but in every Corporation the Doctor might find ſome one or two men willing to proſtitute themſelves to his will and pleaſure; ſo, having found ſuch, he prevailed with a majority of the Privy-Council to concur with him in diſapproving of the election of every other than ſuch perſon; hereby ſtraining the power of approbation into that of a nomination. By this means ſeveral Corporations conceiving they had a power of electing their own Magiſtrates, and not willing to put their privileges into the hands of ſuch, as they thought they could not truſt, who were generally ſuch as your Doctor had a mind for, they were obliged to infinite elections, returns, and attendances upon the Privy-Council; and, all being diſapproved without any manner of reaſon given, ſome Corporations continued without Magiſtrates for ſeveral months, ſome for above a year; and, during ſuch time, in the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder, eſpecially in *Dublin*. There creditors had no way to recover their ſmall debts: There were no Sheriffs to execute writs upon any account; no criminals could be tried or executed; no Mayor to correct the abuſes of the bread, and other markets: No juſtice could be had; and when his agents had raiſed a tumult againſt the Aldermen and others (who conceived themſelves bound by oath to maintain the privileges of that Corporation, one of which was the freedom of electing their own Magiſtrates) by repreſenting them as factious perſons, who flew in the face of the Government; in theſe diſorders there was no Magiſtrate to keep the public peace; and when Proteſtants were knocking one another on the head, and the Papiſts were chearfully yielding their hand to that work; a young Proteſtant Officer, who had charitably interpoſed with ſome ſoldiers to prevent bloodſhed, was confined, and threatened to be caſhiered for his pains, by a very good friend of your Doctor's, if not at his requeſt. Thus hath the Doctor divided and ſet the Proteſtants of *Ireland* together by the ears; he hath heightened their animoſities to a degree, that hath never before been known in that Country; inſomuch that, had the leaſt attempt been made upon that Kingdom, they muſt in all probability have fallen an eaſy prey to their mortal enemies the Papiſts.'

713. Phyſicians (1), he thought it too dangerous for him to be abſent from Court in ſo critical a juncture; as her deceaſe was like to be. So he deſired and obtained leave to return to *England*. Chancellor *Phipps* and Archbiſhop *Lindſey*, with the Archbiſhop of *Tuam*, were appointed Juſtices of *Ireland* (2).

unt of book d, edita- ight.

In *England* all diſguiſe was now thrown off by the Jacobites, and the Pretender's right to the Crown was publickly maintained in a large volume, called, *The* HEREDITARY RIGHT *of the Crown of* England *aſſerted: The Hiſtory of the Succeſſion ſince the Conqueſt cleared, and the true* Engliſh *Conſtitution vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of Dr.* Higden's *view and defence*, &c. The author, after having ſhewn in the introduction, *that allegiance is not due to all powers in poſſeſſion* (3), endeavours to prove, 'That the people's ſubmiſſion to ſuch Kings, as were not heirs to the Crown by immediate deſcent, is no argument, that poſſeſſion gives right to allegiance.' And, to elude the force of Dr. *Higden*'s arguments againſt *Hereditary Right*, grounded on the ſeveral deviations from the lineal deſcent in the Succeſſion of the Crown ſince the Conqueſt, he maintains, that the Kings of *England* had antiently a power of diſpoſing of the Crown by Teſtament: That the conſent, reſignation, and ceſſion of the rightful heir were certainly ſufficient to make Kings *de facto* rightful: And 1713. that therefore ſubmiſſion might be paid them on one of theſe accounts.' This being a point very material to the Author's deſign, he endeavours to evince it by the example of *William the Conqueror*, whom he aſſerts to have been a lawful King in both theſe regards, and juſtifies *Edward* the Confeſſor's nomination of him for his Succeſſor (4). Then he labours to prove, that *William Rufus* and *Henry* the Firſt were alſo *lawful Kings*. This done, he comes to King *Stephen*, whom he calls the *firſt Uſurper*, and pretends, that, *in his Reign, the moſt turbulent of any, there were no footſteps of Dr.* Higden's *principle*, of allegiance being due to Kings *de facto*. On this occaſion the Author mentions particularly the Earl of *Gloceſter*, who owned himſelf bound in conſcience to the right of the Empreſs *Maud*; the King of *Scotland*, who ſuffered much in defence of her right; and the behaviour of the Clergy, who made a diſtinction between King *Stephen* and a King *de jure*; ſhews what influence the Pope's pretended power of ſetting up Kings had in thoſe days; and aſſerts, That our Hiſtorians date *Stephen*'s Reign from his agreement with *Henry*; which concurs with the Author's main deſign, which is to eſtabliſh a *Teſtamentary* and Ceſſionary right, in order to account for the allegiance which, at divers

(1) He uſed to write to the Duke and Ducheſs of *Shrewsbury* under the name of *J. Smith*.

(2) The Duke of *Shrewsbury* had reaſons, both of private and public concern, to wiſh himſelf in *England*. He had not been long in *Dublin*, before he found, that he was little more than the pageant of the Government of *Ireland*, of which the main ſprings were in the Lord-Chancellor's hands: For, upon the deceaſe of Dr. *Narciſſus Marſh*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, the Duke deſigned to have advanced to that Primacy his Kinſman, Dr. *Talbot*, Biſhop of *Oxford*: But, upon the recommendation of Sir *Conſtantine Phipps*, Dr. *Lindſey*, Biſhop of *Raphoe*, was immediately preferred, as a perſon ready to go all lengths, to favour the ſcheme in hand. From this, and other inſtances, the Duke began to ſurmiſe, either that the Lord-Treaſurer's profeſſed friendſhip ſlackened, or that his intereſt was upon the decline.

(3) In the Introduction the Author pretends, 'That the firſt time, the duty of paying allegiance to powers in poſſeſſion began to be taught in this Kingdom, was, during the uſurpations, which ſucceeded the death of King *Charles* the Firſt. That in all former Revolutions the Princes, who got poſſeſſion of the Crown, claimed it by ſome right, and never inſiſted on poſſeſſion as right. But, the Rump Parliament, and *Cromwell*, and the following Uſurpers, having no tolerable pretence to any claim of right, their friends were reduced to a neceſſity of pleading poſſeſſion, as a right to obedience; and ſeveral books were then publiſhed by Papiſts, Fanatics, and Deiſts, to inforce and prove it. But that this principle was then generally rejected by all the Members of the Church of *England*, and by many Preſbyterians, who maintained, that allegiance was due to the rightful King, who was not in poſſeſſion. That, after the Reſtoration, the acts and judicial proceedings of the Governments preceding were all null and void, except ſuch as were authorized by a new law. And it was declared by an act of Parliament, that all the ſaid powers before in poſſeſſion were *rebellious, wicked, traiterous, abominable uſurpations, deteſted by this preſent Parliament*. That here the Conſtitution was again reſettled on its antient foundation, not in poſſeſſion, which all the Uſurpers had, but upon the *undoubted right* of the lawful Heir, who had been out of poſſeſſion, and of his *Heirs* and *lawful Succeſſors*: And that, agreeably to this Conſtitution in that Reign, it was the conſtant doctrine of Lawyers and Divines, that allegiance was not due to all powers in poſſeſſion. That the Revolution, which happened after, was begun, carried on, ended, and juſtified on theſe grounds, that allegiance was not due to all Kings in poſſeſſion: That King *James* was lawfully deprived; and that King *William* and Queen *Mary* were lawfully put in poſſeſſion. But theſe poſitions did not ſuit with the principles of many Lawyers and Divines, who had conſtantly maintained, that the depoſition of a lawful King was abſolutely unlawful, by the law of God, and the laws of this Kingdom. Therefore, to juſtify the tranſlation of their allegiance, the former opinion, that ſeemed buried at the Reſtoration, was revived; *viz.* That *allegiance was due to all powers in poſſeſſion*; and many eminent Members of the Church of *England* received it, as conſiſtent with the doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance*. That divers treatiſes were then publiſhed by Divines and Lawyers to defend it; particularly, *the unreaſonableneſs of a new ſeparation*, and *the caſe of allegiance due to ſovereign power*. That the inſtances of Hiſtory and Parliament records, uſed in the firſt, were inquired into by an exact and faithful Hiſtorian, and unanſwerably refuted: And the Arguments of the laſt, from Scripture and Reaſon, the doctrine of the Church, and the laws of the Kingdom, were refuted likewiſe by ſeveral Writers. That, no reply of moment being made, that controverſy ſeemed to be buried again, till Dr. *Higden* thought fit to examine the diſpute again, and was convinced, that allegiance was due to Kings in fact, by laws divine and human. But that, as the Doctor's opinion makes the moſt unjuſt poſſeſſion (as was *Oliver*'s) rightful, and deſtroys the *Hereditary Right*, ſo long eſtabliſhed by the Conſtitution, the Author has followed him through all his labyrinths, refuted his arguments, and rectified his errors.

(4) What the Author inſinuates on this occaſion deſerves particular notice: 'If it be ſaid that *Edward the Confeſſor* was an unjuſt Poſſeſſor, his Nephew, by his elder Brother, being then living, to whom he ought to have reſigned the Crown: I anſwer, that, when Hiſtories are ſilent, it does not become private men

1713. vers times, the Clergy, Nobility, and People, have paid to unlawful Poſſeſſors of the Throne. In the ſame views he paſſes on to *Henry* the Second, whom he maintains to have been a rightful King, becauſe it is moſt probable, that his Mother, the Empreſs *Maud*, had reſigned her right to him. Here he anſwers Dr. *Higden*'s argument from a paſſage in our *Homilies*; diſcovers a miſtake committed by the Compilers of them; defends Biſhop *Merks* againſt Dr. *Higden*'s reflections upon his pretended ſubmiſſion to *Henry* IV; argues againſt the Doctor, who ſays, there were no Nonjurors under Kings *de facto*; and pretends, that ought to be preſumed, till the contrary is proved; and produces inſtances of ſeveral, that ought to be reputed ſuch. He alſo takes notice, that in thoſe days the inferior Clergy were not obliged to take oaths of allegiance; and ſuggeſts, that, had the Clergy of *England* enjoyed this privilege, at the time of the late Revolution, near four hundred of them had quietly continued in poſſeſſion of their Livings, of which they were for no other reaſon deprived, but becauſe they were Nonjurors, *&c.* The Author aſſerts, that a King *de facto* 'is not legally qualified to give a Commiſſion to Judges; nor are proceedings in his Courts of Judicature of any authority. He cannot create a Nobleman, or make a Biſhop. All his preſentations to Benefices are voidable. All lands beſtowed upon him are reſumable, at the pleaſure of the rightful Succeſſor.'

Octob. 17. This book was not only advertiſed in the *London Gazette*, with particular allowance (as was then reported) of Mr. Secretary *Bromley*, but diſperſed and recommended with great induſtry; and many copies of it were given *gratis*, by ſome men in power, to ſeveral Officers of the army. It was ſaid likewiſe to have been preſented to the Queen herſelf by Mr. *Robert Nelſon*. As it was obvious to every reader, that the deſign of this performance was to prepare the way for the Reſtoration of the Pretender, the well-affected to the Houſe of *Hanover* could not but be alarmed at it; eſpecially, as the book came abroad with marks of diſtinction and public countenance; not to mention the quotations in it, out of ſome manuſcripts in the Library of the Lord-Treaſurer. However, the Miniſtry thought it neceſſary to animadvert upon it; and, Mr. *Richard Smith*, the Bookſeller, having, by a warrant from the Lord *Bolingbroke*, been brought to his Office, and there examined, he delared, that Mr. *Hilkiah Bedford*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, had delivered the copy to the Printer. This being owned by *Bedford*, they were both bound over to appear before the Court of *Queen's-Bench*. But, though a proſecution was afterwards, for form-ſake, begun and carried on againſt *Bedford*, yet it was the general opinion, that he had but a ſmall ſhare in that performance, which was judged to be the reſult of the joint labours of ſeveral Nonjurors (1). This book was ſoon refuted in ſeveral anſwers, of which one was ſuppoſed to be written by Mr. *Wills*, then Fellow of *All-Souls* College in *Oxford*, and now Lord-Chief-Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, intitled, *The preſent Conſtitution and the Proteſtant Succeſſion vindicated.*

Kennet's *wiſdom of looking backwards*, p. 317.

About this time it was publickly declared, that the Queen had granted a pardon under the Great-Seal to *Daniel de Foe*, againſt whom an information of high-treaſon had been lodged, for writing three pamphlets, which ſeemed to favour the Pretender's intereſts (2).

By this time the elections for Parliament-men were over; and, in *North-Britain*, the Nobility had choſen ſuch Repreſentatives, as were moſt of them ready to concur in all the Queen's meaſures; namely, the Duke of *Athol*, the Earls of *Mar*, *Eglington*, *Kinnoul*, *Loudoun*, *Findlater* and *Seafield*, *Selkirk*, *Northeſk*, *Dundonald*, *Broadalbin*, *Dunmore*, *Orkney*, *Roſeberry*, *Portmore*, and *Kilſyth*, and the Lord *Balmerinoch*: And, in order to attach yet more the Earl of *Dunmore* to the Court, he was, not long after, declared Colonel of the *Scots* regiment of foot-guards, in the room of the Marquiſs of *Lothian*. About the ſame time, the regiment of dragoons, lately commanded by Sir *Richard Temple*, was given to Major-

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to be forward in paſſing judgment on the actions of Princes. The Authors, who have tranſmitted to us an account of *Edward*'s reign, ſay nothing upon this ſubject; either that the Deſcendants of *Edward Ironſide* laid claim to the Crown; or that King *Edward* diſcovered any inclination to do them juſtice, at leaſt till the eleventh year of his reign: But it may, poſſibly, be unreaſonable from hence to infer, that all that time he was a wrongful Poſſeſſor, becauſe caſes may be ſuppoſed of Princes, who, for want of power and opportunity of doing right to the lawful Heir, are forced to endure the burden of a Crown, which they would readily and gladly eaſe themſelves of, upon a proper occaſion: As when the rightful Heir is abroad, in a diſtant Kingdom, and perhaps at the diſpoſal of a foreign Prince, on whoſe will and pleaſure, his return to his Country chiefly depends. When the Poſſeſſor of a Throne has this to plead for himſelf (which may be true of King *Edward*, for any thing that can be alledged to the contrary) I may appeal to the ſevereſt interpreters of the actions of Princes, whether the exerciſe of royal power, in ſuch circumſtances, can be charged with Uſurpation; or, as ſome chuſe rather to expreſs themſelves, whether ſuch a perſon is only a King *de facto*: For it is not the bare ſeizing, and filling a Throne, but the will of the Poſſeſſor, that muſt denominate him an Uſurper. He that invades another's right, with an intention to detain it from him, and a reſolution never to reſtore it to the true Proprietor, is certainly guilty of the higheſt injuſtice; but, if he accepts of a Crown, only that he may ſecure it to the right Owner, and the better diſappoint the deſigns of his enemies, moſt certainly he obliges him by a very extraordinary act of friendſhip.

(1) In the Introduction to one of the anſwers, called *Treaſon Unmask'd*, The Author ſays: 'This book contains a great variety of hiſtorical facts, poſitions and arguments, couched in an elegant, flowing ſtyle; but then there are in it ſo many glaring contradictions, and inconſiſtencies, that it is hardly credible, the whole piece ſhould be the work of any one man. For here any tolerably attentive reader may find Hiſtory claſhing with Hiſtory; Law deſtroying Law; and Divinity refuting Divinity, in caſes exactly parallel: A fault I will not charge upon any ſingle perſon, till I am convinced that a too favourable opinion of Gentlemen, and men of letters, led me into a miſtake.' But it is now known that the real Author of the book was one Mr. *Harbin* a Nonjuring Cleryman, who died the laſt year 1744.

(2) The firſt intitled, *Reaſons againſt the Succeſſion of the Houſe of* Hanover, *with an inquiry, how far the abdication of King* James, *ſuppoſing it to be legal, ought to affect the perſon of the Pretender:* The ſecond intitled, *And what if the Pretender ſhould come? Or ſome conſiderations of the advantages and real conſequences of the* Pretender's

1713. Major-General *Evans*; and the regiment of horſe of the Marquiſs of *Harwich* (ſon of the Duke of *Schomberg*) lately deceaſed, to Major-General *Syburg*. Some time before, Mr. *Richard Steele*, being choſen for the borough of *Stockbridge*, thought fit to reſign his place of one of the Commiſſioners of the Stamp-Office. About the ſame time, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Brooke* was made Dean of *St. George*'s Chapel, in the Caſtle of *Windſor*; but Dr. *Smalridge*, being named to ſucceed the Lord Privy-Seal as Biſhop of *Briſtol*, declined that offer.

On the 18th of *October*, the Parliament was, by proclamation, further prorogued from the 12th of *November* to the 10th of *December*, which was occaſioned by the Queen's illneſs, and the conteſts among the Miniſters. It was then ſtrongly reported, that, the Lord *Bolingbroke*, Mr. Secretary *Bromley*, and Sir *William Wyndham* (who, on the 1ſt of *November*, was made a Privy-Counſellor) having gained the aſcendant, the Lord-Treaſurer entertained thoughts of retirement. And, indeed, the Author of the paper, called *the Examiner*, thought fit, about the middle of *November*, to prepare the minds of the people for an approaching change in the Miniſtry (1). But what appeared more ſurprizing, was the ludicrous ſtile, in which the ſame Author, who was the mouth of thoſe in power, ſpoke of the Queen's indiſpoſition, and of the Succeſſion in caſe of a demiſe (2).

Whilſt things were in this dangerous ſituation, Mr. *Steele* publiſhed his *Criſis, or a diſcourſe, repreſenting, from the moſt authentic records, the juſt cauſes of the late happy Revolution, and the ſeveral Settlements of the Crowns of* England *and* Scotland *on her Majeſty; and, on her demiſe without iſſue, upon the moſt illuſtrious Princeſs* Sophia, *Electreſs and Ducheſs-Dowager of* Hanover, *and the Heirs of her body being Proteſtants; by previous acts of both Parliaments of the late Kingdoms of* England *and* Scotland; *and confirmed by the Parliament of* Great-Britain: *With ſome remarks on the danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor.* The deſign of this piece was firſt ſuggeſted to Mr. *Steele*, by Mr. *Moor* of the *Inner-Temple*; and the work itſelf paſſed through the hands of Mr. *Addiſon*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and Mr. *Hoadley*. And it was ſo well received by the public, that many were confirmed by it in their affection to the Proteſtant Succeſſion. 1713.

Some time before, the Earl of *Peterborough* ſet out on his ambaſſy to the King of *Sicily*; and, as he took *Paris* in his way, it was given out, that he was charged to intercede with the *French* King in favour of the *Catalans*, who, formerly, upon his promiſes of the Queen's firm protection, had declared for King *Charles* the Third; and who, though abandoned, ſeemed now reſolved to defend their liberties to the laſt extremity.

Account of the Queen's illneſs.

All this while the Queen continued in a very dangerous ſtate of health at *Windſor*; of which various accounts were ſpread abroad; but the truth

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Pretender's poſſeſſing the Crown of Great-Britain. And the third called, *An anſwer to the queſtion, that no body thinks of*, viz. *What if the Queen ſhould die?* The preamble to the patent of pardon ſet forth, that *Daniel de Foe* had by his humble petition repreſented to her Majeſty, 'That he, with a ſincere deſign to propagate the intereſt of the Houſe of *Hanover*, and to animate the people againſt the deſigns of the Pretender, whom he always looked on as an enemy to her Majeſty's ſacred Perſon and Government, did publiſh the ſaid pamphlets; in all which books, although the titles ſeemed to look as if written in favour of the Pretender, and ſeveral expreſſions, as in all ironical writings it muſt be, might be wreſted againſt the true deſign of the whole, and turned to a meaning quite different from the intention of the Author; yet he had humbly aſſured her Majeſty in the ſolemneſt manner, that his true and only deſign, in all the ſaid books, was, by an ironical diſcourſe of recommending the Pretender, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt forcible manner to expoſe his deſigns, and the ruinous conſequences of his ſucceeding therein; which will appear by the books themſelves, where the following expreſſions are very plain, *viz.* that the Pretender is recommended *as a perſon proper to amaſs the* Engliſh *Liberties into his own Sovereignty; ſupply them with the privileges of wearing Wooden Shoes; caſing them of the trouble of chooſing Parliaments, and the Nobility and Gentry of the hazard and expence of winter journies, by governing them in that more righteous method of his abſolute will, and inforcing the laws by a glorious Standing Army; paying all the Nation's debts at once by ſtopping the Funds, and ſhutting up the* Exchequer; *caſing and quieting their differences in religion, by bringing them to the Union of Popery, or leaving them at liberty to have no religion at all.* Daniel de Foe's *Appeal to honour and juſtice*, p. 33.

(1) In the *Examiner* of *November* the 16th, the Author ſuggeſts, 'That in a Conſtitution, which hangs together by ſo many minute parts, and which depends upon ſuch variety of wheels and motions, where power and freedom are in a perpetual flux and reflux, we muſt of neceſſity be liable to turns and contingencies —— That this uncertainty is redoubled, wherever ſtriſe and contention are let looſe in a Nation, where factions rage and worry one another; and even the Government itſelf is treated as a party—— Thus, under theſe circumſtances, a Miniſtry is obliged to act in another capacity than that, which properly belongs to them. They muſt ſometimes act like *military* as well as *civil* Officers; draw forth their forces, and appear at the head of ſquadrons and battalions, whenever *faction* takes the field, and declares open war againſt them. There wants but very little of bringing things, as they now ſtand, to this deplorable criſis——That the poſſeſſion of power, under theſe difficulties, is almoſt as great an uncertainty, as the fortune of war, and ſtands expoſed to as many turns and croſs accidents——And that theſe conſiderations amount to a full proof, that the beſt of Patriots are more expoſed to mortality, as Miniſters of State, than as men, *&c.*

(2) The Examiner of *January* the 8th, 1713-14, contains what follows:

'According to the beſt advices ſent us by the Whigs, and their Oracles, the demiſe of the Crown happened upon *Thurſday* the 24th of *December*, being *Chriſtmas-Eve*, at four of the clock in the morning, in the year 1713. All ages, ranks, ſexes, and orders of men, at firſt hearing of the ill news, were affected with the deepeſt ſorrow; and a general panic ran through the whole Kingdom. For a long time, we were diſtracted and inconſolable; in the utmoſt horror and confuſion, upon the loſs of our moſt excellent Queen, who then became immortal: But theſe black clouds were ſoon diſperſed, our fears and jealouſies vaniſhed, and we revived from a deplorable ſtate of grief and miſery, at the firſt joyful tidings of the happy acceſſion of her moſt ſacred Majeſty Queen *Anne* the Second (whom God long preſerve) to the Throne of her anceſtors: The nature of our monarchy being ſuch, that, immediately after the death of the perſon in poſſeſſion, the Crown, by Right of Inheritance, deſcends to the next Heir, without any previous formalities and conditions, or admitting ſo much as the leaſt vacancy, or *Interregnum*, &c.

(1) The

1713. truth was thus, as repreſented by Dr. *Shadwell*, in his letters to the Duke and Ducheſs of *Shrewsbury*: 'On *Wedneſday* the 23d of *December*, her Majeſty was very uneaſy all night with the Gout in her foot. The next morning it went intirely off, and ſhe ſaid ſhe was well. But, about one o'clock that day, ſhe complained of a pain in her thigh, and was ſeized with a violent ſhivering, which laſted above two hours. Extreme heat followed, with intenſe thirſt, great anxiety, reſtleſneſs, and inquietude. The pulſe was full, hard, and quick; which Dr. *Shadwell* finding, the next day, he very much preſſed bleeding, urging, it would probably carry off a good part of the Fever, and bring a fit of the Gout; but it was not agreed to; and theſe ſymptoms continued till *Saturday* morning, when her Majeſty fell aſleep, waked refreſhed, and on *Sunday* morning there was a perfect intermiſſion of the ſymptoms; but the pulſe, in Dr. *Shadwell*'s opinion, was not quiet. The next night, about twelve, ſhe was attacked with an exacerbation of the Fever, which laſted all the *Monday* till midnight. Moſt of the Queen's Phyſicians, judging her diſtemper to be an Ague, propoſed and preſſed the giving her the Jeſuits-Bark; but, though this was warmly oppoſed by Dr. *Shadwell*, yet the Phyſician, that watched that night, gave it, ſaying, he found the pulſe calm. No exacerbation appeared after this: But nevertheleſs Dr. *Shadwell* ſtill declared, he did not like the pulſe: That there was no perfect intermiſſion of the Fever; but that the pulſe was at work, to ſeparate the morbific matter into the Gout, or ſome worſe ſhape. The pains of the thigh increaſing, till three or four doſes of the Bark were given, Dr. *Shadwell* laid a ſtreſs upon having that part examined; but the other Phyſicians called it a fit of the Gout. Dr. *Shadwell* anſwered, it could not properly be called ſo in the muſcles; and being of opinion, that this was an inflammatory Fever from the tranſlation of the Gout, and not a common Ague or intermitting Fever; and finding, that, after thirty-nine hours continuance, there was a perfect remiſſion, but no intermiſſion, he made a prognoſtic, that, unleſs the feveriſh matter were ſeparated and thrown off into a ſmart fit of the Gout, a worſe ſymptom might happen; as its falling into the thigh, and fixing into an eryſepelous tumour. This opinion was juſtified by a ſevere fit of the Gout, that came upon her Majeſty a few days after, and gave ſome hopes of her intire recovery.'

While the Queen was in this uncertain ſtate of health, the minds of the ſeveral parties were variouſly agitated. The friends of the Pretender believed, that all things were preparing for his Reſtoration; and, on the other hand, the alarm of the well-affected to the *Hanover* Succeſſion was not a little increaſed upon the news, that a ſquadron of fourteen men of war was fitting out in the ports of *France*; and that they were to take on board twelve or fourteen thouſand land-men. The public funds fell gradually from the beginning till the end of *January*; when ſuch a panic ſeized on a ſudden the monied men, that there was a great run upon the Jan. 29. Bank for ſome Days. The Directors ſent four of their Members, to the Lord-Treaſurer, to repreſent the dangers, which threatened the public credit, and to deſire his advice and aſſiſtance. The Treaſurer received this application very favourably; endeavoured to diſpel their fears; and promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſupport the Bank in this exigency. The doubts, which were ſtill entertained about the Queen's health, being one of the chief occaſions of the public alarm, ſhe, by the advice of her Miniſters, wrote the following letter to Sir *Samuel Stanier*, Lord-Mayor of *London*: 1713

ANNE *R.*

"Right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Although an aguiſh indiſpoſition ſucceeded by a fit of the Gout has detained us at this place longer than we deſigned; yet, ſince it has pleaſed Almighty God to reſtore us to ſuch a degree of health, that we hope to be able ſoon to return to our uſual reſidence, we continue determined to open our Parliament on *Tueſday* the 16th of this inſtant *February*, according to the notice given by Proclamation. Thus much we have judged proper to communicate to you, and by you to the Court of Aldermen, and to our loving Subjects of our good City of *London*, to the intent that you may all, in your ſeveral ſtations, contribute to diſcountenance and put a ſtop to thoſe malicious rumours, ſpread by evil-minded perſons, to the prejudice of credit, and to the eminent hazard of the public peace and tranquillity. And ſo we bid you farewell." *The Queen's letter to the Lord Mayor.*

Given at our Caſtle at *Windſor*, the firſt day of *February* 1713, in the twelfth year of our reign.

By her Majeſty's command,

BOLINGBROKE.

This letter, and the news, which, at the ſame time, came from *Holland*, That the troops, which had been reported to be aſſembled in the *Bologneſe*, were mere chimera's, and that the Pretender continued in *Lorrain*, diſpelled the fears of the generality, and ſoon put a ſtop to the run upon the Bank (1). While the Nation was in this ferment, and under various apprehenſions, there was publiſhed a remarkable pamphlet, intitled, *The art of reſtoring; or the piety and probity of General* Monk, *in bringing about the laſt Reſtoration, evinced from his own authentic letters: With a juſt account of Sir* Roger, *who runs the parallel as far as he can: In a letter to a Miniſter of State at the Court of* Vienna. This piece was levelled againſt the Treaſurer, and contributed the more to render him obnoxious to the friends of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, when it was known to be the performance of Mr. *Toland*, a perſon formerly intruſted and employed by that Miniſter. To remove theſe ſuſpicions, the Treaſurer thought fit to have the reputed Author of the late treatiſe, aſſerting *hereditary right*, brought to his trial; and *Bedford* being found *A pamphlet called the Art of reſtoring.*

(1) The Directors, however, were obliged to call in, twice, twenty *per cent.* upon the ſubſcription for circulating *Exchequer* bills.

13. found guilty of publiſhing that book, he was ſentenced, 'To pay a fine of a thouſand marks; to be committed to the *Queen's-Bench* priſon, till he paid the ſame; to remain in cuſtody there for the term of three years; to find four ſufficient ſureties, who, with him, were to be bound in a recognizance of five thouſand pounds for his good behaviour during life. He was alſo to be brought into all the Courts of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with a paper on his head denoting his offence. But, after ſentence was paſſed, an order was produced from the Government, counterſigned by a Secretary of State, directing the Judges of the *Queen's-Bench* to ſuperſede the ignominious part of the puniſhment, by reaſon of the ſacred function of the criminal; which proceeding, as Mr. *Lechmere* obſerved in a ſpeech, 'could bear no other conſtruction, than as a licenſe and protection to men in holy orders, to propagate that deſtructive poſition with impunity; and the character of the perſon, which ought in juſtice to have aggravated his guilt, and heightened his puniſhment, became his indemnity againſt the reproach of it, even by the authority of the Government itſelf, againſt which that treatiſe was levelled. This indulgence appeared the more glaring, conſidering what ſeverities were, at the ſame time, exerciſed againſt thoſe perſons, who had courage enough to aſſert the intereſt of their Country, and of the Proteſtant Succeſſion.'

During theſe tranſactions at home, the treaty of Peace between *Great-Britain* and *Spain* had been ſigned on the 13th of *July* 1713, *N. S.* but the treaty of Commerce was not concluded till the 28th of *November*, *O. S.* In the mean time the Emperor choſe rather to make a bold ſtand againſt the whole power of *France*, than to accept the conditions impoſed upon him by that Crown. But the loſs of *Landau* and *Friburg*, after two memorable ſieges, inclined him to hearken to overtures of peace, made him on the part of *France*, by the Electors of *Cologne* and *Palatine*.

The conferences held at *Radſtadt* towards a treaty between Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* and the Marſhal *de Villars* were managed with ſuch ſecrecy, as gave no ſmall uneaſineſs to the two maritime powers, and was generally looked upon as a ſlight upon *Great-Britain*. The Earl of *Strafford*, who ſtill continued at the *Hague*, was ordered to confer upon it with the Deputies of the *States*, to whom he made a long harangue. The ſubſtance of what he ſaid will be plainly ſeen, in the anſwer returned by the *States* a few days after to the Earl of *Strafford*: 'They thanked him for the aſſurances of friendſhip he gave them on the part of her Majeſty of *Great-Britain*, and offered to concert with her the meaſures proper to be taken for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, eſpecially in the Empire, and for procuring the abolition of the clauſe of the fourth article of the peace of *Ryſwick*. As to the apprehenſion of a new war in *Italy*, the *States* hoped, that, by the peace of *Radſtadt*, the Emperor and the King of *France* had provided for the tranquillity of that Country; and that they had likewiſe regulated the affairs relating to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to *Sicily*; for this reaſon, and becauſe the conditions of that peace were not yet known to them, they could not, at preſent, enter into deliberation with the Earl of *Strafford* upon thoſe matters. That, as to the treaty with *Spain*, the *States* had the regards they ought to her Majeſty's recommendations, for the intereſts of the Princeſs *Urſini*; but that they had given ſuch good reaſons, why they could not agree in a guarantee, that the King of *France*, and even the King of *Spain*, had acquieſced in them. That, for this reaſon, the *States* promiſed themſelves, from the Queen's goodneſs and equity, that ſhe would not inſiſt upon a thing, which even the King of *Spain* himſelf had let drop. That, as to the affairs of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, the *States* would always be ready to confer with the Earl of *Strafford* on the points relating to the intereſts of thoſe Countries. As to the town of *Oſtend* in particular, they declared, that they would withdraw their troops from thence, and deliver it into the hands of *Walloon* troops, as ſoon as *Dunkirk* ſhould be demoliſhed; provided, at the ſame time they were put into poſſeſſion of the Caſtle of *Ghent*, as by the treaty of Barrier they ought: But that the *States* were abſolutely of opinion, it would be proper to communicate theſe things to the Emperor, and to act in concert with him, it not being to be doubted, that the *Spaniſh Netherlands* were yielded to him by the peace of *Radſtadt*. That they were extremely glad of the declarations her Majeſty had cauſed to be made to them, of her willingneſs to withdraw her troops from the Caſtle of *Ghent*; as alſo from *Bruges* and *Newport*; and to aſſiſt the *States* in recovering from *Brabant* the million, which by the treaty of Barrier they ought to have from that province: But as to the conditions, which were added to that declaration, the *States* expected from her equity and affection, that it would not be her intention, that the effect of theſe things ſhould be made dependent on ſome conditions, which were not expreſſed in the treaty of Barrier; and that, on the contrary, ſhe would be pleaſed to look upon that treaty as a meaſure and a rule, as the *States* did on their part; and that ſhe would not join the execution of it to conditions, which are new and foreign to that treaty. That they had a common intereſt with the Queen in ſecuring the freedom of commerce in the *Baltick*: That they were not yet in a condition to take a poſitive reſolution thereupon; but, when they were, they would confer about it with the Earl of *Strafford*.' 1713.

The Earl was very buſy in negotiating with the Miniſters of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, or Deputations from the Proteſtants, to aſſiſt at the Congreſs at *Baden* in *Swiſſerland*, for concluding a peace between the Emperor and *France*, purſuant to the reſolution taken at *Radſtadt*. But it was generally ſuſpected, that this proceeding of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry was rather to perplex the Emperor, than to favour the Proteſtants; and therefore, when the Earl of *Strafford* declared to the Miniſters of the Proteſtant Electors and Princes of the Empire, 'That the Queen, his Miſtreſs, had received the letter, which the Proteſtant body had written to her from *Augſburg*, touching the clauſe of the fourth article of the treaty of *Ryſwick*: That her Majeſty would ſpeedily return a favourable anſwer to it; and that ſhe reſolved to ſend a Miniſter to the Congreſs at *Baden*, whither ſhe deſired the *States General* and the Proteſtant States of the Empire to ſend their's:' The *States* anſwered, 'That, the Empire having referred it to his Im-

1713. perial Majeſty to conclude the peace, it was believed, the Electors and Princes would not ſend any Miniſters thither; and, for that reaſon, they did not think it proper to ſend any on their part.' It ſeems, the *States* had been given to underſtand, that the Emperor would not admit any Miniſter from the Queen of *Great-Britain* (though ſhe had appointed Mr. *Charles Whitworth* for that purpoſe) nor from them, that there might be no diſtinction.

On the other hand, the Emperor, to ſhew his reſentment of the Negotiation at *Utrecht*, not only reſolved to conclude his treaty with *France*, without the intervention of the maritime powers; but, as a further mortification to *Great-Britain*, Baron *Heems* declared to the *States-Deputies*, 'That his Imperial Majeſty was diſpoſed to treat with the *States*, concerning a barrier in the *Netherlands*: That the treaty might be prepared and brought to ſome maturity at the *Hague*; but that the Emperor would be glad to have it concluded at *Vienna*, whither the *States* were deſired to ſend a Miniſter: And that *Oſtend* might not be alienated from the *Netherlands*.' The *States-Deputies* having acquainted the Earl of *Strafford* with this declaration, he expreſſed his great ſurprize at it, and told them, 'He was obliged to inform them, that the *States* were guarantees of the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line, as well as the Queen was guarantee of the Barrier in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and that the Proteſtant Succeſſion ſhould ſtand good, and have effect, as it ſhould come in order; but that ſhe would never ſuffer any laws to be preſcribed or impoſed upon her on that account: That the Queen, as well as the *States*, was intereſted in the affair of the barrier; and therefore no ſtep ought to be taken in it, without acting in concert with her: That he had orders to declare, in the name of the Queen, that the treating and concluding on the barrier at *Vienna* ſeemed to be propoſed, with intention only to exclude her from the Negotiations about it: That, in ſuch a caſe, ſhe would forthwith renounce all engagements with the Republic; for that ſhe abſolutely inſiſted upon ſending a Miniſter likewiſe thither, for the reaſons before-mentioned: That ſhe had ſent to the King of *France* for an explanation, touching the exchanging ſome places in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, according to the treaty of *Radſtadt*, and had received for anſwer, that the King of *France* would not concern himſelf therein: That, as to what Baron *Heems* had mentioned in relation to *Oſtend*, he, the Earl of *Strafford*, declared, he was content with it; but earneſtly deſired, that the *States* would not ſend to *Vienna*, nor do any thing in this Negotiation, but in concert with her Majeſty: Adding once more, that, purſuant to his orders, he muſt declare, that ſhe would look upon ſuch a proceeding as a formed deſign to diſſolve all engagements now ſubſiſting between Her and the *States*.' Had the *Dutch* been as warm as the *Britiſh* Miniſters, and taken them at their word, the conſequences muſt have been fatal to both: But the matter was accommodated afterwards. The Earl of *Strafford* endeavoured to draw to the *Hague* the Negotiation of peace in the North; and engaged the Court of *France*, by Monſieur *de Chateauneuf*, their Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, to offer their mediation for that purpoſe to the Northern Allies. But, the King of *Pruſſia* having cauſed the King of *Poland* to be ſounded, whether he was inclined to enter into the engagement, Baron *Sparre* and the Count *de Rottenburg* had propoſed at the *Hague*, on the part of *France*, his *Poliſh* Majeſty ſignified, that he could never have any ſuch thoughts, for it could never be his intereſt to ſeparate himſelf from his Allies.

By this time the Earl of *Strafford*, and indeed all the Miniſters at the *Hague* were more attentive to the tranſactions in *Great-Britain*, than to any thing, that paſſed on the *Continent*. The Queen, upon her recovery, being informed of the death of Dr. *Sharp*, Archbiſhop of *York*, named Sir *William Dawes* to that metropolitan See, which had been ſtrongly ſollicited by Biſhop *Atterbury*. At the ſame time, Dr. *Smalridge* was made Biſhop of *Briſtol*, and Lord Almoner to the Queen; and Dr. *Gaſtrell*, Preacher at *Lincoln's Inn*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, in the room of Sir *William Dawes*. The ſecond troop of horſe grenadier guards, vacant by the death of the Earl of *Crawford*, was given to the young Earl *Mariſchal*, a *Scots* Peer of known zeal for the Jacobite cauſe.

On the 6th of *February*, being the anniverſary of the Queen's Birth-Day, it was celebrated with great ſolemnity; and the Whigs, particularly the *Hanover Club*, took this occaſion to ſignalize their zeal and affection for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, by cauſing the effigies of the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender to be carried in proceſſion from *Charing-Croſs* to the *Royal-Exchange*, and ſo back to *Charing-Croſs*, where they were burnt. Three drummers of the foot-guards attending the proceſſion, and having, contrary to the rites of the City, beat their drums there, were ſeized, and committed to *Newgate* by warrant of the Lord-Mayor. Some endeavoured to repreſent this proceſſion as a formed plot againſt the Government; but, the Miniſtry not thinking proper to take notice of the affair, the drummers were diſcharged.

Whatever profeſſions of affection to the Proteſtant Succeſſion were made by ſome of the Miniſters, it was obvious, that every ſtep, others took in favour of *France*, was alſo in favour of the Pretender. The Treaſurer, during the Queen's illneſs, endeavoured to perſuade her to ſend the Duke of *Kent* to *Hanover*, with a public character. But the Duke declined the employment, unleſs he was impowered to offer more real ſecurities than fair words and promiſes. However, Mr. *Harley*, Couſin to the Treaſurer, went from the *Hague* to the Court of *Hanover*, about the middle of *February*, accompanied by Secretary *Bromley*'s ſon, Mr. *Creſſet*, and Mr. *Winnington*.

The Queen, on the 16th of *February*, removed from *Windſor* to *Hampton-Court*, and next day came to *St. James*'s. The day before, the new Parliament met, and the Lord *Scudamore* propoſed Sir *Thomas Hanmer* for Speaker, and was ſeconded by three or four other Members, particularly by Mr. *Steele*, who obſerved, 'That, at the cloſe of the laſt Parliament, her Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to declare from the Throne, that the late rejected *bill of Commerce* between *Great-Britain* and *France* ſhould be offered to this Houſe. That this declaration was certainly made, that every Gentleman, who ſhould have the honour to be returned to Parliament, might make himſelf maſter of that important queſtion. That it is a demonſtration, that

that was a moſt pernicious bill; and therefore no man could have a greater merit to this Houſe, than his, by whoſe weight and authority that pernicious bill was thrown out. That he roſe up to do Sir *Thomas Hanmer* honour, and diſtinguiſh himſelf by giving that Gentleman his vote for that his ineſtimable ſervice to his Country.' At Mr. *Steele*'s mentioning the *bill of Commerce*, the clamour againſt him began; at calling it *pernicious*, it increaſed; and at the words, *doing him honour*, it grew inſupportably loud: By which he ſaw the temper of the Houſe with regard to himſelf. But Sir *Thomas Hanmer* was choſen without any oppoſition, and the Houſe adjourned to the 2d of *March*.

During the adjournment, the *South-Sea* Company held a General Court, in which the Directors communicated to them ſeveral papers they had prepared in concert with the Lord-Treaſurer, relating to the *Aſſiento Contract*. Several Members were extremely ſurprized at the propoſals; for, whereas they expected, that the Queen had procured the whole *Aſſiento Contract* for the Company, they now found, that one half of the clear profits were reſerved for the Queen, and the King of *Spain*, beſides ſeven and a half *per cent.* granted to *an unknown perſon*. Beſides theſe exceptions, Mr. *Milner*, a *Portugal* Merchant, declared his opinion, 'That the Company might very well ſpare the trying the experiment of a trade, by which other Nations were known to have been loſers; eſpecially upon ſuch terms, as were offered to the Company; the rather, becauſe the trade would be precarious, and at the mercy of the late reconciled enemies.' He was ſupported by other Merchants, ſo that *Arthur Moore*, who ſpoke in behalf of this trade, could not make many proſelytes to his opinion. The reſult of this Aſſembly was an order for the printing of the papers laid before them, in order to their being further conſidered in another general Court. This ſecond meeting was very numerous; and after the reading of the papers, ſeveral ſpeeches were made for and againſt the accepting the *Aſſiento Contract*, of which Mr. *Moore* and Mr. *Ward* endeavoured to ſhew the great advantages. But Mr. *Craggs*, Mr. *Newman*, Mr. *Fiſher*, and ſome other Gentlemen of great ſkill and experience in commercial affairs, maintained the contrary opinion, with ſuch force of argument, that it was thought, if the queſtion had then been put for *accepting*, or *not accepting*, it would have been carried for the latter by a great majority. But it being moved and agreed, to decide the queſtion by ballot, and the Members to have one vote for every five hundred pounds capital ſtock; what by the influence of the Directors, who were to be the managers of the trade, and who (as in all other ſocieties of this nature) were almoſt ſure to be gainers, whatever became of the reſt; what by the contrivance of Stock-Jobbers, whoſe buſineſs was to keep the public funds in perpetual fluctuation, and, in order to that, to engage Companies in dubious adventures; what by the juſt apprehenſions, the generality of the Members were under, that the rejecting of this trade would be interpreted as an affront to the Lord-Treaſurer, who might reſent it to ſuch a degree, as to grow leſs ſollicitous for the concerns of the Company, who wanted his protection for the annual proviſion of the intereſt of the capital ſtock, till the year 1716: Upon theſe, and ſome other conſiderations, it was carried by a great majority, 'That the General Court agreed with the reſolution propoſed by the Court of Directors, relating to the *Aſſiento Contract*.' 1713-14. *but agreed to at laſt.*

About the ſame time, were brought over from *Holland* the ratifications exchanged of the treaty of Commerce between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, and the Peace was proclaimed on the 1ſt of *March*. The chief articles were: *France* and *Spain* were never to be united: The Proteſtant Succeſſion acknowledged, and never to be oppoſed on any pretence: Navigation and Commerce, as in the treaty of 1667: No licenſe to be given to the *French* or other Nations to introduce Negroes, or any merchandiſes, into the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *America*, except what might be agreed by the treaty of Commerce, and the privileges granted in the *Aſſiento de Negroes*; except alſo what ſhould be granted by the Catholic King, after the *Aſſiento de Negroes* ſhould be determined: The *American* Dominions were not to be alienated from the Crown of *Spain*, to the *French* or other Nation: *Gibraltar* and the Iſland of *Minorca* were given up for ever to *England*: No *Moors* to come there, but on account of traffick: All the *Spaniſh* Inhabitants to enjoy their Eſtates and Religion; or to ſell their eſtates and retire: The *South-Sea* Company to have the privilege, incluſive of others, to introduce Negroes into ſeveral parts of *America* for thirty years, beginning from 1713, in the ſame manner as enjoyed by the *French*: The *Catalans* to have a full pardon, with the poſſeſſion of all their privileges, eſtates, and honours, and likewiſe the ſame privileges with the Inhabitants of both *Caſtiles*: *Sicily* was yielded to the Duke of *Savoy*, but to return to *Spain*, in caſe of no heirs. By two ſeparate articles, the Queen promiſed to perſiſt in the meaſures, by which ſhe had taken care, that no other part of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſhould be torn from it: And obliged herſelf to procure the Princeſs *Urſini* to be put into poſſeſſion of *Limburg*, or ſome other country in the *Netherlands*, which ſhould produce thirty thouſand crowns a year, purſuant to a grant from King *Philip*, *September* 28, 1711. *Peace with Spain proclaimed.*

The day after the publication of this peace, the Queen went in a chair to the Houſe of Lords (the Parliament having been opened by Commiſſion) and made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's ſpeech to both Houſes. March 2. Pr. H. C.

" I Have much ſatisfaction in being able, at " the opening of this Parliament, to tell " you, that the ratifications of the treaties of " Peace and of Commerce with *Spain* are ex- " changed, by which my ſubjects will have " greater opportunities than ever to improve and " extend their trade. Many advantages, for- " merly enjoyed by connivance, and procured " by ſuch methods, as made a diſtinction be- " tween one *Britiſh* Merchant and another, are " now ſettled by treaty, and an equal rule is " eſtabliſhed.

" It has pleaſed God to bleſs my endeavours " to obtain an honourable and advantageous " peace for my own People, and for the great- " eſt part of my Allies. Nothing, which I can " do, ſhall be wanting to render it univerſal; " and I perſuade myſelf, that, with your hearty " concurrence, my interpoſition may at laſt

" prove

1713-14. " prove effectual to compleat the Settlement of " *Europe*.

" In the mean while, I congratulate with my " own ſubjects, that they are delivered from a " conſuming land-war, and entered on a peace, " the good effects whereof nothing but inteſtine " diviſions can obſtruct.

" It was the glory of the wiſeſt and greateſt " of my Predeceſſors to hold the balance of " *Europe*, and to keep it equal, by caſting in " their weight as neceſſity required. By this " conduct they inriched the Kingdom, and " rendered themſelves dreadful to their enemies, " and uſeful to their friends. I have proceeded " on the ſame principle, and I doubt not but " my Succeſſors will follow theſe examples.

" Our ſituation points out to us our true in- " tereſt; for this Country can flouriſh only by " trade, and will be moſt formidable by the " right application of our naval force.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I have ordered ſuch accounts to be prepared " and laid before you, as will ſhew you, at the " concluſion of the war, the true ſtate of your " condition, whereby you will be better able " to judge what aids are neceſſary: And I only " aſk of you Supplies for the current ſervice of " the year, and for the diſcharge of ſuch debts, " as you ſhall find, on examination, to be juſt " and reaſonable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The joy, which has been generally expreſ- " ſed on my recovery from my late indiſpoſiti- " on, and on my coming to this City, I eſteem " as a return to that tender affection which I " have always had for my people.

" I wiſh that effectual care had been taken, " as I have often deſired, to ſuppreſs thoſe ſe- " ditious papers and factious rumours, by which " deſigning men have been able to ſink credit, " and the innocent have ſuffered.

" There are ſome, who are arrived to that " height of malice, as to inſinuate, that the " Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hano-* " *ver* is in danger under my Government.

" Thoſe, who go about thus to diſtract the " minds of men with imaginary dangers, can " only mean to diſturb the preſent tranquillity, " and bring real miſchief upon us.

" After all I have done to ſecure our religion " and your liberties, and to tranſmit both ſafe to " poſterity, I cannot mention theſe proceedings " without ſome degree of warmth; and I muſt " hope you will all agree with me, that at- " tempts to weaken my authority, or to render " the poſſeſſion of the Crown uneaſy to me, can " never be proper means to ſtrengthen the Pro- " teſtant Succeſſion.

" I have done, and ſhall continue to do my " beſt for the good of all my ſubjects. Let it " be your endeavour, as it ſhall be mine, to " unite our differences, not by relaxing from the " ſtricteſt adherence to our Conſtitution in " Church and State, but by obſerving the laws " yourſelves, and inforcing a due obedience to " them in others.

" A long war has not only impoveriſhed the " public (however ſome particular men have " been gainers by it) but has alſo greatly af- " fected Government itſelf. 1713-14.

" Let it be your care ſo to improve the pre- " ſent opportunity, as to lay the foundation of " recovering from thoſe diſorders.

" I had the concurrence of the laſt Parliament " in making the peace. Let it be the honour " of this to aſſiſt me in obtaining ſuch fruits " from it, as may not only derive bleſſings on " the preſent age, but even down to the lateſt " poſterity."

It is obſervable, though the Queen ſaid in her ſpeech, that ſhe was perſuaded her interpoſitions might at laſt prove effectual, and compleat the Settlement of *Europe*, the Emperor, then in treaty with *France*, would not let her know any thing of what was tranſacted, or have the leaſt communication with her to the laſt hour of her life. But, how diſſonant ſoever the Queen's ſpeech was in ſeveral particulars, both Lords and Commoners fell in for the moſt part with it; and, after ſhe had thanked the Lords for their affectionate addreſs, ſhe added, 'That they, who were neareſt the Throne, would firſt of her ſubjects feel the evil conſequences of any diminution of the regal authority; that it was a comfort to her ſhe had the aſſurance of their ſupport; and they might depend upon it, ſhe would never give way to the leaſt attempt on the juſt authorities of the Crown, or any of their rights and privileges.' *The Lords address thanks.* March 9.

The Commons likewiſe reſolved on an addreſs without oppoſition, only Sir *Peter King*, Recorder of *London*, ſuggeſted, 'That they ought not to act by a ſpirit of Divination, and return thanks for the treaty of Commerce with *Spain*, before they knew, whether the ſame was advantageous, or not: Which occaſioned ſome modifications in the addreſs with reſpect to that head. The next day the Convocation (which had met with the Parliament, and choſen Dr. *Stanhope*, Prolocutor, complimented the Queen in a joint addreſs *on her recovery, and happy return to her royal City in health and ſafety:* Concluding with their wiſhes, 'That, after a long and happy reign, ſhe might be able to tranſmit the protection of this Church and State to a Proteſtant Succeſſor in the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, which her Majeſty, to the great ſatisfaction and comfort of all her faithful and good ſubjects, had ſo often declared to be at her Royal heart.' Notwithſtanding this, and the angry expreſſions in the Queen's ſpeech, the fears and jealouſies of the well-affected to the *Hanover* Succeſſion were rather increaſed than removed, who, from the daily diſcouragements and even inſults they met with, could not but conclude that Succeſſion to be in danger. *The Commons address.* March 9.

The Earl of *Wharton* made a complaint in the Houſe of Lords againſt a libel, intitled, *The public ſpirit of the Whigs ſet forth in their generous encouragement of the Author of the* Criſis. This libel (which was fathered upon Dr. *Swift* and Lord *Bolingbroke*) was written in the ludicrous and ſarcaſtic ſtrains of *the Tale of a Tub*. After ſome ſcurrilous reflections on Mr. *Steele*, and occaſionally on the Earl of *Nottingham*, with ſome jeſts on the *implicit munificence* of the Subſcribers to the *Criſis:* The Author attacks the *Union*, reflects on the whole *Scots* Nation, and, without reſerve, inſults the Duke of *Argyle*, who

who of late had broken all meaſures with the Miniſtry (1). This piece was generally looked upon as very impolitic and ill-timed; ſince the ſixteen *Scots* Peers, who ſate in the Houſe of Lords, and who (at leaſt there) were the principal ſupport of thoſe at the Helm, were involved in the general reflections on the *Scots* Nation. The Eatl of *Wharton*'s complaint againſt this libel being warmly eſpouſed by the majority of the Peers, the Lord-Treaſurer proteſted he knew nothing of it; exclaimed againſt the malicious inſinuations contained in it; and readily joined with the Houſe, in an order for committing *John Morphew*, the Publiſher, to the cuſtody of the Black-Rod. *Morphew*, upon his examination, having declared, that an unknown Porter had brought to his houſe the copies of the pamphlet in queſtion, from the houſe of *John Barber*, Printer of the *Gazette*, and of the Votes of the Houſe of Commons, *Barber* was alſo ordered into cuſtody, and both he and *Morphew* were, ſeverally, examined at the bar of the Houſe of Lords. *Morphew* ſtood to his former declaration, and owned the publiſhing and ſelling of that libel; but *Barber* ſaid, he knew nothing of it, and inſiſted 'not to anſwer any queſtions, the anſwer to which might tend to accuſe himſelf, or to corroborate the accuſation againſt him.' Being both withdrawn, the Earl of *Wharton* ſaid, 'They had nothing to do either with the Publiſher or Printer; but that it highly concerned the honour of that Auguſt Aſſembly, to find out *the Villain*, who was the Author of that *falſe and ſcandalous libel*, in order to do to the *Scots* Nation juſtice:' And moved, 'That, in order to that diſcovery, *Barber* might be again examined the next day, together with his Journeymen and Servants.' This was readily agreed to; but, the next day, the Earl of *Mar*, one of the Secretaries of State, acquainted the Houſe, that, purſuant to the Queen's commands, he had directed *John Barber* to be proſecuted. The Earl of *Wharton* deſired to know, upon what evidence they deſigned to proceed againſt him? But the Earl of *Mar* replied, That he wondered, ſuch a queſtion ſhould be put to a Secretary of State, who was known to be under an oath of ſecrecy: And this put a ſtop to all further enquiries about *Barber*'s affair, in a Parliamentary way. Three days after, *Barber* and *Morphew* were, upon their petition, inlarged from the cuſtody of the Black-Rod. However, the Lords reſolved upon an addreſs, reciting the ſteps they had taken in this affair; notwithſtanding which, 'they had not been able to diſcover the Author of the libel, which they conceived to be a falſe, malicious, and factious libel, highly diſhonourable and ſcandalous to her Majeſty's ſubjects of *Scotland*, tending to the deſtruction of the Conſtitution, and (by making falſe and unjuſt reflections upon the Union, and the ſteps and motives to it) moſt injurious to her Majeſty, who had been pleaſed often to declare from the Throne, that the Union of the two Kingdoms was the peculiar happineſs of her Reign, in making a full proviſion for the peace and quiet of her people, and the ſecurity of their Religion, by ſo firm an eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Succeſſion throughout *Great-Britain*. That nothing therefore might be wanting on their parts towards the diſcovering and puniſhing ſo *great a Criminal*, they humbly beſought her Majeſty to iſſue her Royal proclamation, with a reward to any perſon, who ſhould diſcover the Author.' Accordingly, the ſame day, a proclamation was publiſhed, with a reward of three hundred pounds. But, nevertheleſs, Dr. *Swift*, the reputed Author, remained undiſcovered to the public, though, at the ſame time, notwithſtanding the indecency of his character

1713-14.

(1) The paſſage that gave moſt offence to the Lords was as follows:

'This work (the Union of the two Kingdoms) was unſucceſsfully attempted by ſeveral of her Majeſty's Predeceſſors, though I do not remember it was ever thought on by any, except King *James* the Firſt, and the late King *William*. I have read indeed that ſome ſmall overtures were made by the former of theſe Princes towards an union between the two Kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the *Engliſh*. And the Hiſtorian tells, that, how degenerate and corrupt ſoever the Court and Parliament then were, they would not give ear to ſo infamous a propoſal. I do not find, that any of the ſucceeding Princes before the *Revolution* ever reſumed the deſign; becauſe it was a project, for which there could not poſſibly be aſſigned the leaſt reaſon or neceſſity. For I defy any mortal to name one ſingle advantage, that *England* could ever expect from ſuch an Union. But, towards the end of the late King's reign, upon an apprehenſion of the want of iſſue from him, or the Princeſs *Anne*, a propoſition for uniting both Kingdoms was begun, becauſe *Scotland* had not ſettled their Crown upon the Houſe of *Hanover*, but left themſelves at large, in hopes to make their advantage. And it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the iſland, inhabited by a *poor, fierce Northern People*, at liberty to put themſelves under a different King. However, the oppoſition to this work was ſo great, that it could not be overcome until ſome time after her preſent Majeſty came to the Crown, when, by the weakneſs or corruption of a certain Miniſter ſince dead, an Act of Parliament was obtained for the *Scots*, which gave them leave to arm themſelves; and ſo the Union became neceſſary, not for any actual good it could poſſibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and at the ſame time ſave an obnoxious Miniſter's head, who was ſo wiſe, as to take the firſt opportunity of procuring a general pardon by Act of Parliament, becauſe he could not with ſo much decency or ſafety deſire a particular one for himſelf. Theſe facts are well enough known to the whole Kingdom. And I remember, diſcourſing above ſix years ago with the moſt conſiderable perſon * of the adverſe party, and a great promoter of the Union, he frankly owned to me, that this neceſſity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the Earl of *Godolphin*, was the only cauſe of the Union.

* *Lord* Sommers.

Therefore I am ready to grant two points to the Author of the *Criſis*: Firſt, that the Union became neceſſary for the cauſe above related; becauſe it prevented this Iſland from being governed by two Kings, which *England* would never have ſuffered; and it might probably have coſt us a war of a year or two to reduce the *Scots*. Secondly, That it would be dangerous to break this Union, at leaſt in this juncture, while there is a *Pretender* abroad, who might probably lay hold of ſuch an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the ſpirit of faction laſt ſummer among ſome People, who, having been the great promoters of the Union, and ſeveral of them the principal gainers by it, could yet proceed ſo far, as to propoſe in the Houſe of Lords, that it ſhould be diſſolved; while at the ſame time thoſe Peers, who had ever oppoſed it in the beginning, were then for preſerving it upon the reaſon I have juſt aſſigned, and which the Author of the *Criſis* hath likewiſe taken notice of.

1713-14. character as well as of his writings, he was daily careſſed by the Lord-Treaſurer, as *Barber* the Printer was by the Lord *Bolingbroke* (1).

A bill to limit the number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons. Pr. H. C. Steele's *Apol.*

The Commons, having readily voted a Supply, proceeded on controverted elections, and, coming to ſeveral reſolutions about qualifying the Members to ſerve in Parliament (2), they ordered a bill to be brought in, *for ſecuring the freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons*; which was perfected towards the end of *March*.

Steele *obnoxious to the Miniſters.*

Notwithſtanding all the care and induſtry uſed by the Court-managers in the late elections, many profeſſed enemies of the preſent Miniſters were choſen. But, of theſe, none was ſo obnoxious to the men in power as Mr. *Steele*, who, in ſeveral public writings, had arraigned the late meaſures with great boldneſs, as one, who was encouraged; and ſure to be ſupported, by the whole Whig party. It was therefore agreed by the Miniſters (how much ſoever they differed in other matters) to exert their endeavours to remove him from his ſeat in Parliament. A petition, which was lodged againſt his election, happening to be the ſeventeenth of that kind, and therefore not like to come on this Seſſion, it was reſolved to take a ſhorter way, and attack him about ſome of his late political writings. Mr. *Hungerford*, a noted Lawyer, who had been expelled the Houſe of Commons for bribery in the Reign of King *William*, moved, on the 11th of *March*, to take into conſideration that part of the Queen's ſpeech, which related to the ſuppreſſing ſeditious libels; and complained, in particular, of ſeveral ſcandalous papers lately publiſhed, under the name of *Richard Steele*, Eſq; a Member of that Houſe. He was ſeconded by Mr. Auditor *Foley*, a near relation to the Lord-Treaſurer, who ſuggeſted, 'That unleſs means were found to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, and to ſhelter thoſe, who had the honour to be in the Adminiſtration, from malicious and ſcandalous libels; they, who by their abilities are beſt qualified to ſerve their Queen and Country, would decline public offices and employments.' This was ſupported by Sir *William Wyndham*, who added, 'That ſome of Mr. *Steele*'s writings contained inſolent injurious reflections on the Queen herſelf, and were dictated by the ſpirit of rebellion.' The next day, Auditor *Harley* (the Lord-Treaſurer's brother) made a formal complaint to the Houſe againſt certain paragraphs of the three printed pamphlets, which had given moſt offence to the Court; THE ENGLISHMAN, of *January* 19; THE CRISIS; and THE LAST ENGLISHMAN, all ſaid to be written by *Richard Steele*, Eſq; which pamphlets being brought up to the table, it was ordered, that Mr. *Steele* ſhould attend in his place the next morning.

This brought a great concourſe of Members and Spectators to the Houſe; and, Mr. *Steele* attending, ſeveral paragraphs, contained in the pamphlets complained of, were read: After which, Mr. *Foley*, Mr. *Harley*, and ſome other Members, ſeverely animadverted upon the rancour and ſeditious ſpirit conſpicuous in thoſe writings. Mr. *James Craggs*, junr. ſtanding up to ſpeak in Mr. *Steele*'s behalf, he was prevented by a confuſed noiſe of ſeveral voices calling *to order*; intimating, that, according to the order of the day, Mr. *Steele* was to be heard himſelf in his place.

But when he tells us, *The* Engliſhmen *ought, in neceſſity, to be more particularly careful in preſerving this Union*, he argues like himſelf. *The late Kingdom of* Scotland (ſaith he) *had as numerous a nobility as* England, *&c.* They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the *great* and *neceſſary evils* of the Union, upon the foot it now ſtands. Their Nobility is indeed ſo numerous, that the whole *Revenues of their Country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the dignity of their titles*; and, what is infinitely worſe, they are never likely to be extinct, until the laſt period of all things, becauſe the greateſt part of them deſcend to heirs general. I imagine, a perſon of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing, ſhe was as good as her huſband, becauſe ſhe brought him as numerous a family of relations and ſervants, as ſhe found in his houſe. *Scotland* in the taxes is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty pence laid upon *England*; and the repreſentatives, they ſend to the Parliament, are about a thirteenth. Every other *Scots* Peer hath all the privileges of an *Engliſh* one, except that of ſitting in Parliament; and even precedence before all of the ſame title, that ſhall be created for the time to come. The penſions and employments poſſeſſed by the natives of that Country now among us do amount to more than the whole body of their Nobility ever ſpent at home; and all the money, they raiſe upon the public, is hardly ſufficient to defray their civil and military liſts. I could point out *ſome with great titles*, who affected to appear very vigorous for diſſolving the Union, although their whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a *Welch Juſtice of the Peace*; and have ſince gathered more money than ever any *Scotſman*, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.'

This paſſage, by reaſon of the offence it might give to the *Scots* Peers, was, a few days after the publication of the libel, cancelled and the reſt publiſhed with a new title under the pretence of a *ſecond edition*. But it was reſtored by Dr. *Swift*, in the late edition of his political tracts.

(1) Dr. *Swift*, in his advertiſement prefixed to this Pamphlet among his political Tracts, ſays, The reaſon of offering ſo ſmall a reward was, becauſe *the Queen and Miniſtry had no deſire to have the Author taken into cuſtody.*

(2) Theſe reſolutions were:

'I. That, notwithſtanding the oath taken by any candidate, on or after any election, his qualification may be afterwards examined into.

II. That the perſon, whoſe qualification is expreſly objected to, in any petition relating to his election, ſhall, within fifteen days after the petition read, give, to the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons, a paper ſigned by himſelf, containing a rental or particular of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification: Of which any perſon concerned may have a copy.

III. That, of ſuch lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereof the party hath been in poſſeſſion for three years before the election, he ſhall alſo inſert in the ſame paper, from what perſon, and by what conveyance, or act in law, he claims and derives the ſame; and alſo the conſideration, if any paid, and the names and places of abode of the witneſſes to ſuch conveyance and payment.

IV. That, if a ſitting Member ſhall think fit to queſtion the qualification of a Petitioner, he ſhall, within fifteen days after the petition read, leave notice thereof in writing with the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons; and the Petitioner ſhall, in ſuch caſe, within fifteen days after ſuch notice, leave with the ſaid Clerk of the Houſe the like account in writing of his qualification, as is required from a ſitting Member.'

BRITISH MUSEUM

RICHARD STEELE.

G. Kneller pinxit. In the Collection of Jacob Tonson Esq.r Impensis J. & P. Knapton Londini 1748.

place. Upon this, Mr. *Steele* ſaid, 'That, being attacked on ſeveral heads without any previous notice, he hoped the Houſe would allow him, at leaſt, a week's time to prepare for his defence.' Auditor *Harley* having excepted againſt ſo long a delay, and moved for adjourning this affair to the *Monday* following, Mr. *Steele*, to ridicule his two principal Proſecutors, *Foley* and *Harley*, who were known to be rigid Preſbyterians, though they now ſided with the High-Church, aſſumed their ſanctified countenance, and owned, 'in the meekneſs and contrition of his heart, that he was a very great ſinner; and hoped, the Member, who ſpoke laſt, and who was ſo juſtly renowned for his exemplary piety and devotion, would not be acceſſary to the accumulating the number of his tranſgreſſions, by obliging him to break the *Sabbath of the Lord*, by peruſing ſuch profane writings, as might ſerve for his juſtification.' This ſpeech, ſpoken in a canting tone, having put the generality of the Aſſembly in good humour, Mr. *Steele* carried his point; and the further conſideration of the charge againſt him was deferred for a week, by which time it was expected, that Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and ſome other leading Members of the Whig-party, who were abſent, would be come to town. This ſucceſs encouraged Mr. *Steele*, not only to ſtand upon the defenſive, but even to attack his Accuſers. As he believed a great part of the ill will, he had brought upon himſelf, was owing to what he writ about *Dunkirk*, he thought it would make for his defence, to have what paſſed, relating to the colluſive demolition, appear to the Houſe before his day came on. He therefore moved, on the very *Monday* propoſed by Mr. *Harley* for his trial, 'That an addreſs be preſented to the Queen, to give directions, that the ſeveral repreſentations of her Engineers and Officers, who had the care and inſpection of the demolition of *Dunkirk*, and all orders and inſtructions given thereupon, be laid before the Houſe.' But the motion was rejected by two hundred and fourteen voices, againſt one hundred and nine. But the Court-party did not think fit to oppoſe another motion, which, with the ſame intent, was then made by the Lord *Lumley*, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Scarborough*, who being ſeconded by the Earl of *Hertford*, it was unanimouſly reſolved, 'That an addreſs be preſented to her Majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to order an account to be laid before the Houſe, what ſteps had been made for the removing the Pretender from the Dominions of the Duke of *Lorrain*, purſuant to the addreſs of both Houſes of the laſt Parliament; and what anſwers had been given by the Duke of *Lorrain*.'

On the 18th of *March*, the day appointed for Mr. *Steele*'s trial, the Court-party thought proper to clear the Houſe of all ſtrangers; which being done, Auditor *Foley* moved, that, before they proceeded any farther, Mr. *Steele* ſhould declare, whether he acknowledged the writings, that bore his name? Upon which Mr. *Steele* owned all the papers laid to his charge to be parts of his writings: That he wrote them in behalf of the Houſe of *Hanover*, and owned them with the ſame unreſervedneſs, with which he had abjured the Pretender.' Then, a debate ariſing upon the method of proceeding, Mr. *Foley* propoſed, that Mr. *Steele* ſhould withdraw; but, after ſeveral ſpeeches, it was carried, without dividing, that he ſhould ſtay, in order to make his defence. Mr. *Steele* deſired, he might be allowed to anſwer to what might be urged againſt him, paragraph by paragraph; but though he was powerfully ſupported by Mr. *Robert Walpole*, General *Stanhope*, the Lord *Finch*, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Nottingham*; and the Lord *Hinchinbroke*, ſon to the Earl of *Sandwich*; yet his accuſers inſiſted, and it was carried, 'That he ſhould proceed to make his defence generally, upon the charge given againſt him.' Mr. *Steele* proceeded accordingly, being aſſiſted by Mr. *Addiſon*, who ſat near him, to prompt him, upon occaſion; and for near three hours ſpoke to the ſeveral heads, extracted out of the three pamphlets above mentioned (which had been given in print to all the Members) with ſuch temper, eloquence, and unconcern, as gave intire ſatisfaction to all, who were not prepoſſeſſed againſt him. 1713-14.

Mr. *Steele* being withdrawn, moſt Members expected, that Mr. *Foley* would have ſummed up, and anſwered his defence; but he contented himſelf with ſaying, in general, 'That, without amuſing the Houſe with long ſpeeches, it was plain, that the writings, that had been complained of, were ſeditious and ſcandalous, injurious to her Majeſty's Government, the Church and the Univerſities, and moved, that the queſtion ſhould be put.' This occaſioned a very warm debate, which laſted till eleven at night. Mr. *Robert Walpole*, who ſpoke firſt in favour of Mr. *Steele*, made a long and elegant ſpeech. He began with ſhewing, 'that this extraordinary and violent proſecution ſtruck at the liberties of the ſubject in general, and of the Members of that Houſe in particular. He then juſtified Mr. *Steele* on all the heads of the accuſation raiſed againſt him; and ſaid, he hoped the Houſe would not ſacrifice one of their Members to the reſentment and rage of the Miniſtry, for no other crime, than his expoſing their notorious miſmanagements; and, like a good Patriot, warning his Countrymen againſt the imminent dangers, with which the Nation in general, and in particular her Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, were threatened, by the viſible encouragement, that was given to the Pretender's friends. If a *Papiſt* (ſaid Mr. *Walpole*) nay an *Iriſh Papiſt* *, who for many years has been ſervant to the late King *James*, and the Pretender; one, who has borne arms againſt her Majeſty in *France* and *Spain*; one, who is ſtrongly ſuſpected of having imbrued his hands in the blood of the late Duke of *Medina-Celi*, and Marquiſs of *Leganez*; if ſuch a man be not only permitted to come into *England*, but to appear at Court, in the Preſence-Chamber; if he be careſſed by the Miniſters; nay, I ſpeak it with horror, if ſuch a man be admitted to her Majeſty's private audience in her cloſet, Will not every good ſubject think her Majeſty's Perſon in danger? And is it then a crime in Mr. *Steele* to ſhew his juſt concern for ſo precious a life?' *Mr.* Walpole's *ſpeech in his favour.*

* *Sir* Patrick Lawleſs.

As to that paſſage in Mr. *Steele*'s *Criſis*, wherein he ſays, 'That a late treaſonable book on the *Succeſſion of Hereditary Right* has publiſhed the will of King *Henry* VIII, which ſeems to be intended as a pattern for the like occaſion;' and a little lower, 'Let thoſe, who act under the preſent ſettlement, and yet pretend to diſpute for an *abſolute Hereditary Right*, quiet themſelves with

1713-14. with the arguments they have borrowed from Popery;' Mr. *Walpole* ſaid, it could not be denied, 'That the Lord-Treaſurer was the patron of learned men, for whoſe uſe and improvement he had ſet up a fine library; and that it appeared by the book, called, *The Hereditary Right of the Crown of* England *aſſerted*, &c. that the Author had free acceſs to that library, and had drawn very material paſſages out of ſome manuſcripts in it. But that the Lord-Treaſurer's care to ſupply him with materials towards that work went yet further, ſince his Lordſhip had employed a man to look among old muſty papers for the Will and Teſtament of King *Henry* the Eighth, which the Author had inſerted at length in the appendix to his book. That he appealed to Mr. *Lowndes*, a Member of the Houſe, and Secretary to the Treaſury, whether he had not paid, by the Lord-Treaſurer's order, twelve or fourteen pounds to the perſon, that had made that great diſcovery; but, that in caſe he ſhould deny it, he had evidence to prove it.' Mr. *Lowndes* ſeemed not to deny the fact; and only ſaid, that Will was not ſo rare a piece, ſince it was to be ſeen in a place, which he named, in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. On this occaſion Mr. *Walpole* mentioned three points, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the peace had already been broke: 'The firſt, he ſaid, was the demolition of *Dunkirk*, which ought to have been finiſhed five months after ſigning the treaty; but, inſtead of that, the *French* had yet only pulled down part of the outward fortifications, without touching the foundations, which, on the one hand, rendered the *Engliſh* garriſon uſeleſs, and expoſed to any inſults; and, on the other hand, would afterwards make it eaſy for the *French* to reſtore and rebuild thoſe fortifications: Which was the more probable to be in their thoughts, ſince, inſtead of ruining the harbour, they were actually repairing the ſluices, and working on a new canal. The ſecond point was, the Renunciations of the Princes of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, which were laid down as the foundation and baſis of the peace, and as a pretence, that thereby the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* would be more divided than ever: But that, ſuppoſing (what he could not, by any means grant) that thoſe renunciations were to be depended upon, they were yet conditional, and ſuppoſed the Emperor's renunciation of the Crown of *Spain*: And therefore, as no care had been taken to engage his Imperial Majeſty to agree to that neceſſary condition, ſo the renunciations of the Princes of the Houſe of *Bourbon* became not binding and void.' The third inſtance, which Mr. *Walpole* gave of the violation of the peace, was the *French* King's ordinance, dated *September* the 18th, 1713, *N. S. forbidding the Children of* French *Refugees, though born out of his Dominions, to come into them*, without his permiſſion, upon pain of *being ſent to the Gallies*. This ordinance was againſt Natural Right and the Law of Nations, and in particular derogatory to the Rights and Liberties of the *Britiſh* Nation, which the Children of the Refugees, born in *England*, were intitled to enjoy, as well as the other Natives. That he would adventure to ſay in their behalf, that it were to be wiſhed, that all, who have the happineſs to be born in *England*, were as good *Engliſhmen* as the Sons of the Refugees; and that the *Britiſh* Nation was the more concerned in having that ordinance repealed, in that the Refugees and their Children were the fitteſt to carry on a trade with *France*.' 1714.

Mr. *Horace Walpole* ſeconded his brother in favour of the *French* Refugees, 'and deplored the lamentable condition of their Miniſters and the Poor amongſt them, to whom the Lord-Treaſurer had not paid one penny of the fifteen thouſand pounds *per annum*, voted by Parliament, and allowed in the Civil Liſt, towards their ſubſiſtance and relief, ſince he came into his office.' Adding, 'That ſome amongſt the Refugees ſuffered now more in *England*, than they did during the perſecution in *France*; ſince there were always ſome charitable people, who relieved them, while they were in priſons and dungeons, whereas here they were left to ſtarve.'

The Lord *Finch* ſupported, likewiſe, Mr. *Robert Walpole*, and juſtified Mr. *Steele* with relation to the tendereſt part of the charge againſt him, his *third Wiſh*, in the cloſe of his laſt *Engliſhman*: 'That his Electoral Highneſs of *Hanover* would be ſo grateful, as to ſignify to all the world the perfect good underſtanding he had with the Court of *England*, in as plain terms, as her Majeſty was pleaſed to declare ſhe had with that Houſe on her part.' He ſaid, 'That, ſuppoſing there were in this wiſh ſome injurious inſinuations, yet the ſame could not, without injuſtice, be applied to the Queen, but only to her Miniſters: That no body doubted the good underſtanding between her Majeſty and the Houſe of *Hanover*; but that it was notorious, that the Miniſters ſhewed no great regard to that illuſtrious Houſe. Witneſs (to paſs over other inſtances) the ſlight they put upon the Baron *Bothmer*'s Memorial, which the Queen had perhaps never ſeen, had not the Ducheſs of *Somerſet* ſhewed it her Majeſty in print in the *Daily Courant*.' He likewiſe juſtified Mr. *Steele* in relation to his reflections on the Peace. We may, ſays he, give it all the fine epithets we pleaſe: But epithets do not change the nature of things. We may, if we pleaſe, call it here, honourable; but I am ſure, it is accounted ſcandalous in *Holland*, *Germany*, *Portugal*, and over all *Europe*, except *France* and *Spain*. We may call it advantageous; but all the trading part of the Nation find it to be otherwiſe. If therefore it be really advantageous, it muſt be ſo to the Miniſtry, that made it.' Sir *William Wyndham* replying, 'That the Miniſtry would not ſay, the peace was advantageous to them;' the Lord *Finch* anſwered, 'Then it was plain it was advantageous to no body but our late enemies.'

The Lords *Lumley* and *Hinchinbroke*, and ſome other Members, ſpoke alſo in favour of Mr. *Steele*, and againſt the conduct of the Miniſtry. But Mr. *Foley*, Sir *William Wyndham*, the Attorney-General, and ſome other Courtiers, being ſupported by a great majority, ſtill inſiſted on the queſtion, and it was carried at laſt by two hundred forty-five voices againſt one hundred fifty-two, Firſt, 'That a printed Pamphlet, intitled, *The* Engliſhman, *being the cloſe of the paper* ſo called, and one other Pamphlet, intitled, *The Criſis*, written by *Richard Steele*, Eſq; a Member of this Houſe, are ſcandalous and ſeditious libels, containing many expreſſions highly reflecting upon her Majeſty, and upon the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, and Univerſities of this Kingdom, maliciouſly inſinuating, that the

-14. the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover* is in danger under her Majeſty's Adminiſtration, and tending to alienate the affections of her Majeſty's good ſubjects, and to create jealouſies and diviſions among them. Secondly, Steele That *Richard Steele*, Eſq; for his offence in writing and publiſhing theſe ſcandalous and ſeditious libels, be expelled this Houſe.'

It is obſervable, that only two *Scots* Members ſpoke in this long debate, Mr. *Baillie*, and Sir *James Stuart*, Judge-Advocate in *North-Britain*. *Baillie* ſaid, 'He was little acquainted with the affairs of *England*, but had made it his buſineſs to know thoſe of his own country; and, by all the obſervations he could make for ſome years paſt, they, who appeared the moſt zealous for the Pretender's intereſt, were the moſt favoured and countenanced by thoſe in power.' This was confirmed by Sir *James Stuart*, who added, 'That, to his certain knowledge, three or four thouſand pounds had been yearly remitted to the High-Land Clans, whoſe Chiefs, and the men under their command, were known to be intirely devoted to the Chevalier.' Hence it appears, this affair gave the enemies of the Miniſtry an occaſion to take notice of ſeveral things, which, but for this proſecution, had perhaps never been mentioned in the Houſe of Commons; and which, being ſpoken in the hearing of ſeveral Lords, occaſioned the like reflections and ſtricter enquiries in the Houſe of Peers. A few days after, the Commons adjourned till after the *Eaſter Holidays*; and in the mean time Sir *James Stuart* was removed from his place for what he had ſaid.

te on On the 17th of *March*, the Lords taking *tate of* into conſideration the State of the Nation, the Earls of *Wharton*, *Nottingham*, and *Sunderland*, H. L. the Lords *Cowper*, *Hallifax*, and ſome others, repreſented the danger, that threatened the Proteſtant Succeſſion, by reaſon of the Pretender's not being yet removed from *Lorrain*, and the ill condition the affairs of *Europe* were left in by the late treaties of peace, and moved, that addreſſes be preſented to the Queen, 'Firſt, for an account of what ſteps had been taken for removing the Pretender from the Dominions of the Duke of *Lorrain*, and what anſwers had been given by that Duke. Secondly, An account of the Negotiations of peace: What meaſures had been taken, to render the peace univerſal: And what obſtructions her Majeſty had met with. Thirdly, An account of what inſtances had been made for reſtoring to the *Catalans* their antient privileges, and all letters relating thereto. Fourthly, An account of the monies granted by Parliament, ſince the year 1710, to carry on the war in *Spain* and *Portugal*.' Theſe addreſſes were ordered to be preſented to the Queen without any oppoſition. But, in the mean time, to give the Houſe ſome amuſement, the Lord-Treaſurer moved for leave to bring in *a bill for the further ſecurity of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, by making it high-treaſon to bring any foreign troops into the Kingdom:* Which greatly ſurprized many Peers. Among the reſt, the Earl of *Nottingham*, who immediately perceived the dangerous conſequence of that motion, repreſented, 'That ſuch a bill might be turned againſt the very Guarantees of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and ſo weaken that happy Settlement, for the ſecurity of which the bill was pretended to be deſigned.' The Lord *Bolingbroke* replied, 'He doubted not, but the noble Peer, who made the motion, meant only ſuch foreign troops, as might be brought into the Kingdom by the Pretender or his Adherents.' The Lord-Treaſurer having declared this to be his meaning, it was anſwered, 'In that caſe, ſuch a bill was altogether unneceſſary, ſince ſuch troops were either open enemies, if Foreigners, or traitors and rebels, if Natives.' The Earl of *Angleſea* put an end to the debate, with ſaying, 'That the Lord, who made the motion, was not acquainted with the methods of proceeding in that Houſe; for every Peer has the privilege of bringing in what bill he thinks fit: That the Lord-Treaſurer's aſking leave for it was but a compliment to the Houſe; and therefore, when he had brought in the bill, it would be then a proper time to conſider of it.' So the motion was dropped. The ſame day, a noble Lord reflected on the Biſhop of *Sarum's Preface* to his *Paſtoral Care*; but, that Prelate offering to vindicate himſelf, no farther notice was taken of it. 1713-14

Two days after, in a farther debate on the State of the Nation, ſeveral Lords ſpoke again in favour of the *Catalans*, and inſiſted, 'That the Houſe ought ſtrictly to examine how that poor people came to be abandoned, after they had been ſollicited and drawn in to declare for the Emperor. The Earl of *Angleſea*, ſeeing the Miniſtry thus attacked, endeavoured to ward off the blow, by ſaying, 'That, for his own part, he was one of the firſt, that appeared againſt the late Miniſters, becauſe he was fully convinced of their male-adminiſtration, corruption, avarice, and unbounded ambition. That he would, in like manner, be one of the firſt that ſhould attack the preſent Miniſters, if he thought them guilty of the ſame faults. But, as he had obſerved, it was merely out of ſpleen and envy, that ſome perſons were for inquiring into the conduct of Patriots, who had given ſignal proofs of their zeal for the public good, he was of opinion, that they ought to examine into the conduct both of the late and preſent Miniſters, that ſo, by comparing one with the other, they might ſee, which had committed leſs errors.' However, the Whig Lords purſued their point, and in particular took notice of the danger, both the Queen's perſon and the Proteſtant Succeſſion were in, from the great number of outlawed Jacobites, who were permitted to come over from beyond ſea; and complained of the favour ſhewn to the Pretender's friends, in granting *noli proſequi*'s to perſons (meaning *Daniel de Foe* among others) who were under proſecution for writing againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion. They animadverted upon the debts of the Navy being much increaſed, though nothing had been done at ſea for two or three years. The Court-party having nothing to ſay to theſe particulars, it was moved and reſolved to addreſs the Queen, that ſhe would order the proper officers to lay before the Houſe, 'Firſt, An account of the debts and ſtate of the Navy. Secondly, An account of *noli proſequi*'s granted ſince her Acceſſion to the Throne. And, Thirdly, A liſt of perſons outlawed, attainted, or that had borne arms in the ſervice of her Majeſty's, or the late King's enemies, who had got licenſes to return into *Great-Britain*, or other her Majeſty's Dominions ſince the year 1688.' After this, upon a motion for adjourning, the Whig Lords propoſed to adjourn only to the *Monday* following.

1713-14. lowing. But, the Miniſtry being highly concerned to put a ſtop to ſuch enquiries, the Lord-Treaſurer, with a ſhew of devotion, repreſented, 'That the ſolemnity of the feſtival of *Eaſter* approaching, the next week ought, according to the Primitive Inſtitution, and the conſtant practice of the Church of *England*, to be ſet apart for works of piety;' and therefore, moved to adjourn to the 31ſt of *March*. The Treaſurer being ſeconded by the Lord *Trevor*, the Earl of *Wharton* ſaid, 'God forbid he ſhould oppoſe that noble Lord, who had made ſo pious and religious a motion; but that he appealed to that venerable Bench (pointing to the Biſhops) whether humanity and charity did not require it at their hands, not to loſe one moment of time, in addreſſing her Majeſty in behalf of the diſtreſſed *Catalans*, who were reduced to ſuch an extremity that the leaſt delay in procuring them relief, might prove their ruin for ever.' Then it was reſolved, without oppoſition, to preſent the addreſs; and the Earl of *Oxford*'s motion for adjourning to the 31ſt of *March* was carried in the affirmative. It is obſervable, the Commons having, the day before, made an order for clearing their Houſe of all ſtrangers, not excepting the Peers, it was moved in the Lords Houſe to make the like order, without excepting the Commons: But this was oppoſed by the Duke of *Argyle*, who ſaid, 'It was for the honour of that Auguſt Aſſembly to ſhew, that they were better bred, and had more complaiſance than the Commons.'

A remarkable declaration publiſhed by the Miniſtry.

At this time the Miniſtry, in order to allay the fears, which many entertained of a deſign between *Great-Britain* and *France*, to bring over the Pretender; cauſed a remarkable declaration, made ſome time before by the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, to be publiſhed in the *Poſt-Boy* of the 18th of *March*, which was to this effect: 'It is not only in *Holland*, that falſe reports are ſpread of the King my Maſter's equipping a fleet, with a deſign to ſupport the intereſts of the Chevalier *de St. George*; but theſe falſe reports have alſo reached *England*. As it is eaſy to imagine for what end they have been invented, I am ordered by his Majeſty, to acquaint you with the malicious deſign of them: They will ſoon vaniſh, being without foundation, and even the leaſt appearance of any. It is, however, neceſſary, that truth ſhould be known.'

This declaration, however, with the leaſt diſcerning paſſed only for a political amuſement: And indeed it was but a fond imagination in the *Britiſh* Miniſters, to believe, that any verbal aſſurances and proteſtations were able to diſpel the jealouſies and apprehenſions, occaſioned by the daily removal of the firmeſt friends to the Proteſtant Succeſſion from public employments, and advancing, in their ſtead, thoſe, whom they found inclined blindly to follow the Queen's meaſures; which was now become the watch-word, and, as it were, the ſtandard of civil and military merit. Upon this rule, at a Cabinet-Council, it was reſolved to remove the Duke of *Argyle* from all his places; to order the Earl of *Stair* to diſpoſe of his regiment of *Scots* Royal dragoons; and to turn out ſeveral other inferior Officers. Accordingly, a few days after, it was declared, that the command of the *Scots* troops of Life guards, of which the Duke of *Argyle* was Colonel and Captain, was given to the young Earl of *Dundonald*, a *Scots* Peer (for which, however, the Queen was ſaid to have paid the uſual price of ten thouſand pounds to the Duke) that the Earl of *Peterborough* was made Governor of the Iſland of *Minorca*, and the Earl of *Orkney*, Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle, both in the room of the Duke of *Argyle*; that the Earl of *Portmore* had bought the Earl of *Stair*'s regiment for ſix thouſand pounds; that Major-General *Davenport* was ordered to ſell his poſt of Lieutenant of the firſt troop of Life-guards to Brigadier *Panton*; that Major-General *Holmes*, Major of the *Cold-ſtream* regiment of Foot-guards, had leave to diſpoſe of his Company to Lieutenant-Colonel *Gibbons*, late of Colonel *Kane*'s regiment of foot; that Lieutenant-Colonel *Egerton*, Brother to the Earl of *Bridgewater*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Sidney*, brother to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, were ordered to ſell their Companies in the Foot-guards, for the ſum of a thouſand pounds each, to the Lieutenants-Colonels *Markham* and *Owen*; and that Lieutenant-Colonel *Oughton* and Lieutenant-Colonel *Paget* were alſo ordered to diſpoſe of their Companies. It was about the ſame time ſtrongly reported, that ſeveral other Officers, who, being cloſeted, had demurred upon the queſtion, that was put to them, *Whether they would ſerve the Queen, without asking queſtions?* Were likewiſe to be turned out of their poſts; ſome of which were to be filled up by the creatures of the Lord *Bolingbroke*, the principal adviſer and promoter of the new-modelling the army. One branch of this ſcheme was to break nine of the Battalions in *Ireland*; to lay aſide ſeventy-two Officers, who were thought improper inſtruments for the deſigns in hand; and to raiſe fifteen other battalions, that ſhould be ſure to obey all commands; and one of which was ſaid to be deſigned for the Lord *Poor*, an *Iriſh Roman* Catholic Peer, who had a long time ſerved in *France*. It was alſo generally reported, that either the Earl of *Angleſea*, or Colonel *Owen*, who ſoon after went over to *Dublin*, carried theſe orders to Sir *Conſtantine Phipps*. But, whatever ground there was for ſuch a report, that part of the model never took place.

Removals and promotions.

The Lord *Bolingbroke* and his friends, who by this time had got the aſcendant over the Lord-Treaſurer in the Cabinet-Council, were the more haſty in their meaſures, both becauſe they began to deſpair of the Queen's ſurviving the next ſummer, and becauſe they were not ignorant, that the Whigs, in concert with the Court of *Hanover*, took all imaginable precautions to ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion. The Queen being taken ill (1), thoſe, who were moſt concerned in her life, puſhed on their ſchemes, knowing how precarious

(1) Dr. *Shadwell*, in a letter to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, gives the following account of her illneſs:

On the 11th of *March*, after the Queen had funned herſelf a while at the window, ſhe was ſeized with a chilneſs, vomiting, a pain in the leg, the pulſe very diſordered, and in every manner as two months before, except that the Queen did not ſhiver; but the cold and chilneſs continued twelve hours, and was then ſucceeded by very great heat, thirſt, and all the ſymptoms of a high fever, which laſted till the next morning.

In the Collection of the R.t Hon.ble the Earl of Inchiquin.

J. Houbraken sculps. Amst. 1742.

Impensis J. & P. Knapton Londini 1742.

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precarious that life was; and, at the ſame time, the better to carry on their deſigns, gave out, that ſhe was in no manner of danger, being only troubled with a ſmall fit of the gout. But though, the better to conceal the true ſtate of her health, only Dr. *Arbuthnot*, who was devoted to their party, was for a long time admitted to ſee her leg; yet thoſe, who watched for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, did not want intelligence of her dangerous condition, and took all poſſible meaſures to defeat any attempt, that ſhould be made to bring in the Pretender, at or before her death. As that caſe never happened, thoſe meaſures are for the moſt part a ſecret; but it may be obſerved, that about this time the Pretender's friends were not a little alarmed at a ſecret treaty, which was ſaid to be concluded between the Elector of *Brunſwick* and the *States-General*; whereby the *States*, in conſideration of a certain ſum, engaged to furniſh the Elector with a certain number of ſhips and land forces (beſides their engagements as Guarantees of the Succeſſion) to ſupport his claim to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. Be this as it will, certain it is, that the Court of *Hanover* did not rely on the fair promiſes, given them by the *Britiſh* Miniſters, and which were manifeſtly contradicted by matters of fact. And as ſome of the *Britiſh* Miniſters and Generals were, at this juncture, very intent upon new-modelling the army; ſo, on the other hand, the Duke of *Argyle*, the Generals *Stanhope* and *Cadogan*, and ſeveral other experienced Commanders, were no leſs active, though with more caution, in keeping ſteady, and preparing againſt all events, ſuch military men, as they knew to be well affected to the Proteſtant Succeſſion. General *Stanhope*, in particular, had ſeveral private Conferences with the principal Officers among the *French* Refugees; who being a conſiderable body, and all zealous for the cauſe, no ſmall ſtreſs was laid on their aſſiſtance, as well as that of their Countrymen. So, if things had been brought to extremities, excluſive of the interpoſition of foreign forces, the well-affected to the Houſe of *Hanover* would have been equal, if not ſuperior to the Pretender's friends. This will appear more than probable, if we conſider, that in either Houſe of Parliament few were for altering the preſent ſettlement: That moſt of the Merchants and monied men in the City of *London* (which, in all Revolutions, has the greateſt influence over the reſt of the Kingdom) were intirely devoted to the Proteſtant Succeſſion; and it is now known, that ſome of the principal of them had agreed with the Generals *Cadogan* and *Stanhope* to exert their whole intereſt in the City, whenever any attempt ſhould be made upon the Succeſſion; and that meaſures were early concerted by the *Kit-Cat-Club*, with a Major-General, who had a conſiderable poſt in the Foot-guards, to ſeize the *Tower*, upon the firſt appearance of danger, and to ſecure in it ſuch perſons, as were juſtly ſuſpected to favour the Pretender (1). And the late Lord *Onſlow* uſed to ſay, that himſelf had been ſent over with an Aſſociation ſigned by the moſt eminent of the Whigs to the Duke of *Marlborough*, who did not think proper to give it the ſanction of his name; which was a great ſurprize to his old friends. 1713-14.

The Parliament, according to their adjournment, met on the 31ſt of *March*. The chief debates were in the Houſe of Lords, concerning the *Catalans*, the Proteſtant Succeſſion, removal of the Pretender out of *Lorrain*, and the late Treaties. The papers, which had been addreſſed for, being laid before the Houſe, thoſe relating to the *Catalans* were read on the 2d of *April*. Then the Earls of *Wharton* and *Sunderland*, the Lords *Hallifax*, *Cowper*, and others, repreſented, 'That, the Crown of *Great-Britain* having drawn in the *Catalans* to declare for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and engaged to ſupport them, thoſe engagements ought to have been made good.' To this the Lord *Bolingbroke* anſwered, 'That the Queen had uſed all her endeavours to procure to the *Catalans* the enjoyment of their antient liberties and privileges; but that, after all, the engagements, ſhe was entered into, ſubſiſted no longer than while King *Charles* was in *Spain*; but that Prince being advanced to the Imperial dignity, and having himſelf abandoned the *Catalans*, ſhe could do no more than interpoſe her good offices in their behalf, which ſhe had not been wanting to do.' To this it was replied, 'That God Almighty had put more effectual means into her Majeſty's hands.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the Lord *Cowper* moved for an addreſs to the Queen, importing, 'That, her endeavours for preſerving to the *Catalans* the full enjoyment of their antient liberties having proved ineffectual, their Lordſhips made it their humble requeſt, that ſhe would continue her interpoſition in the moſt preſſing manner in their behalf.' None of the Peers oppoſed this motion; only the Lord-Chancellor, in order to juſtify all that had been done by the Miniſtry, ſaid, 'This addreſs would be more grateful to her Majeſty, if the word *ineffectual* was left out, and if they ſhould only thankfully acknowledge her Majeſty's endeavours in favour of the *Catalans*,' which was agreed to. But, notwithſtanding this compliment, the addreſs being the next day preſented to the Queen, *ſhe thanked, indeed, the Lords, for the ſatisfaction they expreſſed in the endeavours ſhe had uſed for ſecuring to the* Catalans *their juſt liberties*; but then ſhe added, that, *at the time ſhe concluded her peace with* Spain, *ſhe reſolved to continue her interpoſition upon every proper occaſion for obtaining thoſe liberties, and to prevent, if poſſible, the misfortunes, to which that people* 1714. *Debates about the* Catalans. Pr. H. L.

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morning. Some of her Phyſicians were for adminiſtring the ſnake root; but Dr. *Shadwell* oppoſed it, by reaſon of the inflammatory fever, and *Eryſipelas*; preſſed for temperate cordial medicines, to diſcharge the blood; and cupping, as well as other evacuations, to prevent too great a load of humours falling upon the leg. This he inſiſted on the next day, though the fever was off; apprehending the conſequence of that limb being too much loaded: And though, on *Sunday* the 14th, the Queen eat a chicken with very good appetite; though all the other Phyſicians thought matters ſo well, as not to need any preſcription; yet that very good appearance did not eaſe Dr. *Shadwell* of his fears, for what might happen to the leg, if the *Eryſipelas* ſhould turn to an impoſthumation: Which it did, according to his prognoſtic, not long after; and proved, at laſt, the immediate cauſe of the Queen's death.

(1) This *Boyer*, the Hiſtorian, had from the Major-General's own mouth, whoſe name he had not liberty to reveal.

(1) Some

1714. *people were expoſed by the conduct of thoſe more nearly concerned to help them.* This anſwer occaſioned ſome reflections: And indeed, it quickly appeared, that Sir *James Wiſhart*, who, about this time, was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, was rather inſtructed to aſſiſt King *Philip* in the reduction of *Barcelona*, than in relieving the diſtreſſed *Catalans*.

Debate on the State of the Nation. Pr. H. L.

On *April* the 5th, the Lords taking into conſideration the State of the Nation, ſeveral ſpeeches were made in relation to the dangers, to which all *Europe* in general was left expoſed by the late treaties of peace, and which, in particular, threatened the Proteſtant Succeſſion. To this purpoſe the Whig Lords mentioned the countenance and favour, which were publickly ſhewn by thoſe in power to the friends of the Pretender, and his continuing in *Lorrain* (1). The Earl of *Sunderland* added, 'That, notwithſtanding the earneſt application made laſt Seſſion by both Houſes to her Majeſty, to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to get him removed from thence, yet he was aſſured by Baron *Forſtner*, the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Miniſter, ſome weeks before his departure, that, *to his certain knowledge, no inſtances had yet been made to his Maſter for that purpoſe.*' The Lord *Bolingbroke* ſaid, 'He wondered Baron *Forſtner* ſhould make ſuch a declaration, ſince he himſelf had made thoſe inſtances to the Baron in the Queen's name.' But the Lord *Hallifax* confirmed what the Earl of *Sunderland* had advanced, ſaying, 'Baron *Forſtner* had told him as much but four days before; ſo that the Lord *Bolingbroke* muſt be miſtaken, at leaſt, in point of chronology.' The Earl of *Wharton* having urged the dangers, which threatened the Nation and the Proteſtant Succeſſion from the male-adminiſtration of affairs, a queſtion was propoſed, 'Whether the Proteſtant Succeſſion was in danger under the preſent Adminiſtration?' The Court Lords, who had a mind to ſcreen the Miniſtry under the Queen's name, inſiſted, that the laſt words of the queſtion ſhould be, *under her Majeſty's Adminiſtration?* The Whig Lords alledged, 'That the Queen ought not to be mentioned in a queſtion, that did not at all concern her Majeſty: For, by our Conſtitution, *the Sovereign can do no wrong*; and, if any thing be done amiſs, the Miniſters alone are accountable for it.' But it was urged, 'That the Queen having, in her ſpeech from the Throne, taken notice of the inſinuations, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion was *in danger under her Government*; the queſtion ought to be taken in her Majeſty's expreſſions about the ſame ſubject.' This being agreed to, the queſtion was warmly debated from two in the afternoon, till nine o'clock in the evening, when the Proteſtant Succeſſion was voted out of danger by a majority of twelve voices only, ſeventy-ſix againſt ſixty-four. The moſt remarkable circumſtance of this debate was, that the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Earl of *Angleſea* ſpoke and voted with the Whig Lords, which added great ſtrength to that ſide; the Archbiſhop drawing after him the whole Bench of Biſhops, three Courtiers only excepted; and the other being followed by the Earls of *Abingdon* and *Jerſey*, the Lords *Aſhburnham* and *Carteret*, and ſome other temporal Peers, who, like the Lord *Angleſea*, had, upon moſt occaſions, voted with the Court Lords; ſo that the victory, now gained, was owing either to the *Scots* Peers, or to the late Creation. And it was the general opinion, that this ſeeming advantage was in reality a kind of defeat. The Earl of *Angleſea*'s ſpeech upon this occaſion was much taken notice of: He ſaid, among other things, 'That, when he came into the Houſe, he thought indeed the Proteſtant Succeſſion to be ſtill in danger on the part of *France*, whoſe intereſt it was to reſtore the Pretender: But that, after he had heard what ſo many noble Members of that auguſt Aſſembly, perſons of undoubted honour and probity, had alledged againſt the Miniſters, and no anſwer offered to confute it, either by the Miniſters themſelves, or their friends, he could not but believe the Succeſſion to be in danger under ſuch an Adminiſtration.' He afterwards endeavoured to clear himſelf, as to the ſhare he had in ſome late tranſactions: 'I own (ſaid he) I gave my aſſent

The Proteſtant Succeſſion voted out of danger.

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(1) Some time before the Parliament met, the following letter, ſaid to be written by the Duke of *Lorrain*, was handed about firſt in manuſcript and afterwards in print:

Madam,

'We could not be more ſurprized at the addreſſes of the *Britiſh* Parliament laſt ſummer, than with the late remonſtrances of your Majeſty's Miniſter at *Utrecht*, in relation to the removal of the Chevalier *de St. George* from the Dominions of *Lorrain*. Before we would abſolutely comply with the requeſt of the moſt Chriſtian King in that affair, the profound reſpect, we have for your quiet, made us apprehenſive of giving the leaſt uneaſineſs to your Majeſty. But when we were aſſured, on the contrary, that this expedient would be highly agreeable to all ſides, as the only means to remove one of the chief obſtacles to the general peace of *Europe*, ſo much wanted and deſired: Proud of ſo great an honour, we could no longer refrain from opening our arms, to receive a Prince, the moſt accompliſhed, the moſt virtuous, and moſt amiable of human race, who only wants to be ſeen to be admired, and known to be almoſt adored: Whoſe magnanimity, in his ſufferings, renders him worthy his high birth; beſides his other great and commendable qualities, which confeſs the royal blood that flows in his veins.

We therefore hope your Majeſty, and the *Britiſh* Nation, will not take in ill part, that we cannot comply with a demand ſo inconſiſtent with our own Honour, and the laws of Hoſpitality; that, after our protection once given, we ſhould voluntarily abandon, to the rage of his enemies, an innocent, diſtreſſed Prince, who knows no crime, but being born the laſt heir male to that illuſtrious family, which, for ſeveral ages, has given ſo many great Monarchs to the world (amongſt the reſt, your Majeſty) of whoſe heroick virtues he is a happy imitator; and whoſe conſpicuous and great actions have reflected as much luſtre, as you have received from your noble and truly royal progenitors. That God Almighty would take your Majeſty into his holy protection, is the ardent wiſh of,

MADAM,

Your Majeſty's, &c.'

This letter, though, with different views, was diſperſed with equal induſtry by both parties, and, with other concurring circumſtances, greatly increaſed the fears and jealouſies of the well-affected to the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

1714. ſent to the ceſſation of arms, for which I take ſhame to myſelf, and aſk God, my Country, and my Conſcience pardon. But, however, this fault I did not commit, till that noble Lord (turning towards the Lord-Treaſurer) had aſſured the Council, *that the peace would be glorious and advantageous both to her Majeſty and her Allies*. Adding, that, as the honour of his Sovereign, and the good of his Country, were the rule of his actions, ſo he had no reſpect of perſons; and if he found himſelf impoſed upon, he durſt purſue an evil Miniſter, from the Queen's Cloſet to the *Tower*, and from the *Tower* to the Scaffold. The Lord-Treaſurer, againſt whom this was levelled, ſaid, 'That the peace was as glorious and advantageous, as could be expected, conſidering the neceſſity of affairs, and the contradiction the Queen's Miniſters had met with, both at home and abroad.' Several Lords replied, That no Miniſters ever had it in their power to make ſo honourable and advantageous a peace, as the Queen's Miniſters had: And the Duke of *Argyle* in particular added, 'That he had lately croſſed the Kingdom of *France*, both in going to, and returning from *Minorca*. That it was indeed one of the fineſt Countries in the Univerſe, but that there were marks of a general deſolation in all the places, through which he paſſed. That he had rid forty miles together without meeting a man fit to carry arms: That the reſt of the people were in the utmoſt miſery and want; and therefore he did not apprehend what neceſſity there was to conclude a peace ſo precipitately with a Prince, whoſe Dominions were ſo exhauſted of men, money, and proviſions. As to the queſtion now under debate, he ſaid, he firmly believed the Succeſſion in the Electoral Houſe of *Hanover* to be in danger from the preſent Miniſters, whom he durſt charge with Male-Adminiſtration, both within thoſe walls, and without: That he knew, and offered to prove, that the Lord-Treaſurer had yearly remitted four-thouſand pounds to the High-land Clans of *Scotland*, who were known to be intirely devoted to the Pretender, in order to keep them under diſcipline, and ready for any attempt: That, on the other hand, the new-modelling of the army, by disbanding ſome regiments out of their turn, and by removing from their employments a vaſt number of Officers, merely upon account of their known affection to the Houſe of *Hanover*, were clear indications of the deſigns in hand: That it was a diſgrace to the Nation, to ſee men, who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the poſts of ſeveral brave Officers, who, after they had often expoſed their lives for their Country, were now ſtarving in priſon for debt, for want of their pay.' The Lord-Treaſurer, laying his hand upon his breaſt, ſaid, 'He had, on ſo many occaſions, given ſuch ſignal proofs of his affection to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, that he was ſure no Member of that Auguſt Aſſembly did call it in queſtion. That he owned, he had remitted, for two or three years paſt, three thouſand eight hundred pounds to the High-land Clans; but that he hoped the Houſe would give him an opportunity to clear his conduct as to that point. And, as for the reformed Officers, he had given orders, they ſhould forthwith be paid.' The Lord *Aſhburnham*, who had lately been advanced to the command of a troop of Life-guards, thinking himſelf reflected on by ſome expreſſions, which had dropped from the Duke of *Argyle*, took that occaſion to ſay, 'That the Queen had no better, nor a more loyal ſubject than himſelf; but that, at the ſame time, he was ready to ſpill every drop of his blood, and ſpend all his fortune, for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Succeſſion.' 1714.

Debate about the removal of the Pretender out of Lorrain.

Though, after ſome other ſpeeches, the Proteſtant Succeſſion was voted out of danger, as the Court-party deſired, yet the Lord *Hallifax*, in order to put their profeſſions of affection to the Proteſtant Succeſſor to the teſt, moved, 'That an addreſs be preſented to the Queen, that ſhe would renew her inſtances for the ſpeedy removing the Pretender out of *Lorrain*; and that ſhe would, in conjunction with the *States-General*, enter into the Guaranty of the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*; and alſo with ſuch other Princes, as ſhe ſhould think proper.' He was ſeconded by the Earl of *Wharton*, who moved likewiſe, that, in the addreſs, 'Her Majeſty might be deſired to iſſue out a Proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon, who ſhould apprehend the Pretender, dead or alive:' This motion was ſupported by the Duke of *Bolton*, who alſo moved, 'That the reward might be ſuitable to the importance of that ſervice.' Nothing was ſaid in oppoſition to theſe motions; but, it being late, ſome Members cried, *Adjourn, adjourn*. But, the other ſide calling for the queſtion, it was unanimouſly reſoved, that the addreſs ſhould be preſented. Before this debate came on, the Lord *North and Grey* moved, that all the ſtrangers, who were in the Houſe, ſhould withdraw; upon which the Earl of *Wharton* deſired, that they might be permitted to ſtay; and he was ſeconded by the Duke of *Argyle*. But, the Lord, who made the motion, inſiſting upon it, all ſtrangers were obliged to withdraw, except Baron *Schutz*, Envoy from *Hanover*, whoſe ſtanding behind the Throne among the Peers Sons was connived at. It is very probable, he did not fail giving a full account of this day's tranſactions to his Court; and that the Earl of *Angleſea* was noted down in the liſt of the perſons, whom, by the act of ſettlement, the Proteſtant Succeſſor was impowered to appoint to have a ſhare in the Regency, in caſe of a demiſe. But it was obſerved, that the ſame evening the Earl ſupped with the Lord *Bolingbroke*, and, two days after, appeared at the Treaſurer's Levee; from whence it was conjectured, they had found means to regain him by the promiſe of the Government of *Ireland*.

When the addreſs againſt the Pretender was reported by the Committee appointed to draw it, the Lord *North* and *Grey* made a long ſpeech, 'wherein he endeavoured to ſhew the barbarity of ſetting a reward upon any body's head; which, he ſaid, was an encouraging of murder and aſſaſſination; and how repugnant ſuch a practice was to Chriſtianity, the law of Nature, and the laws of all civilized Nations.' To which purpoſe he quoted ſome paſſages out of *Grotius*, *Puffendorf*, and other Civilians. He repreſented in particular, 'how inconſiſtent ſuch a proceeding was with the honour and dignity of ſo Auguſt an Aſſembly in a Nation and Government, famed for lenity and clemency;' and in concluſion ſaid, 'No man either had more reſpect and affection for the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, or would do more to ſerve them, than himſelf:

1714. himself: But that they must excuse him, if he would not venture damnation for them.' He was supported by the Lord *Trevor*, who said, 'What that noble Peer had spoke, was sufficicient to shew, how inconsistent such a proceeding was with Christianity, and the civil law; and therefore he would confine himself to our own laws; and, if he knew or understood any thing of these, he was confident, they were no less opposite to such proceedings than the civil law. He knew, he did not speak there as a Lawyer or Judge, but as a Peer. But he was so fully satisfied of our law discountenancing all such proceedings, that, if ever any such case should come before him as a Judge, he would think himself bound in justice, honour, and conscience to condemn such an action as murder; and therefore he hoped, the supreme Court of Judicature in *England*, and the most august Tribunal in the Universe, would not make a precedent for encouraging assassination:' Concluding, that it was sufficient, and therefore he moved, 'First, that the reward should be for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to justice, in case he should land, or attempt to land, either in *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*. Secondly, That her Majesty issue her Royal proclamation, whenever, in her great wisdom, she should judge it necessary.' The Lords *Cowper* and *Hallifax* said, 'That such a proceeding, as repugnant as it might be to the precepts of Christianity, was yet warranted by the practice of the old *Romans*, of the most civilized Nations in *Europe*, and of our Nation. For, without recurring to remoter instances, we had the example of King *James* the Second, who set a price on the head of his own Nephew, the Duke of *Monmouth*.' But these two Lords were but weakly supported by their own party; and, the Earl of *Anglesea*, and Lords *Ashburnham*, *Carteret*, and *Orrery*, who, three days before, had left the Court-party, having approved the Lord *Trevor*'s motion, and most of the Bishops, who were against such an address, being absent from the House, these mitigations were, upon a division, carried by a majority of ten voices.

Votes against persons outlawed, Papists, and others.

The same day, upon a motion made by the Lord *Hallifax*, the Lords resolved to present another address to the Queen, 'That she would issue out a proclamation against all Jesuits, Popish Priests, and Bishops; as also against all such, as bore arms against the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, or her present Majesty.' Upon this occasion, some severe reflections were made against those persons, who, being outlawed for adhering to the late King *James* and the Pretender, had the assurance, and were encouraged, not only to come over, but even to appear here with a public character. The Earl of *Anglesea* said, on this occasion, 'That, for his own part, he was against widening our domestic divisions, by keeping up odious distinctions; and therefore, if they, who were born her Majesty's subjects, and had been in arms against their Country, were sensible of their fault, and inclined to return to their bounden allegiance, they ought, in his opinion, to open the door for them to come in.' But the House had other thoughts of the matter, and the next day resolved, '1. That no person, not included in the articles of *Limerick*, and who had borne arms in *France* or *Spain*, should be capable of any employment civil or military. 2. That no person, who is a natural born subject of her Majesty, should be capable of sustaining the character of public Minister from any foreign Potentate.' These resolutions were made with a view to Sir *Patrick Lawless*, who, having been the Pretender's Envoy at the Court of *Madrid*, had come over with a credential letter from King *Philip*. But, upon the noise, which his being here made in both Houses of Parliament, he thought fit to go to *Holland*.

As a reflection had been made against the Treasurer, for remitting yearly about four thousand pounds to the Clans of *Scotland*, as if that sum were designed to keep in heart and discipline the Pretender's friends, the Lord *Townshend* moved for taking that affair into consideration. The Duke of *Argyle* represented, 'That, the *Scots Highlanders* being, for the most part, either rank Papists, or declared Jacobites, the giving them pensions was, in effect, keeping up Popish Seminaries, and fomenting Rebellion.' In answer to this, the Treasurer alledged, 'That in this particular he had but followed the example of the late King *William*, who, after he had reduced the *Highlanders*, thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of the Clans, in order to keep them quiet; and, if the present Ministry could be charged with any mismanagement on that article, it was only for retrenching part of that *Hush-money*.' Nothing being alledged against this apology, the Lord *North* and *Grey* made a motion for returning the Treasurer the thanks of the House for his good services. But the Lord *Bolingbroke*, to put it off, said, 'He was persuaded the Treasurer was contented with the testimony of his own conscience, and desired no farther satisfaction, than to have his conduct approved by that August Assembly.' Which was accordingly done. Upon this unsuccessful attempt upon the Treasurer, the Lord *North* and *Grey* said, with an air of triumph, 'That, having, by this time, removed all fears and jealousies about Popery and the Pretender, he hoped the enemies of the Ministry would now speedily produce all the objections they had against their conduct:' And moved, that a day might be appointed for taking into consideration the State of the Nation, with regard to the treaties of Peace and Commerce. He was seconded by the Earl of *Clarendon*; and then the House adjourned to the 13th of *April*; but, the day before, the Lord Chancellor attended only by the Whig Lords, presented to the Queen their address against the Pretender (1), to which she returned the following answer:

My

(1) The address was as follows:

'We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, having a just and tender concern for your Majesty, and our Country, and being encouraged by that zeal your Majesty has so often expressed from the Throne, for the Protestant Succession in the illustrious House of *Hanover*, do now presume to renew our most humble application to your Majesty, upon a subject so agreeable to you, as this which is nearest your own Royal heart; and do humbly beseech your Majesty, that, whenever your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall judge it necessary, you will be graciously pleased to issue your Royal proclamation, promising a reward

to

1714.

My Lords,

" It would be a real ſtrengthening to the Suc-
" ceſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, as well as
" a ſupport to my Government, that an end
" were put to thoſe groundleſs fears and jealou-
" ſies, which have been ſo induſtriouſly pro-
" moted.

" I do not, at this time, ſee any occaſion for
" ſuch a proclamation. Whenever I judge it
" to be neceſſary, I ſhall give my orders for
" having one iſſued.

" As to the other particulars of this addreſs,
" I will give proper directions therein."

This anſwer revived the hopes of the Preten-
Demand of der's friends, who, before the warm ſpeeches a-
the Pre- gainſt him in both Houſes, were ſo elated and
tender's ſecure of protection, that, towards the end of
declared in *March*, an agent of King *James*'s Queen offered
Chancery. to file a bill in Chancery, wherein he demanded, in her name, the ſum of ſix-hundred fifty-thouſand pounds, due to her by the Crown of *England*, for the dowry of fifty-thouſand pounds *per annum* ſince the death of King *James* the Second. But, the agent having in the bill given her the title of *Queen-mother*, the Officer refuſed to file it; upon which the agent changed the title, and preſented it in the name of *the moſt illuſtrious Princeſs* Maria, *Relict of* James *the Second, King of* England. Though no notice was taken of this formal demand, yet, purſuant to a private agreement made in *France* by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, about fifty-thouſand pounds were remitted thither for her uſe.

Conſulta- The very day, the addreſs againſt the Preten-
tion of the der was preſented, an incident happened, which,
Whig as ſoon as known, threw the Miniſters into the
Lords. utmoſt confuſion. On the 10th of *April*, moſt of the Whig Lords held a conſultation at the Lord *Hallifax*'s, to which Baron *Schutz*, Envoy from the Elector of *Hanover*, was admitted. It was reſolved, purſuant either to the orders, *Schutz* had received from his Court, or to the diſcretionary power, which was lodged with ſome of theſe Lords, that the Envoy ſhould take the firſt opportunity to demand a writ for the Electoral Prince to ſit in the Houſe of Peers, as Duke of *Cambridge*. Accordingly, on the 12th of *April*, Baron *Schutz* made a viſit to the Lord Chancellor, and, among other civilities, acknowledged the affection, he had ſhewn, on ſeveral occaſions, to the moſt ſerene Electoral Houſe of *Hanover*. The Lord-Chancellor told him, he was extremely ſenſible of the honour he did him by his viſit and compliment; and deſired him to aſſure the Elector, of his intire devotion to his ſervice; hoping his Electoral Highneſs gave no credit to the falſe reports, that were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, in order to give him jealouſies of her Majeſty's Miniſters.' The Baron anſwered, he would not fail diſcharging ſo agreeable a commiſſion; but he had a favour to ask of him, in the name of the Electoral Prince, that his Lordſhip would be pleaſed to make out a writ for his ſitting in the Houſe of Peers, as Duke of *Cambridge*. 'The Lord-Chancellor, ſurprized at this unexpected demand, told the Baron, 'It was not uſual to make out writs for Peers, who were out of the Kingdom. However, he would forthwith apply to her Majeſty for directions in this caſe.' The Baron anſwered, 'He did not doubt, his Lordſhip knew, and would perform the duty of his office. But, as to the objection of the Duke of *Cambridge*'s being out of the Kingdom, he would aſſure him, his Electoral Highneſs had reſolved to come over very ſpeedily, and perhaps might be landed before the writ was made out.' Upon this, the Baron taking his leave, the Chancellor deſired him to remember, 'He did not refuſe his demand, but only thought it proper to acquaint the Queen with it; which he would do immediately.' To this the Baron ſaid, 'He likewiſe deſired his Lordſhip to remember, that he applied himſelf to him for the Duke of *Cambridge*'s writ.' The Chancellor having the ſame evening acquainted the Queen, and her chief Miniſters, with theſe paſſages, a Council was immediately called; and, having ſat from nine o'clock till after eleven, it was reſolved, That the Lord Chancellor ſhould make out a writ for Duke of *Cambridge*. This tranſaction, which, the next morning, was firſt whiſpered about in the *Court of Requeſts*, caſt a ſudden damp on the ſpirits of the open and ſecret friends of the Pretender. It was then a queſtion, whether Baron *Schutz* had made that demand by expreſs directions from his Maſter, or only by the advice of ſome Whig Lords. But it is certain, the Queen took ſo ill the Baron's applying himſelf to the Chancellor, before he acquainted her with his orders, that ſhe ſent the Maſter of the Ceremonies to forbid him the Court. Two days after, a meſſenger was diſpatched to Mr. *Thomas Harley*, at the Court of *Hanover*, with inſtructions relating to the new ſcene opened by Baron *Schutz*; who, about a week after, thought fit to return to *Hanover*, having left with Reſident *Kreyenberg* a letter to Mr. *Bromley*, telling him, 'That, having had the misfortune to incur her Majeſty's diſpleaſure, and being thereby rendered incapable of ſerving his Maſter any longer in this Court, he thought it his duty to return home.' *Kreyenberg* delivered this letter to Mr. Secretary *Bromley*, who told him, 'That either he, or any other Miniſter, whom the Elector of *Hanover* would pleaſe to ſend over, would be well received by her Majeſty. 'This affair occaſioned various conjectures: And, as *Schutz*'s declaration of the Duke of *Cambridge*'s intention ſuddenly to come over alarmed the Pretender's adherents, ſo it raiſed the ſpirits of the well

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to any perſon, who ſhall apprehend and bring the Pretender to juſtice, in caſe he ſhall land, or attempt to land, either in *Great-Britain*, or *Ireland*, ſuitable to the importance of that ſervice, for the ſafety of your Majeſty's perſon, and the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*.

We alſo deſire leave to expreſs our very great concern, That your Majeſty's inſtances, for removing the Pretender out of *Lorrain*, have not yet had their effect; and do humbly intreat your Majeſty, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to inſiſt upon, and renew your inſtances for the ſpeedy removing the Pretender out of *Lorrain*; and likewiſe, that your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed, in conjunction with the *States-General*, to deſire the Emperor to enter into the guaranty of the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, and alſo all ſuch other Princes, as your Majeſty ſhall think proper.

1714. well affected to the Houſe of *Hanover*. What was the ſenſe of the Courtiers about the Duke of *Cambridge*'s coming over, and the preſent juncture of affairs, may be gathered from ſome remarkable paſſages in a pamphlet publiſhed about this time with the title *of* Hannibal *not at our gates; or an inquiry into the grounds of our preſent fears of Popery and the Pretender*; of which one of the principal Writers of the *Examiner* was ſuſpected to be the Author. In this pamphlet, it was, among other things, ironically inſinuated, *That a certain Gentleman was gone to* Hanover *to* bamboozel. And indeed it was the general opinion that Mr. *Harley*, who arrived at *Hanover* on the very day Baron *Schutz* demanded the writ, was ſent only to amuſe that Court with profeſſions of the Treaſurer's and all his friends devotion to the Electoral family; and (it is ſaid) as a proof of that devotion, with the very original of a letter, the Queen had writ with her own hand to the Pretender. But, as the ſubject of Mr. *Harley*'s laſt Ambaſſy is ſtill a ſecret, no ſtreſs can be laid on the various conjectures, it occaſioned. It may only be obſerved, he met with a cold reception at *Hanover*, and, making no long ſtay there, came back to *London* on the 25th of *May*. It may likewiſe be remarked, that, upon the firſt ſurprize of Baron *Schutz* demanding the writ for the Duke of *Cambridge*, the Lord *Paget*, who was named Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of *Hanover*, he declined that employment in ſo critical a juncture; and the Earl of *Clarendon* was afterwards appointed.

Reſolution for a ſecond addreſs about the Pretender.

The Lord Chancellor having, on the 13th of *April*, reported to the Houſe of Peers the Queen's anſwer to the addreſs againſt the Pretender, ſome expreſſions in it did not pleaſe the Whig Lords, who moved for another addreſs to return her Majeſty thanks for her anſwer; and containing the grounds and reaſons of their former addreſs. The Court-Lords, foreſeeing that, if ſuch an addreſs was carried, the prevailing party might advance to more vigorous reſolutions, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted not to enter into ungrateful particulars, but to confine themſelves to expreſſions in the Queen's anſwer. An order for ſuch an addreſs being offered, the Duke of *Leeds* moved, that at the cloſe of it, where mention was made of the *fears and jealouſies univerſally ſpread*, the words [*and induſtriouſly*] might be added: Which, after a debate of four hours, wherein the Biſhop of *Sarum* made a long ſpeech, was carried only by the majority of two proxies, the votes in the Houſe being equal, ſixty-one on each ſide. This victory of the Courtiers was by their antagoniſts treated as little better than a defeat. And it is certain, that the Whig Lords had that day carried their point, had it not been for the accidental loſs of four votes: The Duke of *Rutland*, being then at *Newmarket* with a proxy in his pocket; the Duke of *Grafton*, being ſent for home to his Ducheſs then in labour with her firſt child; and the Earl of *Gainsborough*, being taken ſo ill that very morning, that he could not ſign his proxy. It was alſo remarkable, that, of ſixteen Biſhops then in his Houſe, two only, *Rocheſter* and *Durham*, voted with the Court: That the new Biſhops of *London* and *Briſtol*, who were thought blindly devoted to the Miniſtry, joined with the Whigs; as did alſo the Earl of *Angleſea*; which was undoubtedly owing to Baron *Schutz*'s demanding a writ for the Duke of *Cambridge*, which viſibly gave life and weight to the Whig-party. However, the reſolution being laid before the Queen, ſhe only anſwered, 'She thanked them for their addreſs; and that ſhe took very kindly the aſſurances they gave.'

Pr. H. L. 1714.

On the 14th of *April*, a motion was made for taking into conſideration the treaties of Peace and Commerce; and ſome ſpeeches were made on both ſides, after which the debate was adjourned to the 16th. That day the Whig Lords being apprehenſive, that, if any debate aroſe about the *Spaniſh* treaty, the other party would propoſe an addreſs to the Queen, approving of that treaty, which they thought abſurd, they therefore agreed to ſay nothing againſt the treaty, that might draw them into a debate. The Lord *North* and *Grey* ſtood up firſt, and ſaid, If any Lord had any objections againſt the *Spaniſh* treaty, he was ready to anſwer them; and ſo, in a challenging manner, went on for ſome time. After he had done, there was a ſilence for a quarter of an hour; and then the Earl of *Clarendon* ſaid, 'My Lords, ſince no objection can be raiſed againſt the *Spaniſh* treaty, we ſhould addreſs her Majeſty to return her our moſt humble thanks, for having, by a ſafe, honourable, and advantageous peace with *Spain*, delivered theſe Nations from a long, conſuming land war; and to deſire her, notwithſtanding any obſtructions, that may be thrown in her way, to proceed to the Settlement of *Europe*, according to the principles laid down in her moſt gracious ſpeech.' To this the Lord *Cowper* anſwered, 'My Lords, this is the moſt barefaced attempt, that ever was made by this or any other Miniſtry, to ſecure themſelves, by endeavouring to get the ſanction of this Houſe for themſelves. My Lords, I have no objections againſt theſe treaties. Are the Miniſters themſelves jealous, that their actions ſtand in need of the ſanction of this Houſe? Elſe why this endeavour at an addreſs, to make their act the act of the Houſe? The Lord, that ſpoke firſt, acting like a ſoldier, would, by ſkirmiſhing, have drawn on a general engagement; but the troops are too well diſciplined to fall into an ambuſcade of his laying. But I cannot remove my finger from the original of our misfortunes, *the ceſſation of arms*. We were then told, that, if a blow had been ſtruck, it would have ruined the peace. Would to God it had ruined this peace.' To ſupport this, the Lord *Hallifax* ſaid, 'What was laſt mentioned, my Lords, makes me riſe into the higheſt reſentment of the vile uſage given my Lord Duke of *Ormond*; a Lord, for whom I have the moſt profound reſpect. My Lord *Ormond* went over into *Flanders* with a true *Engliſh* heart, which, my Lords, is the beſt in the world, with a deſire to do his Country all the ſervice his great ability capacitated him to do. Therefore, it muſt be inconceivable, the horrible anguiſh it muſt give his noble and generous heart to receive ſuch ſhocking orders, reſtraining the noble ardour of the ſoldiers, fluſhed with former victories, and hopes of ſtill greater.' The Earl of *Nottingham* ſaid, 'My Lords, I never knew the like addreſs to this ever offered at but once, in the caſe of the Duke of *Suffolk*, who, in *Henry* the Seventh's days, had made a treaty, for which he thought it convenient to get the ſanction of this Houſe by an addreſs, and got ſeven Lords made at one time

Debate about the treaties of Peace and Commerce.

April 14. Pr. H. L.

to carry the vote. Yet he was called to an account afterwards for the treaty, notwithſtanding the addreſs. I ſay no more of the man, becauſe he came to an untimely end.' The Biſhop of *Salisbury* likewiſe ſaid, 'My Lords, I do not underſtand what law or reaſon can be given, to impower one Ally to diſengage himſelf from his other Allies, unleſs in a proper manner and time he acquaints them, he has done his *ultimus conatus* *; and that to proceed further would be a *certa pernicies* †. That we had not come to our *ultimus conatus* is plain, ſince in the year of the ceſſation of arms, and the year following, wherein nothing was done, we made as great efforts as the former, when we did ſo many glorious things; and to proceed further, in all human probability, it would have been *certa pernicies* to our then enemy the *French*.' The Biſhop of *London*, who had been one of the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, anſwered, 'My Lords, at the ceſſation of arms, our caſe was the very caſe in point, which the Biſhop of *Sarum* puts, for we had then come to our *ultimus conatus*, and, for aught we know, to proceed further would have been *certa pernicies*.' The Earl of *Wharton* replied, 'I did deſign to have ſaid a great deal to-day, but I find it anticipated by the Lords, who have ſpoken before me. Only I muſt ſay what I learn by ſitting here, that the carrying this vote is the *ultimus conatus* of the Miniſtry; and, if they do not carry it, it will be to them *certa pernicies*. Good, my Lords, gratify my curioſity, to let me ſee what *certa pernicies* will be.' Some other Whig Lords maintained, that there was no abſolute neceſſity of making a peace, the Nation having given almoſt as much money for theſe three years paſt, as during any three years of the war; and, as for the pretended advantages, gained by the treaty with *Spain*, it was plain they were no more than what had been ſtipulated before by the treaty of the year 1667. They alſo complained of the method, in which the Negotiation of peace had been carried on, and of our giving up the intereſts of the Emperor, the King of *Portugal*, and of the *Catalans*. But after a warm debate, that laſted till nine o'clock in the evening, it was reſolved by a Majority of eighty-two votes againſt ſixty-nine, to preſent an addreſs, to acknowledge 'her Majeſty's goodneſs to her people, in delivering them by a ſafe, honourable, and advantageous peace with *France* and *Spain*, from the burthen of a conſuming land war, unequally carried on, and become, at laſt, impracticable; and to intreat her Majeſty to purſue ſuch meaſures, as ſhe ſhould judge neceſſary for compleating the ſettlement of *Europe* on the principles laid down in her Majeſty's ſpeech.' An addreſs to that purpoſe was the next day agreed to, and ſent down to the Commons for their concurrence. 1714.

Report of the Commiſſioners of public accounts. April 13. Pr. H. C.

In the mean time, to prepare the Commons to give their approbation to the conduct of the Miniſtry, in concluding their treaties with *France* and *Spain*, ſeveral papers were laid before the Houſe: Particularly, a report, with obſervations from the Commiſſioners of public accounts, ſetting forth the abuſes and miſmanagements in cloathing the army, in diſpoſing the off-reckonings of regiments, and in other inſtances. Then, to give a view how heavy the war was become to *England*, and how inſupportable the continuance of it would have proved, there was added *a ſtate of the expence of the late war* for twelve years, which, with the Supply of 2,776,228 *l.* granted this Seſſion, amounted to above ſixty-eight millions and a half. But the moſt remarkable paper of all was an account of the ſtate of the ſeveral treaties of peace, between the Queen and her Allies, and *France* and *Spain*, with the obſtructions ſhe had met with, in her endeavours to make the ſame univerſal and compleat; and of what was done relating to the *Catalans*.

Account of the late treaties laid before the Commons. Pr. H. C.

This account (ſuppoſed to be drawn up by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, in order to remove the objections againſt the late treaties, particularly, the giving up the intereſts of the King of *Portugal* and of the *Catalans*) was ſo varniſhed over with gloſſes and popular pretences, that many Members, who were willing to believe what was ſaid, and had no opportunity or inclination to be better informed, were perſuaded of the truth of it, and induced to ſide with the Miniſtry in all the debates about the Succeſſion and Treaties (1).

Many Members gained by it.

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(1) The ſubſtance of this account was as follows: The Author began with artfully ſuggeſting, 'That her Majeſty looked upon the peace between *Spain* and *Portugal* to be as good as concluded: That, in the mean while, her Majeſty had taken the moſt effectual care of the intereſts of the King of *Portugal*, having given to that Prince, on the 18th of *Auguſt* 1713, of her own motion, a new guaranty, whereby the Queen obliged herſelf to ſecure the reſtitution, even by force of arms, if that ſhould become neceſſary, of any thing, which might be taken from *Portugal*, before the concluſion of the peace; to procure to that Crown the Colony of the *Sacrament*, or, in lieu thereof, ſuch an equivalent, as the King of *Portugal* himſelf ſhould be contented to accept: To obtain ſatisfaction to the *Portugueſe*, for what they claim to be due to them on account of their *Aſſiento*, or contract with the Crown of *Spain*; and to ſet on foot, after the peace, an amicable Negotiation, for accommodating the differences, which had ariſen, concerning ſeveral eſtates ſituated in *Portugal*, and claimed by ſubjects of *Portugal*, reſiding in *Spain*; and concerning thoſe *Spaniſh* ſhips, which were, about the beginning of the war, ſeized by the *Portugueſe*. That on theſe principles the Earl of *Strafford* made a ſolemn declaration to the Miniſters of *Spain* in *February* laſt, when he exchanged with them the inſtruments of ratification of the treaties between her Majeſty and the Catholic King. That the peace, which the Queen then ratified, did not diſpenſe with the obligations, which ſhe lay under to the King of *Portugal*, as well by her guaranty lately granted, as by her defenſive Alliance made in 1703.' As to the *Catalans*, it was alledged, 'That the landing of the Earl of *Peterborough* in *Catalonia*, and her Majeſty's entering into that part of the war, were in conſequence of the ſollicitations of the *Catalans*, and other *Spaniards*, affected to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and that all the engagements, which ſhe gave to theſe people, went no farther than the obtaining from King *Charles* the Third a confirmation of their rights and privileges: And although her Majeſty offered, at that time, to give a guaranty for the ſame, and to enter into a treaty with that people; yet it did not appear, that ſuch a guaranty was ever given, or that ſuch a treaty was ever made. That notwithſtanding the treatment the Queen had received from the Emperor, and the juſt provocation ſhe had to leave him to ſtruggle with the conſequences of his own meaſures; yet, at the end of the year 1713, her Majeſty ſet a Negotiation on foot for the evacuation of

1714. *The Proteſtant Succeſſion voted out of danger by the Commons.* Fr. H. C.

On the 15th of *April*, a motion was made in a Committee of the whole Houſe, by Sir *Edward Knatchbull*, and the queſtion put, 'Whether the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover* be in danger under her Majeſty's Government? Mr. Secretary *Bromley* endeavoured to prove, it was not, by repreſenting what the Queen had done for ſecuring that Succeſſion, and removing the Pretender from *Lorrain*.' He was anſwered by Mr. *Walpole*, who, with great ſpirit, ſhewed the Proteſtant Succeſſion to be in danger, not from her Majeſty, but from the dubious conduct of ſome perſons in high ſtations; and therefore inſiſted, that the Queen might not be mentioned in the queſtion. Mr. *Campion*, having ſpoken in vindication of the Miniſtry, was anſwered by the Earl of *Hertford*. The Lord *Hinchingbroke* expreſſed likewiſe his fears of the Proteſtant Succeſſion being in danger, from the encouragement, that was given to the Pretender's friends, and particularly in *North-Britain*, which he had an opportunity to obſerve, when he was there with the regiment, in which he had a troop. After ſome other ſpeeches, the Court-party, being apprehenſive the queſtion would go againſt them, endeavoured to drop it, by moving, that Mr. *Freeman*, Chairman of the Committee, ſhould leave the Chair. Upon this, Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, the Speaker, made a memorable ſpeech, importing, 'That he was ſorry to ſee, that endeavours were uſed to wave that queſtion, and ſtop their mouths; but he was of opinion, this was the proper, and perhaps the only time for Patriots to ſpeak. That a great deal of pains were taken to ſcreen ſome perſons; and, in order to that, to make them overlook the dangers, that threatened the Queen, the Nation, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. That, for his own part, he had all the honour and reſpect imaginable for her Majeſty's Miniſters; but that he owed ſtill more to his Country than to any Miniſter. That, in this debate, ſo much had been ſaid to prove the Succeſſion to be in danger, and ſo little to make out the contrary, that he could not but believe the firſt.' He concluded with taking notice of 'Sir *Patrick Lawleſs* being ſuffered to come over, and admitted to an audience of her Majeſty.' This ſpeech had a great influence on the unbiaſſed and unprejudiced Members; but nevertheleſs, after a long and warm debate, it was reſolved, by a majority of two hundred and fifty ſix voices againſt two hundred and eight, 'Firſt, That it was the opinion of this Committee, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover* was in no danger under her Majeſty's Government. Secondly, That the Houſe be moved, for an addreſs to return the thanks of the Houſe to her Majeſty, for the inſtances ſhe had uſed for the removal of the Pretender from the Dominions of the Duke of *Lorrain*; and to beſeech her to renew her inſtances for his ſpeedy removal from thence.' When theſe reſolutions were reported the next day to the Houſe, there aroſe a debate, in which Mr. *Walpole*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and General *Stanhope* made very ſtrong ſpeeches. Mr. *Walpole*, among other things, applauded the public ſpirit, which the Speaker had ſhewn the day before; but added, He deſpaired of ſeeing truth and juſtice

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Catalonia, and the neutrality of *Italy*. That her Majeſty's aim, by the firſt part of this treaty, was, to ſecure the return of the Emperor, and of the Imperial troops; and, ſince ſhe could no longer ſupport the *Catalans* by her arms, to provide for them by the terms of peace. That her Majeſty's aim, in the ſecond part, was to leave as little room as poſſible for *France*, or *Spain*, to attack his Imperial Majeſty, when the treaties between her Majeſty and the *States-General* ſhould be concluded with the moſt Chriſtian King. That the Queen conſidered, that theſe treaties, and the barrier of the *States*, would ſecure the ten Provinces of the *Netherlands* from any Invaſion; and, by this Convention for a Neutrality in *Italy*, the Emperor's territories in that Country were likewiſe covered; ſo that by the care, which her Majeſty took, ſince he was determined to run the riſk of continuing ſingle in the war, he would lie open in no frontier but that of the *Rhine*, where, by the ſame means, he would be able conſiderably to increaſe his ſtrength, as well with draughts out of *Italy*, as with the *Germans*, and other forces, which were to be tranſported from *Spain*. That it was no ſooner than the end of *January* 1712-13, that, by the good offices of her Majeſty's Miniſters at *Utrecht*, the Imperial and *French* Plenipotentiaries were brought to meet upon this Negotiation; and, in the mean time, her Majeſty endeavoured to induce the Catholic King to facilitate this matter as much as poſſible, and particularly on the head of the privileges of the *Catalans*, in which the Miniſters of *France* concurred with the greateſt earneſtneſs. But that it ſoon appeared, that his Catholic Majeſty, who ſaw the advantage which the conduct of the Imperial Court gave him, would hardly be prevailed upon to grant any thing more than a general *Act of Oblivion*, and a reſtitution of honours and eſtates. That on the 14th of *March*, *N. S.* 1713, the convention for the neutrality of *Italy*, and the evacuation of *Catalonia* was executed, and the article concerning the privileges of the *Catalans* left undetermined; a right being reſerved to her Majeſty to inſiſt, whenever the Emperor ſhould treat of peace, that thoſe privileges ſhould be preſerved to them; and the moſt Chriſtian King declaring, that he would concur with the Queen to the ſame end. That, in *May* 1713, the treaty of peace between her Majeſty and the Catholic King was ſigned proviſionally here, and in *July* definitively at *Utrecht*; whereby there was not only an abſolute amneſty, with a full poſſeſſion of all their eſtates and honours, but alſo the privileges of the *Caſtilians* granted to the *Catalans*; which article was, at leaſt in this reſpect, conſiderable, that the people of *Catalonia* are thereby intitled to hold any employments in the *Weſt-Indies*, or to trade directly thither, in as full and ample a manner, as the people of *Caſtile*, from which they were formerly as much excluded as any foreign Nation whatever. That the preſervation of their antient privileges was neither granted nor directly refuſed by this article; ſo that the Queen, either when the peace ſhould come to be treated between their Imperial and Catholic Majeſties, or on another favourable occaſion, which might offer itſelf, was at liberty to renew her application upon this head. That in the mean time it was certain, that the refuſal of the people of this principality, as well as the iſland of *Majorca*, to ſubmit to the Catholic King, when, in purſuance of the treaty of neutrality, theſe Countries were evacuated by the Emperor's forces, and their obſtinate reſiſtance, ſince that time, muſt, have rendered the obtaining of their privileges ſtill more difficult than it was. In ſhort, that, if the antient privileges of theſe people, in their full extent, were not obtained, it muſt be attributed to thoſe, who rendered it impracticable to treat effectually for them, before the withdrawing of the Queen's forces out of *Catalonia*; and, if their condition was become ſince more deſperate, thoſe only were to anſwer for it, who had encouraged them not to ſubmit a ſecond time to their Prince, with the hopes of relief, which they, who gave ſuch hopes, muſt have known themſelves in no condition of making good.' As to the treaty with *France*, after a long detail of the Negotiation, upon the overtures made by that Crown in *April* 1711, it was alledged, 'That by the

1714. juſtice prevail, ſince, notwithſtanding the weight of a perſon of his known integrity, merit, and eloquence, the majority of votes had carried it againſt reaſon and argument.' General *Stanhope* endeavoured to prove the Proteſtant Succeſſion to be in danger by this ſingle but forcible induction, 'That as it was univerſally acknowledged, it had been the *French* King's intention, ſo it was ſtill his intereſt, and he had it now, more than ever, in his power to reſtore the Pretender.' However, it was carried without a diviſion, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion was out of danger, and that an addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to the Queen. To which addreſs ſhe anſwered, that ſhe would renew her inſtances for the removal of the Pretender out of *Lorrain*.

The Commons agree with the Lords in an addreſs upon the treaties of peace.

The Lords having ſent (as hath been ſaid) a meſſage to the Commons for their concurrence, in an addreſs of thanks for the treaties of peace and commerce with *France* and *Spain*, the meſſage was taken into conſideration on the 22d of *April*, and a warm debate aroſe. The moſt material objections were raiſed by Mr. *Ward*, an eminent Merchant, to the treaties of commerce, in which many eſſential points, particularly the duties on ſeveral ſorts of goods and merchandize, were left looſe and undetermined, and therefore liable to arbitrary explanations. Mr. Auditor *Foley* having anſwered him, he was replied to by Mr. *Horace Walpole*, who was ſupported by Sir *Peter King*. Mr. *Aiſlabie*, who had, ſome time before, left the Court-party, and was therefore removed from his place of one of the Lords of the Admiralty, ſpoke, on this occaſion, with great vehemence againſt the Miniſters, for having made ſo precarious a peace. They were anſwered by Mr. *Campion*; and the leading men among the Whigs plainly perceiving, from the noiſe and laughter of their Antagoniſts, 1714.

H. C the Conferences held with Monſieur *Buys* here, by the accounts, which came from abroad, and by the repreſentations, which ſome of the Allies made to her Majeſty, it appeared undeniably evident, not only that the war was become, on the preſent foot, abſolutely impracticable, but alſo that no alteration could be attempted, either in the method of carrying it on, or in the views, towards which it was directed, without diſſolving at once the Confederacy; and that the diſpute was in fact, not whether a peace, by which *Spain* and the *Indies* would be left to *Philip*, ſhould be made, but who ſhould have the making of it? That the real annual expence of this Kingdom amounted to more than ſeven millions; whereas we were not in a condition effectually to raiſe near ſix millions in the courſe of a year; from hence it follows, that, if this proportion had been continued, about nine millions would have been the true charge of a ſecond year, and about eleven millions that of a third. But this was the ſtate of our affairs, whilſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* contributed nothing but one regiment to the war of *Spain*, little to that of *Italy*, had but few forces, and thoſe intirely unactive, on the *Rhine*; and ſent none into the *Netherlands*, except ſuch, as thoſe harraſſed Provinces were obliged to maintain, and were thereby rendered unable to furniſh troops, or make the neceſſary proviſions for the operations of the army; both which they might otherwiſe have done, and both which they did in an eminent degree, whilſt they were under the Government of the preſent King of *Spain*. That the *States-General* bore a conſiderable burthen; but, as they had, from the year 1708, ſent no ſupplies of any kind, either to *Portugal*, or to *Catalonia*, and had drawn themſelves almoſt intirely out of the *Spaniſh* war; as they furniſhed, in no proportion, their quota for the ſea ſervice; as they had reduced their joint contributions with the Queen, in all payments, to one third of the whole; and as they were very backward in anſwering even this ſhare of expence; ſo the load of *Great-Britain* came, upon their account, as well as upon the Emperor's, to be vaſtly increaſed. As to the reſt of the Allies, all the troops, which they furniſhed, were maintained by the Queen and the *States*, except a few, and thoſe almoſt wholly employed in covering their own frontiers. That, in this ſituation of affairs, her Majeſty declared to the Imperialiſts, and to the *Dutch*, that if they would not allow *France* to have given ſufficient grounds for opening the Conferences; if they were deſirous to carry on the war, and determined to accept of *no terms of peace, inferior to thoſe, which had been formerly demanded and refuſed*; ſhe was, on her part, ready to concur with them. But that, in juſtice to herſelf and to them, ſhe thought herſelf bound to let them know, that ſhe could no longer bear ſo diſproportionate a burthen: That it was evident, that the common effort muſt be ſtill greater than it was; or that there would remain no proſpect of arriving at the ends, which they propoſed; and that for theſe reaſons it would be incumbent upon them, if the war continued, to increaſe their expences, whilſt the Queen reduced hers. That the Miniſters of the *States-General* were very candid and open upon this head: Monſieur *Buys* aſſerted, that his Maſters had done their utmoſt already; and could be obliged to no more: Many of the others had, on ſeveral occaſions, declared their Country unable to ſupport the charge they were at another ſummer; and the Penſionary himſelf, in a deputation of the *States*, appointed to attend the Earl of *Strafford*, in *October* 1711, declared, that it was impoſſible to think of continuing the war another year. That what from the Emperor, and what from the Princes of the *North*, we ſhould be in the utmoſt danger, ſhould we attempt to do it; and finally, that *there were traitors to their Country, who were againſt the peace*. That many inſtances might be produced to ſhew, that there was at leaſt as little reaſon to expect from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as from the *States-General*, a greater effort than they had hitherto made. That the Imperial Miniſters confeſſed, that their Maſter expected the Queen ſhould furniſh all the money; and that the utmoſt he could do, would be to ſend troops at her expence; in the ſame breath avowing the Emperor's intention to break the Negotiation of peace, and to continue the war, till *Spain* was conquered; the intire Monarchy whereof he expected. That upon the death of the late Emperor *Joſeph*, in the beginning of the year 1711, the eyes, not only of the Princes of the Empire, but of all the Confederates, and of her Majeſty, in the firſt place, were immediately fixed on his brother. And this event occaſioned a great alteration in the counſels of *Europe*, and gave a new turn to the ſentiments of many Princes. That there was reaſon to believe, that the Miniſters of *Vienna* themſelves began to cool in the project of recovering *Spain* and the *Indies*. They ſeemed to intend nothing more, than to get the preſent Emperor into *Germany*, and to ſecure the poſſeſſion of *Italy* to themſelves. That, in *Holland*, a partition of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſeemed almoſt the general ſcheme; and the conduct of that Republic, as well as the confeſſion of its Miniſters, ſhewed, that the project of driving *Philip* out of *Spain* was looked upon there to be pure chimera. That her Majeſty had been acquainted, that ſome of the Princes of the Empire thought it a point, which deſerved the moſt ſerious reflection, whether they ſhould ſuffer the Imperial and *Spaniſh* Crowns to be united on the ſame head; and whether it might not be proper, in the capitulation of the Empire, to inſiſt on the ſeparating of them. That other Members of the grand Alliance, and thoſe the only two, with whom her Majeſty had entered into any formal engagement, for recovering the intire *Spaniſh* Monarchy, repreſented upon the ſame occaſion

1714. tagoniſts, that they were ſure of a majority, gave up the conteſt, and did not think fit to inſiſt on a diviſion, which would but expoſe their weakneſs. So it was reſolved to agree with the Lords in the following addreſs, which was preſented, the 24th of *April*, by both Houſes to the Queen:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

" WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loy-
" al ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and
" Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſ-
" ſembled, beg leave to expreſs the juſt ſenſe,
" which we have of your Majeſty's goodneſs to
" your people, in delivering them, by a ſafe,
" honourable and advantageous peace with
" *France* and *Spain*, from the heavy burthen of
" a conſuming land war, unequally carried on,
" and become at laſt impracticable. And we
" do moſt earneſtly intreat your Majeſty, that
" you will be pleaſed, with the ſame ſteadineſs, 1714.
" notwithſtanding all the obſtructions, which
" have been, or may be thrown in your way,
" to purſue ſuch meaſures, as you ſhall judge
" neceſſary for compleating the Settlement
" of *Europe*, on the principles laid down by
" your Majeſty in your moſt gracious ſpeech
" from the Throne."

To which the Queen returned this anſwer:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The ſtate of public affairs in *Europe*, as
" well as the neceſſities of my own Kingdom,
" obliged me to enter into a Negotiation of
" peace; and, notwithſtanding all obſtructions
" and difficulties, I have, by the bleſſing of
" God, brought it to a happy concluſion.
" I eſteem this addreſs as the united voice of
" my affectionate and loyal ſubjects; and I re-
" turn you all the heartieſt thanks, which can
" be

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occaſion againſt placing this Crown on the Emperor's head. And it was urged by one of the moſt conſiderable Princes in the Alliance, that the principle, upon which he engaged in the war, was now altered; and that, inſtead of fighting to procure the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, his intereſt, and even his ſafety, required, that he ſhould fight to prevent it. That the caſe therefore ſtood thus: The preſent Emperor, even after his brother's death, and his own election, would content himſelf with nothing leſs, than the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and inſiſted, that the war ſhould be proſecuted in this view. Of the other Allies, ſome looked on this proſpect as chimerical, others as dangerous: From whence it follows, that to keep the grand Alliance united in this principle was impracticable; and it muſt be allowed, that to have many different intereſts, and to have formed a ſyſtem intirely new, in the midſt of the war, was an experiment too hazardous to be attempted. That in this ſituation of affairs no time was to be loſt. The Queen knew very well, that attempts to open a treaty with *France* ſeparately from her were made by thoſe, who clamoured the loudeſt againſt her meaſures; and the preſent Emperor had thought fit, on board one of her Majeſty's ſhips, and by her own Miniſters, to ſend her a meſſage of the ſame nature. She therefore inſiſted with the *Imperialiſts*, and with the *Dutch*, that ſhe would be at ſome certainty, and that they ſhould comply with her in the meaſures either of war or peace. The war being become impracticable, as was ſhewn before, the Author of the *Account* relates what obſtructions there were to the carrying on a treaty of peace. That the principal, and only avowed diſpute between her Majeſty and the *States* at this time, concerned the method of carrying a Negotiation forward. That, the *States* pretended, that a fair opportunity would be given to the Miniſters of *France* to divide the Confederates, if they were ſuffered to meet together in a general Congreſs, before the eſſential articles of peace were ſettled by ſpecific preliminaries. That the uſe, which had been made of this method on a former occaſion, to evade the concluding of any peace, when, according to the confeſſion of the *Dutch* Miniſters themſelves, the difference, on which the Allies and *France* broke off, did not deſerve the life of a ſingle ſoldier, gave no great encouragement to purſue the ſame again: Beſides which, as the Queen would not take upon her to ſettle the intereſts of others, neither would ſhe ſuffer others to determine thoſe of her own Kingdoms: And, if all the Confederates were to aſſemble, in order to adjuſt a preliminary treaty, the objection made by the *States* returned upon them. That, in *December* 1711, the *States* concurred with her Majeſty in fixing the place and time of the treaty: And, if nothing had happened to revive the ſpirits of thoſe, who were bent againſt the peace, it is highly probable, by the little time, which it coſt to conclude moſt of the treaties, after the Conferences, that had been interrupted, were reſumed at *Utrecht*, and the Allies proceeded in earneſt to negotiate, that the treaties of all the Confederates with *France* might have been finiſhed, before the ſeaſon of opening the campaign in 1712: But that, before Monſieur *Buys* returned into *Holland*, or the Conferences could begin, the efforts were renewed with the greateſt vigour, to break off the Negotiations; the cry againſt a peace, by which *Spain* and the *Indies* ſhould be left to any branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, became louder than ever; and letters and memorials were not only delivered, but printed; and appeals made againſt her Majeſty's proceedings to all *Europe*, and even to her own ſubjects. That, on theſe encouragements, the good diſpoſitions towards peace received a check; and ſome of thoſe, who had owned themſelves againſt the proſecution of the war, to recover the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, joined now, under this very pretence, to break the meaſures of peace. That the treatment, which her Majeſty met with at this time, will appear in the cleareſt light from this circumſtance: The Miniſter of the *States-General* propoſed to her Majeſty's ſervants, that, conſidering the difficulties, which the Queen lay under, how impoſſible it was to recover by war, or by treaty, the *Spaniſh* Monarchy from King *Philip*, and how impoſſible he apprehended it to be for her Majeſty to carry on any Negotiation, by which this Monarchy ſhould be left to *Philip*, he was ready (to extricate her Majeſty from this dilemma, and to ſcreen her Miniſters in carrying on the work, which they had begun) in the name of his Maſters, to preſent a memorial, by which the point of obtaining *Spain* and the *Indies* ſhould be given up; provided he might be aſſured, that the *Dutch* ſhould have an equal ſhare with her Majeſty's ſubjects in the *Aſſiento*, which contract, he ſuppoſed, it was ſtipulated ſhould be made with *Great-Britain*. That, from the cauſes, and by the ſteps abovementioned, was the diſunion among the Allies arrived to the higheſt pitch, at the opening of the Conferences in *January* 1711-12, when the ſtricteſt union amongſt them was more than ever neceſſary, and when the whole fruit of thoſe ſucceſſes, wherewith God had bleſſed their cauſe, in the courſe of the war, depended on it. That they ſent their ſeveral Plenipotentiaries to *Utrecht*; but it was very apparent, that moſt of them acted on that maxim, which one of them profeſſed, that giving into the meaſures of peace was the ſureſt way to continue the war. They flattered themſelves, that, the Imperial Miniſters, in conjunction with thoſe of *Britain*, having, two years before, baffled the deſigns of *Holland* to make peace, it would be, at leaſt, as eaſy for the

1714. " be given by a Sovereign, who deſires nothing " more, than to ſee her people ſafe and flou- " riſhing (1)."

Thus the Miniſters obtained a Parliamentary ſanction to their late meaſures, and by that means thought themſelves ſecure from any future enquiries.

A letter from Leſley to a favourer of the Pretender.

In the mean time, notwithſtanding the proceedings and addreſſes of both Houſes againſt the Pretender, his friends, depending on a ſuperior power, ſtill endeavoured to promote his intereſt with great induſtry. To this purpoſe, a letter written by Mr. *Leſley*, a famous Nonjuring Clergyman, from *Barleduc* in *Lorrain*, the Pretender's Reſidence, to a Member of Parliament in *London*, was openly handed about, containing a particular account of the ſtate of affairs, and what obſervations Mr. *Leſley* had made ſince his coming thither (2).

The Queen writes to the Princeſs Sophia about the Duke of Cambridge's coming over.

About the ſame time, both parties being in ſuſpenſe, upon the hopes or fears of the coming over of the Duke of *Cambridge*, the Authors of the *Examiner* plainly enough diſcovered the perplexity ſome of the Miniſters were in at that juncture *. On the other hand, Mr. *Toland* publiſhed *the reaſons and neceſſity of the Duke of* Cambridge's *coming and reſiding in* Great-Britain; the laſt of which reaſons was, 'That the Prince's coming over would bring to the teſt ſome great perſons, who were reported to act on perfidious and dangerous principles to the *Hanover* family.' But neither the Queen nor her Miniſters were willing to put things upon that iſſue; for, upon a report, that the Princeſs *Sophia* intended to deſire the Queen's approbation for the Duke of *Cambridge*'s coming into *England*, her Majeſty, with the advice of her Cabinet Council, wrote to that Princeſs the following letter:

* The Examiner, of Apr. 23. 1714.

Madam, Siſter, Aunt,

'Since the right of Succeſſion to my Kingdoms has been declared to belong to you and your Family, there have always been diſaffected perſons, who, by particular views of their own intereſt, have entered into meaſures to fix a Prince of your blood in my Dominions, even whilſt I am yet living. I never thought, till now, that this project would have gone ſo far, as to have made the leaſt impreſſion on your mind. But, as I have lately perceived by public rumours, which are induſtriouſly ſpread, that your Electoral Highneſs is come into this ſentiment, it is of importance, with reſpect to the Succeſſion of your Family, that I ſhould tell you, ſuch a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it ſome conſequences, that will be dangerous to that Succeſſion itſelf, which is not ſecure any other ways, than as the Prince, who actually wears the Crown, maintains her authority and prerogative. There are here (ſuch is our misfortune) a great many people, that are ſeditiouſly diſpoſed. So I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raiſe, if they ſhould have a pretext to begin a commotion. I perſuade myſelf, therefore, you will never conſent, that the leaſt thing ſhould be done, that may diſturb the repoſe of me or my ſubjects. 1714.

Open yourſelf to me with the ſame freedom I do to you, and propoſe whatever you think may contribute to the ſecurity of the Succeſſion, I will come into it with zeal, provided that it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am reſolved to maintain. I am, with a great deal of affection, *&c.*'

St. James's, *May* 19, 1714.

Superſcribed,

To my Siſter and Aunt, Electreſs Dowager of Brunſwick *and* Lunenburg.

The Queen, at the ſame time, wrote a letter to the Duke of *Cambridge* to this effect:

Couſin,

'An accident, which has happened in my Lord *Paget*'s family, having hindered him from ſetting forward ſo ſoon as he thought to have done,

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Miniſters of the Empire, in conjunction with thoſe of the *States-General*, to render fruitleſs, at this time, all her Majeſty's endeavours to the ſame end. And that, after this, it would not appear ſurprizing, if the utmoſt dexterity was exerted to delay the entering on buſineſs at *Utrecht*, and to wait for the events of the campaign. Concluding, that, from this ſtate of the ſeveral treaties between her Majeſty, her Allies, and *France* and *Spain*, the reaſonableneſs of all the ſteps her Majeſty had taken, and thoſe deſigns, which had been purſued at firſt, to wreſt the Negotiation out of her hands, and ſince to unravel all that had been done, and to throw us into confuſion, would ſufficiently appear.'

This account made a great impreſſion upon the generality of the Members; yet the weight of it will be eaſily taken off, by comparing it with the original papers relating to thoſe tranſactions, which were afterwards inſerted in the *Report of the Committee of Secrecy*.

(1) Though the Queen eſteemed this addreſs, *as the united voice of her loyal ſubjects*, yet the Lords in their firſt addreſs to King *George* I. ſaid, *It is by no means to be imputed to the Nation in general:* And the Commons, in leſs than a year afterwards, ſaid: 'We are ſenſibly touched not only with the diſappointment, but with the reproach brought upon the Nation by the unjuſtifiable concluſion of a war, which was carried on at ſo vaſt an expence, and was attended with ſuch unparalleled ſucceſſes: But, as that diſhonour cannot in juſtice be imputed to the whole Nation, ſo we firmly hope, and believe, that, through your Majeſty's great wiſdom, and the faithful endeavours of your Commons, the reputation of theſe your Kingdoms will, in due time, be vindicated and reſtored.'

(2) This letter is dated, *April* 23, 1714, and begins with a deſcription of the Pretender's perſon and character; his graceful mien, magnanimity of ſpirit, devotion free from bigotry, application to buſineſs, ready apprehenſion, ſound judgment, and affability; ſo that none converſed with him, but what were charmed with his good ſenſe and ſweetneſs of temper.' Then, coming to the main deſign of this letter, Mr. *Leſley* ſaid, That the Chevalier expreſſed no reſentment at the cruel proceedings of the Parliament, to leave him no place to flee unto. But that other men were aſtoniſhed, and ſaid, '*For what is all this rage? What has he done? Was it a crime in him to be born? If his birth was ſuppoſititious, it was a good reaſon indeed to bar his acceſſion to the Throne, but none to perſecute him, or ſet a price on his head, as was propoſed in Parliament, by a rich and powerful party, to encourage the aſſaſſination of him.* He added, 'That, ſince ſo much depended on his Birth, why was it not inquired into? That the Prince of *Orange* promiſed it in his firſt declaration, and referred it to be examined in Parliament: But, this not having been done

1714. done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with reſpect to the deſign you have of coming into my Kingdoms. As the opening of this matter ought to have been firſt to me; ſo I expected you would not have given ear to it, without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendſhip I have for you, and the Electoral Houſe, to which you belong; and the true deſire I have, that it may ſucceed to my Kingdoms: And this requires of me, that I ſhould tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my Dominions, and the right of Succeſſion in your line, and conſequently more diſagreeable to me, than ſuch a proceeding at this juncture.'

I am,

With a great deal of friendſhip,

Your very affectionate Couſin,

St. James's, *May* 19, 1714. ANNE R.

The Lord-Treaſurer, who began now to be ſenſible of the aſcendant Lord *Bolingbroke* had over him at Court, thought it his beſt way to ſecure a retreat behind the Proteſtant Succeſſion, which the other was undermining with more precipitation than before. For, the Queen having never recovered her fit at *Chriſtmas*, it was thought proper to haſten the meaſures that were taken to defeat the Proteſtant Succeſſion. The Treaſurer, who was no ſtranger to theſe proceedings, though he was not concerned in them, wrote alſo a letter to the Elector of *Brunſwick:*

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

'Though I expect Mr. *Harley* every moment in return from your Court, and thereby ſhall have another opportunity of doing myſelf the honour to preſent your Royal Highneſs with my moſt humble duty, and the aſſurance of my utmoſt ſervice; yet I cannot ſlip this occaſion of the Queen's Meſſenger attending your Royal Highneſs with her Majeſty's letter, to lay myſelf at your feet. I have no enemy, that knows me, who is not juſt enough to allow me, to be inviolably devoted to your Succeſſion, nothing coming in competition with that, becauſe I know I pleaſe the Queen, when I am zealous for the ſervice of your Serene Houſe. I hope, therefore, I ſhall find credit with your Royal Highneſs, when I humbly lay my ſincere opinion before you. The Queen is moſt heartily for your Succeſſion. If there be any thing, which may render it more ſecure, which is conſiſtent with her Majeſty's ſafety, it will be accompliſhed. It is not the eager deſires of ſome, nor what flows from the advice of others, whoſe diſcontents perhaps animate their zeal, can balance the ſecurity you have in the Queen's friendſhip, and the dutiful affection of all her faithful ſubjects; for, as I am ſure your Royal Highneſs's great wiſdom would not chuſe to rule by a party, ſo you will not let their narrow meaſures be the ſtandard of your Government. I doubt not, but the accident, that happened about the writ, may be improved, to increaſe the moſt perfect friendſhip between the Queen and your moſt Serene Family. I will ſtudy to do every thing to demonſtrate the profound veneration and reſpect, wherewith I am, *&c.*

OXFORD.

There was another letter from the Queen to the Elector of *Brunſwick*, but written in a ſtyle ſo unbecoming the one and the other, that the perſons, to whom theſe letters were tranſmitted, did not think fit to give copies of it; but, upon a report induſtriouſly ſpread by the Pretender's agents, that the Duke of *Cambridge* might have came over, if the Elector his father would have let him, but, that the Elector did not think the Crown of *Great-Britain* worth accepting, the copies of the other three letters were diſperſed in print. This gave ſo great offence to the Miniſters, that the publiſher and the perſon who ſent him the letters were ſeized by Lord *Bolingbroke*'s warrant, and bound over to appear at the *Queen's-Bench*.

The Princeſs *Sophia*, now in the 84th year of her age, was much affected by theſe letters, and on the 28th of *May*, the day after the receipt, being ſeized as ſhe was walking in the gardens at *Death of the Princeſs Sophia May 28*

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done either by Parliament, Court of Judicature, or any other authority whatever, it afforded an infallible demonſtration of the truth of his Birth; ſince, by the laws of God and Man, every child, that is owned by both parents, is to be received as ſuch, unleſs evident proof be made to the contrary. That it was very obvious, why former Parliaments, and in a former reign, would not enter into the examination of his Birth, becauſe they knew the truth of it, and that no proof could be made againſt it. But the falſe rumours and ſuppoſitions, which were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad concerning it, to make way for the Prince of *Orange* more eaſily to aſcend the Throne (having ſerved their turn) were laid aſide, like ſcaffolding, when a Houſe is built. That he hoped it was reſerved for this Parliament, to make a full examination, and to ſet the Nation at reſt upon this material point; if not, the Birth of this Prince was infallibly confirmed. That there was no danger herein to his Siſter, who now reigned; for none could doubt but he would be very well pleaſed to make ſuch a compromiſe with her, that ſhe might hold the Crown during her life, provided his Succeſſion after her were ſettled; and give all the ſecurity for this, that could be deſired, even to put his perſon into her hands, if ſhe thought fit. And that would unite both their intereſts, and render her reign more ſecure and comfortable to her, than it was or could otherwiſe be. That, if we were afraid of a Popiſh Succeſſor, why did we make the next Succeſſor a Papiſt? For it was they did it, who baniſhed him, when an infant, into a Popiſh Country, and paſſed an act of attainder againſt him, if he ſhould return to be inſtructed in our religion; and had ſent to all the Proteſtant Courts in *Europe* not to admit him, or to drive him thence, if he ſhould come, and had excluded him from the Crown, without any reſerve for him, though he ſhould become a Proteſtant; and at the ſame time declared openly, they would not believe him, if he ſhould profeſs it: Which things were ſo irrational, that they had no tolerable foundation to ſtand upon. That the *Britiſh* Nation had no reaſon to be afraid of the Chevalier's introducing Popery and Slavery, ſince he had neither foreign Force nor Alliances; and, if he were upon the Throne, he muſt be perfectly in the hands of his people. That, as to religion, he had promiſed to hear, in due time and place, what could be ſaid on that ſubject; which was all that could be expected. But that, whatever ſhould be the iſſue of his hearing, as to

1714. at *Herenhauſen* with a fit of the apoplexy, died in the arms of the Electoral Princeſs (the late Queen *Caroline*) and the Counteſs of *Pickenburg*, who were talking with her, before any other perſon could come to her aſſiſtance. This Princeſs was fourth and youngeſt daughter of *Frederick*, King of *Bohemia*, and *Elizabeth* of *England*, only daughter of King *James* the Firſt; and was born at the *Hague*, the 3d of *October*, 1630: So ſhe was eighty-three years, eight months, and five days old at her death. In the year 1658, ſhe was married to *Erneſt Auguſtus*, Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, (fourth and youngeſt ſon to *George* Duke of *Lunenburg-Zell*) who, in 1662, ſucceeded Count *Francis* of *Wirtenberg*, in the Biſhopric of *Oſnabrugh*: In 1680, on the death of his eldeſt brother, *John Frederic* Duke of *Hanover*, *Erneſt Auguſtus* ſucceeded him alſo in that dignity; and, in the year 1692, he received the inveſtiture of the Electoral dignity of *Brunſwick Lunenburg*. This Prince died on the 23d of *January* 1698, having had, by the Princeſs *Sophia*, ſix ſons, *George Lewis*, *Frederic Auguſtus*, *Maximilian William*, *Charles Philip*, *Chriſtian*, and *Erneſt Auguſtus*, and one daughter, *Sophia Dorothy*, who, in the year 1684, became the ſecond wife of *Frederic* the Third, King of *Pruſſia*. The Princeſs *Sophia* had a very ſtrong healthy conſtitution, and was endowed with great abilities natural and acquired. She was perfect miſtreſs of the *Low-Dutch*, *German*, *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Italian* languages, and had a genius equally turned for converſation or buſineſs, which rendered her not only the ornament and delight of her Court, but qualified her to manage and ſupport the higheſt intereſts. The greatneſs of her ſoul bore proportion to her birth, and the ſtation, which ſhe filled; but with all was tempered with ſo much ſweetneſs and affability, that the duty of thoſe below her became their pleaſure. No one ever gave liberties with a better choice, or could act without reſerve to greater advantage. She behaved in both parts to admiration, as a daugher of *England*, and as a mother of *Germany*. Her wit was ſpritely, curious, and ſurprizing; her judgment ſolid and penetrating, founded upon the nobleſt maxims from reading and ſtudy, explained by obſervation and experience. Nothing could exceed the beauties and advantages of her converſation, but her letters; both were eaſy, entertaining, and uſeful. She had a fund of happineſs within herſelf, which gave a reliſh to her retirements: But her care in Government and oeconomy ſhewed the juſt ſenſe ſhe had of being born for the good of others. Her piety was exemplary without affectation; her ſentiments of religion juſt and noble, neither perplexed with doubts, nor inſlaved by ſuperſtition. The neighbourhood of the Jeſuits ſerved only to confirm her in the opinion ſhe had of the impoſtures and corruptions of their Church and Order. But, though bred up in the Reformed Religion, according to the *Calvinian* diſcipline, yet ſhe ever had a great eſteem for the Liturgy and Conſtitution of the Church of *England*. She hated every thing, that was ſour, malicious, or ill-natured to ſuch a degree, that none could be more ſedulous to oppoſe, or more active to ſuppreſs, every little quarrel and party, that grew up, where ſhe had any influence. 1714.

Baron *Bothmar* arrived at *London* on the 25th of *June*, with the character of Envoy Extraordinary from the Elector of *Hanover*, and, in a private audience of the Queen, notified the death of the Princeſs *Sophia*; upon which, an order was made in Council for mourning, and for praying for the Elector of *Brunſwick*, in the Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

In the conſultation held by the Miniſtry, after the demand of the Duke of *Cambridge*'s writ, wherein it was debated, Whether the Queen ſhould invite over that Duke? The Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy-Seal, and another Privy-Counſellor, were for it; but the Lord *Bolingbroke* having oppoſed it, and carried the negative, reſolved to puſh his point, and to uſe all poſſible means to defeat the Proteſtant Succeſſion. With that view he is ſaid to have broke all meaſures with the Treaſurer, and united himſelf more cloſely with the High-Church party. As the farther diſcouragement and even ruin of the Diſſenters was thought neceſſary for accompliſhing this ſcheme, it was begun with the famous *Schiſm-bill*. A motion for it, on the 12th of *May*, by Sir *William Wyndham*, was introduced, by reading the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th ſections of the *act of Uniformity*, *The Schiſm bill moved for.* Pr. H. C.

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to his own private judgment, the Church of *England* might be no leſs ſecure; for it was always his fixed perſuaſion, that the ſecurity of the Crown and Church of *England* was, next under God, in their mutual ſupport of each other. And becauſe the greateſt hurt any King of *England* can do to the Church of *England* is putting bad Biſhops upon her; this being a corrupting the fountain; therefore, to avoid all jealouſies, he was willing, during his reign, ſo far to wave his prerogative in the nomination of Biſhops, Deans, and other Eccleſiaſtical preferments in the gift of the Crown, that five Biſhops ſhould be appointed, of which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for the time being, always to be one; who, upon any vacancy, might name three perſons to him, of whom he would chooſe one. And the Church of *England*, as by law eſtabliſhed, ſhould be ſecured in the ſole poſſeſſion, not only of all the Churches, but of the Univerſities, and even Schools. And, as a further mark of his favour, he remitted, during his time, the tenths and firſt-fruits payable by the Biſhops and Clergy to the Crown. That he had informed himſelf of paſt miſcarriages, and knew well the difference between the office of a King and a Miſſionary. That therefore he would concern himſelf with no man's religion, but was reſolved to defend that, which was legally eſtabliſhed, and whoſe principles are true to Monarchy, and ſafe for Government. That, for the ſatisfaction of the Church of *England*, and his own Reſtoration, he thought himſelf obliged to do every thing, that was conſiſtent with conſcience and honour. That, as an inſtance of his good intentions, he had ſent for Mr. *Leſley* to officiate to the Proteſtants in his family; had cauſed a room to be fitted up in his own Houſe for a Chapel for them; and had taken out of their congregation his preſent Secretary of State and chief Miniſter.' And, in order to prejudice the people againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion, Mr. *Leſley* ſubjoined, 'That the avowed doctrine of the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover* was Conſubſtantiation; which was as erroneous, and as contrary to the doctrine of the Church of *England*, as Tranſubſtantiation; and yet no proviſion had been made, that, when they ſhould come into *Great-Britain*, they ſhould be of the Communion of the Church of *England*.'

(1) Sir

1714. *mity*, paſſed after the Reſtoration, by which, above two thouſand Miniſters were turned out of their Livings. The motion being approved, a bill was ordered to be brought in, *to prevent the growth of Schiſm, and for the further ſecurity of the Church of* England *as by law eſtabliſhed* (1). On the other hand, in order to ſtrengthen the Jacobite party in *Scotland*, a motion was made for a bill, to inveſt the *Scots* Biſhops revenues and rents in the Queen, to be applied to the ſupport of the Epiſcopal Clergy. To render this bill ineffectual, it was propoſed by the Whigs, that theſe revenues ſhould be applied to ſuch only of the Epiſcopal Clergy, as ſhould pray for the Queen and the Princeſs *Sophia* in expreſs words. As the Court-party could not well oppoſe this addition, and as the reſuming of the Epiſcopal revenues (which had been forfeited at the Revolution, and given to the Miniſters of the Kirk of *Scotland*) would have been attended with great difficulties, the bill was ſuffered to drop. It was, however, reſolved to finiſh the Schiſm-bill. When this bill was ingroſſed and read the third time in order to be paſſed, there aroſe a long and warm debate. Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Robert Walpole*, General *Stanhope*, Mr. *Lechmere*, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, and Sir *Peter King*, exerted their eloquence in oppoſing it, repreſenting in general, 'That it looked more like a decree of *Julian* the Apoſtate, than a law enacted by a Proteſtant Parliament, ſince it tended to raiſe as great a perſecution againſt our Proteſtant brethren, as either the primitive Chriſtians ever ſuffered from the Heathen Emperors, or the Proteſtants from Popery and the Inquiſition.' Mr. *Stanhope* ſhewed, in particular, the ill conſequences of this law, as it would of courſe occaſion foreign education; which, on the one hand, would drain the Kingdom of great ſums of money; and, which was ſtill worſe, fill the tender minds of young men with prejudices againſt their own Country. He illuſtrated and ſtrengthened his argument by the example of the *Engliſh* Popiſh Seminaries abroad, which, he ſaid, were ſo pernicious to *Great-Britain*, that, inſtead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, he could wiſh thoſe already in force againſt Papiſts were mitigated; and that they ſhould be allowed a certain number of ſchools. The chief advocates for the bill were Mr. Secretary *Bromley*, Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr. *Hungerford*, and Mr. *Collier*. Mr. *Bromley* maintained, 'The Diſſenters were equally dangerous both to Church and State. However, if the Members, who ſpoke in their behalf, would have this bill drop, he would readily conſent to it, provided another bill were brought in, to incapacitate them either to ſit in that Houſe, or to vote in elections of members of Parliament.' Mr. *Walpole* anſwered this ſpeech with great force; after which Mr. *Hungerford* recapitulated, and, in his uſual ludicrous way, faintly laboured to confute what had been offered by the Whig Members.

A bill, for reſuming the Epiſcopal revenues in Scotland, *is dropped.* May 22.

Debate about the Schiſm-bill, which paſſed. Pr. H. C.

Mr. *Collier*, who brought up the rear, did ſtill worſe. This man, formerly an Attorney, had, by a wife, got the Directorſhip of the Play-houſe in *Drury-Lane*; and afterwards, by his intruding aſſurance, the acquaintance and intimacy of the Lord *Bolingbroke*. At whoſe earneſt requeſt, Mr. *Collier*, though ſcarce worth thirty pounds a year, was, by the Duke of *Beaufort*'s intereſt, brought into the Houſe of Commons, where he took this ſolemn occaſion to ſignalize his zeal for the cauſe he was to ſerve. With this intention he ſeconded Mr. *Hungerford*, and, in order to expoſe the Diſſenters, he deſired leave to read to the Houſe a collection of abſurdities and impious expreſſions, which he pretended to have taken from their Writings. After reading part of this impertinent legend, he fell on a paſſage extracted from the nonſenſical rhapſodies of the late Mr. *Hickeringill*, Miniſter at *Colcheſter*, wherein Mr. *Collier* ſaid, he averred, *That our bleſſed Saviour was a Son of a W*——. At theſe ſhocking expreſſions, Mr. *Bromley* interrupted him, ſaying, *Such impious words ought not to be repeated in that Aſſembly.* On the other hand, ſome other Members obſerved, That Mr. *Hickeringill* was not a Diſſenting Teacher, but a Miniſter of the Church of *England:* And that he was known to be crack-brain'd; and therefore his extravagancies and blaſphemies proved nothing againſt any ſet of men, much leſs againſt the Diſſenters. Mr. *Lechmere* ſpoke againſt the bill with great vehemence; and, among other things, took notice, 'That the indulgence granted to Proteſtant Diſſenters, ſince the Revolution, had been ſo far from hurting the Church, that it had rather inlarged its pale; and it was notorious, that ſome perſons [*meaning the Treaſurer, the Chancellor, and the Lord* Bolingbroke] who had been bred among Schiſmatics, were, or, at leaſt, pretended to be the ſtrongeſt ſupports of the Eſtabliſhed Church.' Several other ſpeeches were made for and againſt the bill; which was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty-ſeven voices againſt one hundred and twenty-ſix; and Sir *William Wyndham*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, who brought it into the Houſe, and promoted it with all his power, was ordered to carry it to the Lords.

The public were divided in their opinions whether the Lord-Treaſurer was for or againſt this bill. It is ſaid * that the Schiſm-bill was caſtrated by him, and that he took out the moſt malicious and perſecuting part which had been formed by *Atterbury*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Wyndham*. However this be, the Lord *Harley*, his ſon, Mr. *Thomas Harley* his couſin (lately returned from *Hanover*) and all his friends, except his brother the Auditor, voted for the bill.

* Hist. of the Wh. State.

When

(1) Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr. *Cholmondley*, Sir *John Stonehouſe*, Sir *Arthur Kay*, Mr. *Campion*, Mr. *Gore*, Mr. *Aldworth*, Mr. Secretary *Bromley*, Lord *Downe*, Mr. *Finch*, Mr. *Windſor*, Sir *William Whitlocke*, and Dr. *Paske* were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill. Whilſt this was doing, it was reſolved to addreſs the Queen for a copy of the inſtructions given to the Earl of *Strafford*, with relation to the declarations made by him on the part of her Majeſty, to the Miniſters of the ſeveral Allies who had any troops in her Majeſty's pay before the ceſſation of arms. This addreſs was voted with intention to prepare the way for refuſing to pay the arrears of 65,022 *l.* 8 *s.* 8 *d.* due to the Elector of *Hanover*'s troops, which had been lately demanded by the Electoral Highneſs's Miniſter.

When the bill was read the firſt time in the Houſe of Peers, the Lord *Bolingbroke* ſaid, ‘ It was a bill of the laſt importance, ſince it concerned the ſecurity of the Church of *England*, the beſt and firmeſt ſupport of the Monarchy; both which all good men, and, in particular, that Auguſt Aſſembly, who derive their luſtre from, and are neareſt the Throne, ought to have moſt at heart: And therefore he moved, that it ſhould be read a ſecond time.’ The Lord *Cowper* ſaid, ‘ No man was more ready than himſelf to do every thing, that ſhould appear neceſſary to attain the ſeeming intention of this bill, *the preventing the growth of Schiſm, and the further ſecuring the Church of* England. But the enacting part would be ſo far from anſwering the title of it, that, in his opinion, it would have a quite contrary effect, and prove equally pernicious to Church and State.’ He ſpoke on theſe two heads near half an hour, and, among other things, repreſented, ‘ That inſtead of preventing Schiſm, and inlarging the pale of the Church, this bill tended to introduce ignorance, and its inſeparable attendants, ſuperſtition and irreligion.’ To this purpoſe, he took notice, ‘ That, in many Country-towns, reading, writing, and grammar-ſchools were chiefly ſupported by the Diſſenters; not only for the inſtruction and benefit of their own children, but likewiſe of thoſe of poor Churchmen; ſo that the ſuppreſſing of thoſe ſchools would, in ſome places, ſuppreſs the reading the Holy Scriptures.’ On the other hand, he obſerved, ‘ That this bill ſtruck at the antient rights and prerogative of the Houſe of Peers; which, by the conſtitution, is the ſupreme Court of Judicature, and the *Dernier reſort* in all Cauſes; whereas, by this bill, *the Juſtices of the Peace were impowered finally to hear and determine the offences againſt the ſame.* My Lords, *added he*, I would rather inlarge, than abridge the power of Juſtices of the Peace, were it but to encourage Gentlemen to take upon them an office ſo troubleſome, and at the ſame time ſo unprofitable; unleſs it be perhaps in the County of *Middleſex*. But, my Lords, I ſhall never conſent to give up the birth-rights and antient privileges of this Auguſt Aſſembly, of which I have the honour to be a Member.’

The Earl of *Wharton*, in his ironical way, ſaid, ‘ He was agreeably ſurprized to ſee, that ſome men of pleaſure were, on a ſudden, become ſo religious, as to ſet up for patrons of the Church. But he could not but wonder, that perſons, who had been educated in Diſſenting Academies, whom he could point at, and whoſe Tutors he could name, ſhould appear the moſt forward in ſuppreſſing them. That this was but an indifferent return for the benefit the public had received from thoſe ſchools, which had bred thoſe great men, who had made ſo *glorious a peace, and treaties, that executed themſelves*; who had obtained ſo great advantages for our commerce, and who had paid the public debts, without any further charge to the Nation. So that he could ſee no reaſon there was to ſuppreſs thoſe Academies, unleſs it were an apprehenſion, that they might ſtill produce greater genius's, that ſhould drown the merits and abilities of thoſe great men. My Lords, *continued he*, to be ſerious, it is no leſs melancholy than ſurprizing, that, at a time, when the Court of *France* proſecutes the deſign they have long ſince laid to extirpate our Holy Religion; when, not only ſecret practices are uſed to impoſe a Popiſh Pretender on theſe Realms, but men publickly inliſted for his ſervice; it is melancholy and ſurprizing, I ſay, that, at this very time, a bill ſhould be brought in, which cannot but tend to divide Proteſtants; and conſequently to weaken their intereſt, and haſten their ruin. But then the wonder will ceaſe, if we conſider what madmen were the contrivers and promoters of this bill.’ He excepted, in particular, againſt the word Schiſm, with which the frontiſpiece of the bill was ſet off, and ſaid, ‘ It was ſomewhat ſtrange, they ſhould call Schiſm in *England* what is the Eſtabliſhed Religion in *Scotland*; and therefore, if the Lords, who repreſented the Nobility of that part of *Great-Britain*, were for this bill, he hoped, that, in order to be even with us, and conſiſtent with themſelves, they would move for the bringing in another bill, to prevent the growth of Schiſm in their own Country.’ He ſaid alſo, on another occaſion (for he ſpoke more than once) ‘ That both in this bill, and in the ſpeeches of thoſe, who declared for it, ſeveral laws were recited and alledged; but that there was a law, that had not yet been mentioned. I expected, *added he*, that venerable bench [*turning to the Biſhops*] would have put us in mind of it; but, ſince they are pleaſed to be ſilent in this debate, I will myſelf tell them, that it is the law of the goſpel, *To do unto others as we would be done unto.*’ 1714.

The Earls of *Abingdon* and *Angleſea* ſpoke afterwards for the bill; and *Angleſea* ſaid, among other things, ‘ That the Diſſenters were equally dangerous both to Church and State: That they were irreconcileable enemies to the Eſtabliſhed Church, which they had ſufficiently manifeſted in the late King *James* the Second's Reign, when, in order to obtain a Toleration, they joined themſelves with the Papiſts; and that they had rendered themſelves unworthy of the indulgence the Church of *England* granted them at the Revolution, by endeavouring to ingroſs the education of youth; for which purpoſe they had ſet up Schools and Academies in moſt cities and towns in the Kingdom, to the great detriment of the Univerſities, and danger of the Eſtabliſhed Church.’

The Lord *Hallifax* ſpoke on the other ſide, and urged, ‘ That the very bringing in of this bill was injurious to the Queen; and he could not believe, her Majeſty would ever give her Royal aſſent to ſuch a law, after the ſolemn declaration ſhe had made from the Throne, that ſhe would *inviolably maintain the Toleration*, which this bill viſibly ſtruck at. That her Majeſty made it the glory of her Reign to follow the ſteps of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had not only entertained and protected the Reformed *Walloons*, who took ſanctuary in her Dominions from the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, but had likewiſe allowed them the public exerciſe of their Religion, and cauſed a clauſe in their favour to be inſerted in the act of *Uniformity*. That, by that means, that wiſe and glorious Queen had vaſtly increaſed the wealth of the Realm, the *Walloons* having ſettled here the woollen manufactures, which are the beſt branch of the National trade. That the protection and encouragement the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and her preſent Majeſty, had given to the *French* Refugees, had proved no leſs advantageous to *Great-Britain*:

1714. And therefore it would be a piece of barbarity to make an act, which ſhould debar many *French* Proteſtants of means of ſubſiſting, either by keeping public Schools, or teaching in private Families; eſpecially conſidering their late hard uſage, the Government not having, for above three years paſt, paid them any part of the fifteen thouſand pounds *per ann.* allowed by Parliament in the Civil Liſt, towards the maintenance of their Miniſters and Poor.' He concluded with taking notice of the fatal conſequences of perſecuting the Diſſenters in King *Charles* the Firſt's Reign, which kindled a furious and unnatural civil war, and ended in the total overthrow of Church and State, and in the King's Parricide.'

The Lord *Townſhend* ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and, among other arguments, repreſented the ill effects of perſecution in general. He ſaid, 'He had lived a long time in *Holland*, and had obſerved, that the wealth and ſtrength of that great and powerful Commonwealth lay in the number of its inhabitants: And at the ſame time he was perſuaded, that, if the *States* ſhould cauſe the ſchools of any one ſect, tolerated in the United Provinces, to be ſhut up, they would ſoon be as thin of people as *Sweden* or *Spain*, whereas they now ſwarm with inhabitants.'

The Lord *North* and *Grey*, who ſpoke for the bill, maintained the general aſſertion of his party, That the *Church was in danger from the growth of Schiſmatics*. The Earl of *Nottingham* ſaid, 'He owned he had formerly been of opinion, that the occaſional conformity of Diſſenters was dangerous to the Eſtabliſhed Church; and therefore he ever promoted the bill to prevent it. But that, the Church having now that ſecurity, he believed her ſafe and out of danger; and therefore he thought himſelf in conſcience obliged to oppoſe ſo barbarous a law as this, which tended to deprive parents of their natural right of educating their own children. He added, He had obſerved both from hiſtory and his own experience, that all the Perſecutions, that had been raiſed in *England* againſt Schiſmatics, originally proceeded from, and tended to favouring Popery.' He particularly excepted againſt that part of the bill, which enacts, *That any perſon, who ſhould keep any public or private ſchool, or inſtruct any youth as Tutor, ſhould have a licenſe of the reſpective Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the place*, &c. 'My Lords, *ſaid he*, I have many children; and I know not whether God Almighty will vouchſafe to let me live, to give them the education I could wiſh they had. Therefore, my Lords, I own, I tremble, when I think, that a certain Divine, who is hardly ſuſpected of being a Chriſtian [meaning Dr. *Swift*] is in a fair way of being a Biſhop; and may one day give licenſes to thoſe, who ſhall be intruſted with the inſtruction of youth.' Some other Lords made ſpeeches for and againſt the bill. But the Lord-Treaſurer contented himſelf with ſaying, 'That he had not yet conſidered of it; but, when he had, he would vote according as it ſhould appear to him, to be either for the good or detriment of his Country. And therefore he was for reading the bill a ſecond time;' which was agreed to without dividing, and put off to the 7th of *June*.

After this, the Preſbyterians petitioned that they might be heard by their Council againſt the bill; but their petition was rejected by a majority of ſeventy-two voices againſt ſixty-ſix. It was obſerved, on this occaſion, Earl *Powlet*, the Lord *Foley*, the Lord *Manſel*, and ſome other friends of the Lord-Treaſurer, voted with the Whig Lords, for allowing the petition; and the Lord-Treaſurer himſelf was out of the Houſe, that he might not be obliged to declare on either ſide; which ſtrengthened their opinion, who thought the bill levelled againſt him, with a view, that, if he voted for it, he would loſe the Diſſenters and the Whigs entirely; if he voted againſt it, he would loſe the Queen. 1714.

On the day appointed, the Lords read the Schiſm-bill a ſecond time, and after a ſhort debate agreed, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in the bill in favour of the *French* Proteſtant Churches. Two days after, in a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which the Archbiſhop of *York* was Chairman, the bill was examined paragraph by paragraph, from one in the afternoon till eight in the evening. The Biſhop of *London* having ſuggeſted, 'That the Diſſenters had made this bill neceſſary, by their endeavours to propagate their Schiſm, and to draw the children of Churchmen to their Schools and Academies;' the Lord *Hallifax* anſwered, 'That what they did was with the knowledge and conſent of the parents, who, in many places, had not ſufficient means to educate their own children:' For which reaſon he moved, 'That, ſince this bill was occaſioned, as was ſuggeſted, by the Diſſenters endeavouring to ingroſs the education of the youth of both perſuaſions, they might be allowed ſchools to inſtruct their own children.' This motion, being formed into a queſtion, was debated for near three hours. The Lords *Cowper* and *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and ſome other Peers, made ſeveral ſpeeches for the affirmative. But the Lord *Bolingbroke*, the Earl of *Abingdon*, and the Lord Chancellor, inſiſted on the negative, which was at laſt carried by ſixty-two votes againſt forty-eight. After this it was moved, that Diſſenters might, at leaſt, be ſuffered to have School-miſtreſſes to teach their children to read, which, after a debate of about half an hour, was carried without dividing; as was alſo a clauſe, 'That this act ſhould not extend to any perſon, who ſhould inſtruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, or any part of mathematical learning, that relates to navigation, or any mechanical art only.' Then was examined that part of the bill, whereby the conviction of offenders againſt this act was left to the Juſtices of the peace; and, after a warm debate, it was carried by a majority of fifty-nine votes againſt fifty-four, that the conviction ſhould be in the ordinary courſe of Juſtice, *upon an information, preſentment, or indictment, in any of her Majeſty's Courts of Record at* Weſtminſter, *or at the Aſſizes, or before Juſtices of* Oyer *and* Terminer. The Court-party finding, by this laſt diviſion, that they loſt conſiderable ground, and fearing, other amendments would be made, which would render the bill altogether uſeleſs, moved, that the Chairman leave the Chair, in order to adjourn. But though the contrary party at firſt oppoſed it, yet, after ſome debate, upon the penalties to be inflicted on the offenders, both parties being equally tired, the Houſe adjourned to the next day.

Accordingly,

1714. Accordingly, on the 10th of *June*, the Lords resumed the debate about the penalties, and fixed the same to three months imprisonment; after which it was moved and agreed, That persons aggrieved might *appeal from Ecclesiastical censures, as in cases of ordinary jurisdiction.* A clause was afterwards proposed and carried to exempt from the penalties of this act any Tutor, who shall be employed by any Nobleman or Noblewoman, to teach in their families, provided such Tutor do, in every respect, qualify himself according to this act, except only in that of taking a license from the Bishop. The Earl of *Anglesea* moved, that a clause might be inserted, to extend this act to *Ireland:* Which, after some debate, was carried in the affirmative by the majority of one voice only. When the bill with these amendments was reported to the House by the Archbishop of *York*, severe speeches were made against the clause to extend this bill to *Ireland*; particularly by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom, who was just returned from thence. But, the question being put, it was carried by fifty-seven voices against fifty-one, that the clause should stand. The next day, the bill was read the third time; and, after a small debate, it was carried by seventy-seven votes against seventy-two, that it should pass (1).

When the bill thus amended was sent to the Commons, a short debate arose. Mr. *Lechmere* and Mr. *Walpole* represented, 'That, since the Protestant Dissenters of *Ireland* were made liable to the penalties of this bill, it were but just either to insert a clause in it, or to bring in another bill, to make them enjoy the benefit of the *Toleration-act*, passed in *England* in the last Reign.' But Sir *William Wyndham* and Mr. *Campion* said, 'If leave were given to bring in such a bill, they hoped they should have leave also to bring in another, to incapacitate Dissenters from voting in elections for Parliament-men:' Upon which that matter dropped. On the other hand, General *Stanhope* proposed, 'That the Tutors in the families of Members of the House of Commons might be put on the same foot with those, who taught in the families of a Nobleman or Noblewoman; it being reasonable to suppose, that the Members of that House, many of whom were of noble extraction, had as great a concern as the Lords for the education of their children, and an equal right to take care of their instruction.' Several Members of both parties were of Mr. *Stanhope*'s opinion. But Mr. *Hungerford* representing, 'That the least amendment now made in the House might occasion the loss of the bill;' the promoters of it caused the question to be put, and it was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty-eight votes against ninety-eight, that the Commons agreed to the Lords amendments. On the 25th of *June*, the Schism-bill, with several others, received the Royal assent by commission. But it is observable, the very day it was to take place *, the Queen

1714.

* Aug. 1.

(1) The following Peers entered a protest against it, the Dukes of *Somerset; Bolton, Grafton, Devonshire, Schomberg*, and *Argyle*; the Marquiss of *Dorchester*; the Earls of *Wharton, Sunderland, Dorset, Carlisle, Orford, Derby, Lincoln, Nottingham, Radnor*, and *Torrington*; the Lords Viscounts *Townshend* and *Longueville*; the Lords *Sommers, Hallifax, Cowper, Rockingham, Haversham, Cornwallis*, and *Foley*; and the Bishops of *Ely, Bangor, St. Asaph, Landaff*, and *Lincoln.*

The protest was in these terms:

'I. We cannot apprehend (as the bill recites) that great danger may ensue from the Dissenters to the Church and State:

Because, 1. By law no Dissenter is capable of any station, which can be supposed to render him dangerous.

2. And, since the several sects of Dissenters differ from each other as much as they do from the Established Church, they can never form of themselves a National Church; nor have they any temptation to set up any one sect among them; for, in that case, all, that the other sects can expect, is only a Toleration, which they already enjoy by the indulgence of the State; and therefore it is their interest to support the Established Church against any other sect, that would attempt to destroy it.

II. If, nevertheless, the Dissenters were dangerous, severity is not so proper and effectual a method to reduce them to the Church, as a charitable indulgence, as is manifest by experience, there having been more Dissenters reconciled to the Church since the Act of Toleration, than in all the time since the Act of Uniformity, to the time of the said Act of Toleration; and there is scarce one considerable family in *England* in communion with the Dissenters. Severity may make them hypocrites, but not converts.

III. If severity could be supposed ever to be of use, yet this is not a proper time for it, while we are threatened with much greater dangers to our Church and Nation, against which the Protestant Dissenters have joined, and are still willing to join with us in our defence; and therefore we should not drive them from us, by inforcing the laws against them in a manner, which, of all others, must most sensibly grieve them, *viz.* the education of their children; which reduces them to a necessity either of breeding them in a way they do not approve, or of leaving them without instruction.

IV. This must be the more grievous to the Dissenters, because it was little expected from the Members of the Established Church, after so favourable an indulgence, as the Act of Toleration, and the repeated declarations and professions from the Throne and former Parliaments, against all persecution, which is the peculiar badge of the *Roman* Church, which avows and practises this doctrine: And yet this has not been retaliated even upon the Papists, for all the laws made against them have been the effects and just punishment of treason, and from time to time committed against the State. But it is not pretended, that this bill is designed as a punishment of any crime, which the Protestant Dissenters have been guilty of against the civil Government, or that they are disaffected to the Protestant Succession, as by law established; for in this their zeal is very conspicuous.

V. In all the instances of making laws, or of a rigid execution of the laws against Dissenters, it is very remarkable, that the design was to weaken the Church, and to drive them into one common interest with the Papists, and to join them in measures tending to the destruction of it. This was the method suggested by Popish Councils, to prepare them for the two successive declarations in the time of King *Charles* II, and the following one issued out by King *James* II, to ruin all our civil and religious rights. And we cannot think, that the arts and contrivances of the Papists, to subvert our Church, are proper means to preserve it, especially at a time, when we are in more danger of Popery than ever, by the designs of the Pretender, supported by the mighty power of the *French* King, who is engaged to extirpate our religion, and by great numbers in this Kingdom, who are professedly in his interests.

VI. But,

1714. Queen departed this life; which accident broke all the meaſures of thoſe, who had promoted that law, and rendered it in a manner ineffectual (1).

The Queen again indiſpoſed.

On the 5th of *May* the Queen removed from *St. James*'s to her Palace at *Kenſington*, in appearance pretty well in health; but, having the next day in the evening felt a ſhivering, her Phyſicians thought fit, that ſhe ſhould immediately come back to *St. James*'s, where ſhe was, for ſome time, detained in her chamber by an impoſthumation in one of her legs. The Duke of *Shrewsbury*, having (as has been ſaid) early notice of the dangerous condition the Queen was in, was very deſirous to be in *England*; though, on the other hand, he was unwilling to leave the Government of *Ireland* in their hands, whom he knew inclined to favour the Pretender's agents; who ſtill continued inliſting men for his ſervice (2). But, all things conſidered, he judged his preſence more neceſſary at *London* than in *Dublin*, and came over about the beginning of *June*. Finding thoſe about the Queen jarring and disjointed, he reſolved to act a cautious part, and not ſide with either of the contending parties; but, as ſoon as a proper occaſion (which he judged could not be far off) offered itſelf, to put himſelf at the head of the well-affected to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, who indeed were no leſs ſtrengthened by his arrival at this critical juncture than the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s intereſt was weakened by the death of the Duke of *Beaufort*, which happened ſome days before.

May 24.

Towards the end of *May* the Marquiſs *de Trivié*, Ambaſſador from the new King of *Sicily*, made his public entry; but it was the 8th of *June*, before the Queen was in a condition to admit him to a public audience. Two days after the Queen, finding herſelf ſomething better, removed from *St. James*'s to *Kenſington*. 1714.

Proclamation for apprehending the Pretender.

About this time, upon information given to the Earl of *Wharton*, that two *Iriſh* Officers, *Hugh* and *William Kelly*, were liſting men for the Pretender in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, he carried his evidence to Chief-Juſtice *Parker*, upon whoſe warrant *William Kelly* was ſeized at *Graveſend*, with five men inliſted, as *Hugh Kelly* was a few days after at *Deal*, with a paſs from the Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State to the Pretender. This affair having made a great noiſe, the Miniſters could not avoid taking notice of thoſe treaſonable practices; and a Proclamation was publiſhed *for apprehending the Pretender, whenever he ſhould land, or attempt to land in* Great-Britain, and promiſing a reward of five thouſand pounds for that ſervice. The next day Mr. *Freeman* having moved in the Houſe of Commons for an addreſs of thanks for the Proclamation, he was ſeconded by Mr. *Auditor Harley*, and ſupported by the Earl of *Hertford*, who added, 'That the five thouſand pounds mentioned in the Queen's Proclamation was too ſmall a recompence for ſo important a ſervice;' And therefore moved for an addition to the addreſs, 'That this Houſe would chearfully aid and aſſiſt her Majeſty, by granting the ſum of a hundred thouſand pounds, as a further reward to any, who ſhould perform ſo great a ſervice to her Majeſty and her Kingdoms.' This was oppoſed by Mr. *Bromley*, Sir *William Wyndham*, and Mr. *Campion*, who ſuggeſted, 'That the promiſing of a reward ſo far beyond what was mentioned in the Queen's Proclamation would be a ſort of reflection on her Majeſty.'

June 23.

The Commons thank for the Proclamation. P. H. C.

But

VI. But, if the Diſſenters ſhould not be provoked, by this ſeverity, to concur in the deſtruction of their Country and the Proteſtant Religion, yet we may juſtly fear they may be driven by this bill from *England* to the great prejudice of our manufactures; for, as we gained them by the perſecution abroad, ſo we may loſe them by the like proceedings at home.

Laſtly, The miſeries, we apprehend here, are greatly inhanced by extending the bill to *Ireland*, where the conſequences of it may be fatal; for ſince the number of Papiſts in that Kingdom far exceeds the Proteſtants of all denominations together; and that the Diſſenters are to be treated as enemies, or, at leaſt, as perſons dangerous to that Church and State, who have always, in all times, joined, and ſtill would join, with the Members of that Church, againſt the common enemy of their religion; and ſince the army there is very much reduced, the Proteſtants, thus unneceſſarily divided, ſeem to us to be expoſed to the danger of another maſſacre, and the Proteſtant Religion in danger of being extirpated.

And we may further fear, that the *Scots* in *Britain*, whoſe National Church is Preſbyterian, will not ſo heartily and zealouſly join with us in our defence, when they ſee thoſe of the ſame Nation, ſame Blood, and ſame Religion, ſo hardly treated by us.

And this will be ſtill more grievous to the Proteſtant Diſſenters in *Ireland*, becauſe, whilſt the Popiſh Prieſts are regiſtered, and ſo indulged by law, as that they exerciſe their Religion without moleſtation, the Diſſenters are ſo far from enjoying the like toleration, that the laws by this bill are inforced againſt them.

(1) This act enjoins, That no perſon in *Great-Britain*, or *Wales*, ſhall keep any public or private School, or Seminary, or teach or inſtruct youth, as Tutor or Schoolmaſter, that has not firſt ſuperſcribed the declaration to conform to the Church of *England*, and has obtained licenſe from the reſpective Dioceſan, or Ordinary of the place, or, upon failure of ſo doing, may be committed to priſon, without bail or mainprize. And that no ſuch licenſe ſhall be granted, before the party produces a certificate, of his having received the Sacrament, according to the Communion of the Church of *England*, in ſome Pariſh-Church, within a year before obtaining ſuch licenſe, and hath ſuperſcribed the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

That if any perſon, having complied with theſe points, ſhall knowingly or willingly reſort to any Conventicle, or be preſent in any Aſſembly, where the Queen is not prayed for, ſhould be liable to the penalty of this act, and from thenceforth be incapable to keep any School, or Seminary, or inſtruct any youth, as Tutor or Schoolmaſter. And if any perſon teaches any other Catechiſm, than what is ſet forth in the Common-Prayer, his licenſe ſhall be thenceforth void, and he be liable to the penalties of the act; but no perſon to be puniſhed twice for the ſame fact. Any perſon convicted by this act, conforming to the Church for one year, without having been preſent at any Conventicle, ſhall be again capacitated. This act to be conſtrued to extend to *Ireland*.

(2) On the 14th of *May*, information being brought to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, that about one hundred and fifty men, liſted for the Pretender's ſervice, were at the hill of *Heath*, near *Dublin*, waiting to go on ſhipboard for *France*, ſome Conſtables, with a file of Muſqueteers, were ſent thither, who took twenty-four of them, and brought them to *Dublin*, where they were committed to priſon, in order to be tried for high-treaſon. On the 26th of *June*, *John Rily*, *Alexander Bourk*, and *Martin Carrol*, were executed for it at *Stephen's-Green*: And, about the beginning of *July*, twenty-one perſons more were tried and condemned for the ſame crime.

1714. But, this objection being exploded, the addreſs was unanimouſly carried, and, four days after, preſented by the whole Houſe to the Queen, who told them, 'That the hearty concern they ſhewed in it for the Proteſtant Succeſſion was very agreeable to her: And that ſhe hoped, their concurrence would have the deſired effect in removing jealouſies, and quieting the minds of her good ſubjects.'

The ſame day, the Earl of *Nottingham* moved in the Houſe of Lords for an addreſs of thanks for the proclamation againſt the Pretender, and was ſeconded by the Lord *Hallifax*. The Earl of *Wharton*, who likewiſe ſupported the motion, holding the Queen's proclamation in his hand, moſt pathetically lamented her Majeſty's owning, that her endeavours to remove the Pretender from *Lorrain* had been ineffectual. 'Unhappy Princeſs, *ſaid he*, how much is her condition altered! Will Poſterity believe, that ſo great a Queen, who had reduced the exorbitant power of *France*, given a King to *Spain*, and whoſe very Miniſters have made the Emperor and the *States-General* to tremble, ſhould yet want power to make ſo petty, ſo inconſiderable a Prince as the Duke of *Lorrain*, comply with her juſt requeſt, of removing out of his Dominions the Pretender to her Crown?' None of the Peers ſpeaking againſt the Earl of *Nottingham*'s motion, it was unanimouſly carried, and the addreſs was, the next day, preſented to the Queen, who told them, 'They might be aſſured, ſhe ſhould continue to do whatever ſhe judged neceſſary for the ſecuring our Religion, the liberty of her People, and for putting an end to the vain hopes of the Pretender.'

The Lord *Bolingbroke*, being come into the Houſe of Peers, juſt after the addreſs was voted, appeared a little ſurprized at that reſolution, and ſaid, 'There was a more effectual way to ſecure the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*.' Some Members expreſſing their deſire, that he would offer it to the Houſe, he propoſed a bill, to make it high-treaſon to liſt or to be inliſted into the Pretender's ſervice. The Lord *Hallifax* repreſented, 'That ſuch a bill was altogether needleſs, both the Pretender, and all his Adherents, being already attainted of high-treaſon. However, he ſhould be glad ſuch a bill were brought in, becauſe, with ſome alterations, it might be made a very good one.' The bill was accordingly brought in, and, in a Committee of the whole Houſe, of which the Lord *Bolingbroke* was Chairman, the Lords *Hallifax*, *Townſhend*, *Cowper*, *Sommers*, and *Wharton*, made it their buſineſs to ſhew, 'That the Pretender was inconſiderable of himſelf, and not to be feared, but ſo far forth as he was countenanced and protected by the *French* King, whoſe intereſt and conſtant deſign was to impoſe him upon theſe realms.' And therefore they moved, and it was agreed, That the title of the bill ſhould be, *to prevent the liſting her Majeſty's ſubjects to ſerve as ſoldiers, without her Majeſty's licenſe*; and that it ſhould be *high-treaſon to liſt, or be liſted, to ſerve any foreign Prince, State, or Potentate, without a licenſe under the ſign manual of her Majeſty, her Heirs or Succeſſors*. The following proviſo was likewiſe agreed to, 'That no licenſe ſhould be effectual to exempt any perſon from the penalties of this act, who ſhould liſt, or cauſe to be liſted into the ſervice of the *French* King, until after the *French* King ſhould have diſbanded and diſmiſſed all the regiments, troops, or companies of ſoldiers, which he had in his ſervice, conſiſting of the natural-born ſubjects of *Great-Britain*.' This act to continue in force for three years. With theſe amendments, the bill was ſent to the Commons, who gave it their concurrence. 1714.

Meeting of the Pretender's friends. This, and other proviſions againſt the Pretender, ſeemed the more neceſſary, becauſe his friends were by this time grown to that height of aſſurance, as publickly to aſſert his right, and drink his health. To this purpoſe, above an hundred *Iriſh* Papiſts had a feaſt at the *Sun-Tavern* in the *Strand*, where the Lord *Fingal* was choſen Steward, and all that came were admitted by a printed ticket, in which was the image of a Pope, or Popiſh Saint, treading Hereſy under foot. June 24.

Debate about the Spaniſh *trade.* On the ſecond of *July* the Lords took into conſideration the trade to *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies*; and the Earl of *Nottingham* made it plainly appear, that by reaſon of the diſcouragements, to which that trade was ſubjected by the explanations of the third, fifth, and eighth articles of the *treaty of commerce between* Great-Britain *and* Spain (which explanations were made at *Madrid*, after ſigning the treaty at *Utrecht*) it was impoſſible for our Merchants to carry on that trade without certain loſs. This was confirmed by the teſtimony of Sir *William Hodges*, and about thirty more eminent Merchants, who, being called into the Houſe, unanimouſly averred, that, unleſs the explanations of theſe three articles were reſcinded, they could not carry on their commerce without loſing twenty or twenty-five *per Cent*. It was obſerved, the Treaſurer joined with the Lords, who inſiſted on the hearing of the *Spaniſh* Merchants; which was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Lord *Bolingbroke*. But, after a long debate, it was reſolved to addreſs the Queen, for *all the papers relating to the Negotiation of the treaty of commerce with* Spain; *with the names of the perſons, who adviſed her Majeſty to that treaty*. The Queen ſent an anſwer, 'That, being given to underſtand, that the three explanatory articles of the treaty of commerce with *Spain* were not detrimental to the trade of her ſubjects, ſhe had conſented to their being ratified with the treaty.' The Queen making no mention of the perſons, who had adviſed her to ratify thoſe explanatory articles (which was the chief deſign of the addreſs) ſeveral Members excepted againſt the anſwer as unſatisfactory. And, among the reſt, the Earl of *Wharton* and the Lord *Halifax* repreſented, 'That, if ſo little regard was ſhewn to the addreſſes and applications of that Auguſt Aſſembly to the Sovereign, they had no buſineſs in that Houſe;' and moved, that a repreſentation be made to her Majeſty, to lay before her the inſuperable difficulties, that attended the *Spaniſh* trade on the foot of the late treaty; which was agreed to: It was alſo moved, That the Houſe ſhould inſiſt on her Majeſty's naming the perſons, who adviſed her to ratify the three explanatory articles. But the Courtiers warded off that blow, which was chiefly levelled at the Lord *Bolingbroke*, and his agent *Arthur Moore*. The next day the Lords proceeded to the conſideration of the *Spaniſh* trade, and to the examination Pr. H. L.

1714. mination of the Commiſſioners of trade and plantations. The Earl of *Wharton* ſaid ironically, 'He did not doubt but one of thoſe Gentlemen could make it appear, that the treaty of commerce with *Spain* was very advantageous:' Which was meant of *Arthur Moore*, who had the chief management of that affair, and who contradicted himſelf in his anſwers to ſeveral queſtions, aſked him by the Lord *Cowper* about the three explanatory articles. This was aggravated by the confeſſion of the other Commiſſioners, particularly of Mr. *Robert Monkton*, who declared, Mr. *Moore* only read curſorily to them the articles, without giving them time to examine the ſame. Beſides which Mr. *Popple*, their Secretary, depoſed, that Mr. *Moore* had ſhewn him a letter in *French* from Monſieur *Orry*, directed to *Don Arturio Moro*, importing in ſubſtance, 'That he muſt not expect the two thouſand *Louis d'Ors per Annum*, that had been promiſed him, unleſs he got the three explanatory articles ratified.' Though the Lords came to no reſolution about that affair, at a General Court of the *South-Sea* Company, upon a full hearing of a complaint of Captain *Johnſon*, it was reſolved, 'That *Arthur Moore*, while a Director of this Company, was privy to, and encouraged a deſign of carrying on a clandeſtine trade, to the prejudice of this Corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the truſt repoſed in him; and that, for ſuch his breach of truſt, he be declared incapable of being a Director of, or having any other employment in this Company.' This cenſure made a great noiſe, and was highly reſented by the Lord *Bolingbroke*.

On the 8th of *July* the Lords examined Mr. *Lowndes*, Secretary to the Treaſury, and Mr. *Taylor*, firſt Clerk, concerning the *Aſſiento Contract*. They confeſſed, that they were only Nominal Aſſignees for the quarter part of the *Aſſiento Contract* reſerved for the Queen, and that ſome perſons, to them unknown (but who were ſtrongly ſuſpected to be the Lord *Bolingbroke*, the Lady *Maſham*, and Mr. *Arthur Moore*) were to have the benefit of it. The Lord *Cowper* having repreſented, 'That the uncertainty and ſuſpence, in which the *South-Sea* Company had a long time been kept, whether her Majeſty would retain to herſelf, or give to the Company, the quarter part of the *Aſſiento Contract* reſerved to her, had been the principal obſtruction to the Company's carrying on that trade': The Earl of *Wharton* moved, for an addreſs to the Queen, to give to the *South-Sea* Company, not only that quarter part of the *Aſſiento Contract*, but alſo the ſeven and a half *per Cent.* granted to *Manaſſes Gilligan*, and any other profits ariſing from that contract.' But, the queſtion being put, it was carried in the Negative by fifty voices againſt forty-three. After this, on the Earl of *Angleſea*'s motion, it was reſolved by fifty-ſix votes againſt forty, to preſent an addreſs, to return thanks for her Majeſty's having ſo generouſly given, not only licenſes for two ſhips of five hundred tuns each, and the *Aſſiento Contract*; but alſo the quarter part, which ſhe was pleaſed at firſt to reſerve to herſelf; and that ſhe would be pleaſed, that ſuch other advantages, which were, or might be, veſted in her, might be diſpoſed of for the uſe of the public.' This day's debate took up the Lords till nine o'clock in the evening; ſo they had no time, as ſome Whigs Lords deſigned it, to proceed to the cenſure of Mr. *Moore*. 1714.

The next day, the Queen's anſwer to their addreſs was reported: 'That ſhe always had a great conſideration for the advice of the Houſe: And, as to the particulars deſired, ſhe would diſpoſe of them, as ſhe ſhould judge beſt for the ſervice.' The latter part of this anſwer was very ill reliſhed by the Whig Lords; and ſome Members took occaſion to complain of the Queen's ſilence in relation to the perſons, who adviſed her to ratify the three explanatory articles. But, the Lottery-Bill being ready for the Royal aſſent, the Queen came that very day to the Houſe of Peers, and put an end to the Seſſion with the following ſpeech to both Houſes: *The Parliament is prorogued, July 9.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"THE progreſs, which has been made in public buſineſs, and the ſeaſon of the year, render it both convenient and neceſſary, that I ſhould put an end to this Seſſion. *The Queen's Speech.*

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I return you my hearty thanks for all your "good ſervices to Me and to your Country, "and particularly for the ſupplies you have given "me, as well to defray the expences of the cur- "rent year, as towards the diſcharge of the Na- "tional Debts. In our preſent circumſtances "it could not be expected, that a full pro- "viſion ſhould be made on both theſe heads. "What you have granted ſhall be laid out "with the beſt husbandry, and to the greateſt "advantage.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I hope early in the winter to meet you "again, and to find you in ſuch a temper, as is "neceſſary for the real improvement of our "commerce, and of all the other advantages of "peace. My chief concern is to preſerve to "you, and to your poſterity, our Holy Reli- "gion, and the liberty of my ſubjects, and to "ſecure the preſent and future tranquillity of "my Kingdoms. But I muſt tell you plainly, "that theſe deſirable ends can never be attain- "ed, unleſs you bring the ſame diſpoſitions "on your parts; unleſs all groundleſs jealouſies, "which create and foment diviſions amongſt you, "be laid aſide; and unleſs you ſhew the ſame "regard for my juſt prerogative, and for the "honour of my Government, as I have always "expreſſed for the rights of my people."

When the Queen had ended her ſpeech, the Parliament was prorogued to the 10th of *Auguſt*, but ſhe died before that day came.

Preſently after the riſing of the Parliament, the diſcord among the Miniſters came to an open rupture. The Treaſurer, ever ſince he had received the Staff, had kept to himſelf the principal direction of domeſtic affairs, and the diſpoſal of moſt places of profit; and, by the credit and intereſt of his poſt, and favour with the Queen, had procured advantageous alliances for his children, brought great riches into his family, *Open rupture among the Miniſters.*

family, and advanced all his relations (1), whilſt the conduct of foreign affairs lay on the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who, as he was leſs circumſpect in the proſecution of bold meaſures than the Treaſurer, had therefore the largeſt ſhare of the public odium, without any other advantage than the profits of his office, moſt of which he laviſhed away in riotous pleaſures. Being a man impatient of dependance, he had frequent warm expoſtulations with the Treaſurer, who, thinking himſelf ſecure in the Queen's favour, and in his intereſt with the Parliament, diſregarded his complaints, by which the Secretary was ſtill more enraged. Their private diſputes would often have ended in an open quarrel, had not the Queen, aſſiſted by the Chancellor and Lady *Maſham*, as often reconciled them, or rather, had not their Confederacy in the late meaſures made them ſuſpend their mutual hatred to conſult their common ſafety. But, as ſoon as the danger was over by the Parliament's ſolemn approbation of the peace, it appeared, there was an irreconcileable rivalſhip and enmity between them. Before this laſt ſtruggle, the Treaſurer, either finding his intereſt declining at Court, or deſpairing of the Queen's life, and apprehending the conſequences of the late ſteps, bethought himſelf of a timely retreat; and, to that end, endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to the Whigs. He tried to gain the friendſhip of the Lord *Cowper*, who had the greateſt weight amongſt them; and, with that view, procured him to be choſen Umpire between his ſon, the Lord *Harley*, and the Lord *Pelham*, in a controverſy about the inheritance of the late Duke of *Newcaſtle*. But the Lord *Cowper* contented himſelf with arbitrating the matter according to the ſtricteſt rules of equity, and with doing juſtice to the ſon, without eſpouſing the intereſt of the father. On the other hand, the Treaſurer expected to be ſtrongly ſupported by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who had maintained himſelf in the eſteem both of the Sovereign and of the Public, and whoſe late behaviour in *Ireland* had endeared him to the well-affected to the *Hanover* Succeſſion. But the Duke, juſtly reſenting the neglect of the Miniſters, while he was at *Dublin*, was very much unconcerned about them, when he came to *London*, and rather inflamed than moderated their differences, by complaining to the Queen of ſome orders, that had been ſent him, which he thought inconſiſtent with her Majeſty's and the Nation's ſervice. Notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, the Treaſurer formed a deſign of removing his competitor, as the beſt means to approve his affection to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and therefore ſet Mr. *Robert Monkton* againſt Mr. *Arthur Moore* (the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s creature) who narrowly eſcaped a cenſure in the Houſe of Peers, in which the Treaſurer hoped the Secretary might have been involved. But, in this very inſtance, the Treaſurer found he had loſt conſiderable ground at Court, the Queen having thought fit, at the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s deſire, to put a ſudden ſtop to that inquiry. And it appeared ſoon after, that, by his ſuperior intereſt with Lady *Maſham*, by the aſſiſtance of the Lord Chancellor, by his humouring the Queen's natural inclination, and boldly purſuing the meaſures ſhe had entered upon, the Secretary intirely ruined his rival in her favour and confidence. 1714.

The Treaſurer, in this ſituation of his affairs, wrote a letter to the Queen, and with it ſent her an account of public affairs from *Auguſt* the 8th, 1710, to *June* the 8th 1714; in which he endeavours to juſtify his own conduct, and expoſe the uneaſy, turbulent, and ambitious ſpirit of Lord *Bolingbroke*. But this had not the intended effect upon the Queen. June 9.

While the Court was in this ferment, ſomething happened, which haſtened the Treaſurer's diſgrace. Some pretend, the Lord *Bolingbroke* had intelligence, and informed the Queen of the Treaſurer's inviting the Duke of *Marlborough* to come over (for which purpoſe the Duke was indeed arrived at *Oſtend* *) and of his private Conferences with ſeveral Whig Lords: Others, that he was ſuſpected of diſcovering the Queen's counſels to the Court of *Hanover*, and even of putting them upon demanding a writ for the Duke of *Cambridge*: Others again, that he was both againſt the ſcheme of new-modelling the army, and the project of a new offenſive and defenſive league between *Great-Britain*, *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, and *Sicily*: And others, ſtill, that the Queen was extremely angry at his preſuming to ſend orders to *Ireland*, without conſulting with Her or the Council; and that the Duke of *Shrewsbury* inſiſted on his removal, which the Duke of *Marlborough* had made a previous condition of his return to *England*. But a certain author * (who writ in his vindication) plainly aſſerts, that his diſgrace was entirely owing to his attachment to the Houſe of *Hanover*, whoſe Succeſſion his enemies were reſolved to prevent (2). However this be, on the 20th of *July* the Chancellor (who had retired into the Country for a few days) was ſent for in haſte; and the next day was in cloſe Conference with the Queen and the Lord *Bolingbroke*; after which it was generally reported, the Treaſurer would be ſpeedily removed. It was ſaid at the ſame time, that, to ſoften his fall, the Queen deſigned to beſtow on him an annual penſion of five thouſand pounds for life, with the title of Duke of *Newcaſtle*; and, upon his recommendation, to give the title of Earl of *Clare* to the Lord *Pelham*. But, contrary to his own, and indeed the general expectation, when he came to Court on the 27th of *July*, the Staff was taken from him, rather with mortifying than

* July 18.

* *Hiſt. of the* White-ſtaff.

The Lord-Treaſurer Harley *removed.*

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(1) His ſon, *Edward* Lord *Harley*, married the only daughter of the late Duke of *Newcaſtle*; who brought him a fortune of above 15000 *l. per annum*. *Elizabeth*, his firſt daughter, was married to *Peregrine Hyde Oſborne*, Marquiſs of *Caermarthen*, ſon and heir to the Duke of *Leeds*: And *Abigail*, his ſecond daughter, was married to *George* Baron *Hay*, Viſcount *Duplin*, ſon and heir to *Thomas* Earl of *Kinnoul*, a *Scotch* Peer.

(2) The Treaſurer's enemies (ſays that Author) thought they could not hurt him any way more with the Queen, than by repreſenting him as inviolably attached to the Proteſtant Succeſſion. 'The party (ſays he) took hold of this article, as if they had a great advantage given them againſt the *White-ſtaff*, intimating, that it was a great affront to her, and an apparent carrying on his own game at the Court of *Hanover*; accordingly, her Majeſty was prejudiced by it, as if it had been a diſhonour to her.' *White-ſtaff*, p. 34.

1714. than agreeable circumſtances. It is certain, that ſevere reproaches paſſed, in the Queen's hearing, between the falling Miniſter, and the Lord Chancellor, and the Lady *Maſham*, whom the Treaſurer had diſobliged ſome days before, by making a demur to a grant ſhe had obtained of fifteen hundred pounds a year, and whom he looked upon as acceſſary to his diſgrace. He told them, 'He had been wronged and abuſed by lyes and miſrepreſentations; but he ſhould be revenged, and leave ſome people as low as he found them (1).' Theſe expoſtulations could not but ſhock the ſick Queen, and give her uneaſy ſuſpicions of her being abuſed and deluded by one or two, if not by all three, of her principal Miniſters. It is pretended, that in this agitation of thought, which opened her eyes, ſhe reſolved to reſign herſelf wholly to the conduct of the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. But it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that, in her condition, ſhe was capable of forming a reſolution ſo inconſiſtent with her late meaſures. It is far more reaſonable to imagine that the Lord *Bolingbroke*, having gained ſo great an aſcendant over her, was moſt likely to ſucceed the Earl of *Oxford* in the management of affairs. This is certain, the very day, the Treaſurer was removed, the Lord *Bolingbroke* entertained at dinner the Generals *Stanhope*, *Cadogan*, and *Palmes*, Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr. *Craggs*, and ſome other Gentlemen; which meeting of men of ſuch oppoſite principles occaſioned various ſpeculations. The moſt probable conjecture was, that the Lord *Bolingbroke*, conſidering he could not depend on the Queen's precarious life to accompliſh his deſigns, and foreſeeing a ſtorm, he could not be able to weather, reſolved to ſtrike in with the Whigs, and to invite over the Duke of *Marlborough*; in which he had reaſon to expect better ſucceſs than his late rival, with whom the Duke had vowed never to be reconciled. Some other particulars were at that time mentioned to corroborate theſe ſuggeſtions. But though the Duke of *Marlborough*, after having been detained about a fortnight by contrary winds, did, at this very time, imbark at *Oſtend* for *England*; yet the true motive of his coming at this critical juncture is not certainly known. It appeared plainly, however, ſoon after, that, whatever were the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s thoughts and views at this time, the main deſign of the Whigs was to inflame the animoſity between him and the Earl of *Oxford*, as the readieſt way to ruin them both.

Great confuſion at Court.

The Treaſurer's removal was ſo ſudden, and occaſioned ſuch confuſion, that no ſcheme was either formed or agreed on, to ſupply his place, and to fill up ſuch other vacancies, as muſt naturally attend his diſgrace. A Cabinet-Council, or rather Chamber-conſultation, was indeed held in a hurry, the very night the Earl of *Oxford* was removed, and ſeveral perſons were propoſed to manage the Treaſury, which was deſigned to be put in Commiſſion. Their number was to be five, of which Sir *William Wyndham*, as Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, was to be one; but the choice of the other four perplexed both the Queen and her Counſellors. It is ſaid, the perſons named were the Lords *Bolingbroke*, *Paget*, *Lexington*, *Bathurſt*, and *Maſham*; the Biſhop of *London*; Mr. *Henry Boyle*, and Mr. *Bridges*; Sir *John Packington*, Mr. *Campion*, Mr. *Hill*, and ſome others. But, whether there were fewer or more in nomination, it is certain, no reſolution was taken as to the choice of any four, either in that firſt Conſultation, or in the Council held the next morning; ſeveral perſons, who had been propoſed, and ſpoken to, having declined to accept a precarious employment in ſuch a juncture. On the 29th of *July*, the Cabinet-Council was to have ſat on the ſame affair; but their meeting was deferred to the next day, by reaſon of the Queen's indiſpoſition, which, ſhe was ſenſible, was occaſioned by the late quarrelling among her ſervants, having intimated to one of her Phyſicians, "That ſhe ſhould not "outlive it."

It is certain, both the diſpute, to which ſhe was an ear-witneſs, and the conſultation upon it, which laſted till near two o'clock in the morning, occaſioned ſuch a violent agitation of the Queen's ſpirits, as could not but hinder, according to Dr. *Shadwell*'s opinion, the uſual diſcharge of the impoſthumation in her leg, ſo that the gouty humour, tranſlating itſelf upon the brain, was the immediate occaſion of her death. On *Thurſday* morning *, the Queen finding herſelf indiſpoſed with a dozing heavineſs, and a ſhooting pain in her head, the Phyſicians judged proper, ſhe ſhould be cupped, which ſhe liked better than bleeding, and which, in the ſame ſymptoms, had often given her eaſe. The Queen was now ſomething relieved by it; went to bed at the uſual hour; reſted pretty well till three o'clock on *Friday* morning, when ſhe waked; and finding ſomething heavy on her ſtomach, and reaching to vomit, ſhe brought up ſome matter, and then compoſed herſelf to ſleep. Towards ſeven o'clock ſhe waked again; and, finding herſelf pretty well, roſe from bed, and got her head combed. This done, towards eight, ſhe went to look on the clock; and Mrs. *Danvers*, one of the Bed-chamber women, taking notice, that ſhe fixed her eyes a long time upon it, aſked her, *What ſhe ſaw in the clock more than ordinary?* The Queen anſwered her only with turning her head, and a dying look; at which Mrs. *Danvers* being frighted, ſhe called for help. The Phyſicians judging, ſhe was ſeized with a fit of an apoplexy, cauſed her to be let blood; upon which ſhe came to herſelf again, and was pretty quiet till a little after nine, when ſhe was ſeized with a ſecond fit of heavineſs and dozing, which increaſed ſo much upon her, that for above an hour ſhe was ſpeechleſs and motionleſs. Thoſe about her judging, ſhe was either

* July 31.

(1) 'He expoſed (ſays the Author of the *White-ſtaff*) their new ſchemes, ridiculed their impolitic meaſures, and foretold them to what diſtreſſes they would reduce themſelves in a little time, putting them in mind of a debt they would owe to the National juſtice at laſt, and how unwilling they would be to pay it. He prophetically told them, they would be in a little while reduced to the primitive meanneſs and contempt in which he found them! That he had too long borne the reproaches which was due to their meaſures, which he had in vain perſuaded them againſt, and that it was time now that the world ſhould ſee, who were the enemies to the *Britiſh* Eſtabliſhment.'

1714. either dead, or near expiring, the Ducheſs of *Ormond*, one of the Ladies of the Bed-Chamber, then in waiting, ſent, with all ſpeed, a meſſenger to the Duke her husband, with this melancholy news, which being brought to the Committee of Council, then aſſembled at the Cockpit, they immediately went to *Kenſington*. In the mean time the Phyſicians thought fit to give the Queen a vomit, which not having all the deſired effect, they adminiſtered another medicine, propoſed by Dr. *Mead*; upon which ſhe recovered her ſpeech and ſenſes.

The Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Argyle*, being informed of the Queen's deſperate condition, inſtantly repaired to *Kenſington*, and, without being ſummoned, went into the Council-Chamber, where the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Shrewſbury* and *Ormond*, the three Secretaries of State, the Biſhop of *London*, and ſome others, were in a Committee. It is eaſy to imagine, that ſome of them were ſurprized at their coming in; but, after they had acquainted the Board with the reaſons, which brought them thither, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* returned them thanks for their readineſs to give the Council their aſſiſtance in that critical juncture. Then they took their places, and moved, that the Phyſicians might be examined, and ordered to give an account in writing of the Queen's illneſs, which they did. After this, one of the Council repreſented, how neceſſary it was, in caſe the Queen died, that the place of Lord-Treaſurer ſhould be filled; to which the whole Board aſſenting, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* was propoſed, and unanimouſly approved, as the fitteſt perſon for that high truſt. Sir *Richard Blackmore*, Dr. *Shadwell*, Dr. *Mead*, and the other Phyſicians, who were examined, having aſſured the Council, that the Queen was ſenſible, the Chancellor, with the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and ſome other Lords, were ordered to attend her, and lay before her the unanimous opinion of the Council; upon which ſhe ſaid, 'They could not recommend a perſon ſhe liked better than the Duke of *Shrewsbury*;' and, giving him the Treaſurer's Staff, bid him *uſe it for the good of her people*. The Duke would have returned the Lord Chamberlain's Staff, but ſhe deſired, he ſhould keep them both; ſo the ſame perſon was at once poſſeſſed of three of the higheſt places of truſt, honour, and profit under the Crown of *Great-Britain*, being Lord-Treaſurer, Lord-Chamberlain, and Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Duke's advancement to the poſt of Lord-Treaſurer immediately changed the face of affairs; baffled the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s ſchemes; alarmed the friends of the Pretender; and revived the ſpirits of the well-affected to the *Hanover*-Succeſſion (1). Upon the motion of the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Argyle*, it was agreed, that all Privy-Counſellors, in or about *London*, without diſtinction, ſhould attend; which the Lord *Sommers*, and ſome other friends to the Houſe of *Hanover*, did that very day. 1714.

About three o'clock in the afternoon the Queen relapſed into a lethargy or apoplectic fit, out of which ſhe hardly recovered by the application of the ſpirit of *ſal ammoniac* to her noſtrils. The Phyſicians thought fit to apply bliſters; but, at the ſame time, acquainted the Council, that the Queen's life was in the utmoſt danger, and intirely depended on the effect of this laſt remedy.

The late Miniſters reflected on, for leaving the maritime towns unprovided.

In the mean time, the Privy-Council took into conſideration the ſtate of the Kingdom; and very ſevere reflections were made on the late Adminiſtration, for leaving the maritime places, particularly the important town of *Portſmouth*, unprovided with men and warlike ſtores, and conſequently incapable of defence, in caſe of a ſudden invaſion, which might be reaſonably apprehended, in caſe of the Queen's death (2). But, the preſent buſineſs not being to inquire into, but to mend faults, the Council, with great prudence and diſpatch, provided for the ſecurity of the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, of the Maritime Towns, and of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Orders were immediately diſpatched to four regiments of horſe and dragoons quartered in remote Counties, to march up to the villages near *London*, to keep the Jacobites and Diſaffected in awe: And to ſeven of the ten battalions of *Britiſh* forces, to imbark at *Oſtend*, and ſail for *England* with all poſſible ſpeed. An imbargo was ordered on all ſhipping, and directions were given for fitting out as many men of war, as could ſooneſt be got ready. By theſe orders the public tranquillity remained undiſturbed, and no conſternation appeared, but in the faces of the avowed partiſans of the Pretender.

The Queen continued all night in a lethargic fit, which increaſed to ſuch a degree about ten o'clock on *Saturday* morning, that all the Phyſicians deſpaired of her life. Upon this the Privy-Council ſent orders to the Heralds at Arms, and to a troop of Life-Guards, to be in a readineſs to mount, in order to proclaim the Elector of *Brunſwick* King of *Great-Britain*. At the ſame time, they cauſed a letter to be written to his Electoral Highneſs, to acquaint him 'with the extreme danger the Queen's life was in; with the meaſures they had taken to ſecure the Crown July 31.

(1) It would take up another volume (ſays the Author of the Hiſtory of the *White-ſtaff*) to give an account how ſtruck they appeared at this ſurpriſing blow. What give away the Staff? Said they, after they had ſtood looking upon one another ſpeechleſs and confounded for ſome time, at a private aſſembly of all their Confederates, which was held on this occaſion, where they gave vent to their paſſions, and broke out into all the extravagancies of rage and deſpair. 'The blaſt of hell, and the rage of a million of devils, be on this curſed Staff (ſaid the Secretary, flinging the purſe to the ground) it is he that has ruined us.' 'Give away the Staff, ſaid the Biſhop, by G—— I could not have believed ſhe durſt have done it? What can we do without it? We have but one way left, *France* and the Lawful Heir; it muſt and ſhall be done by G——.' Whither do I launch (ſays the Author) this is a ſcene of ſuch conſequence, filled with ſuch a diſcovery of black deſigns, that it cannot be entered upon here, but muſt be referred to another occaſion. See *Hiſt. of the White-ſtaff*.

(2) Sir *John Gibſon*, Deputy-Governor of *Portſmouth*, had, a little before, ſent up to the Secretary of State an information he had received, of great preparations then making at *Havre de Grace*, for an imbarkation of troops, which he apprehended to be in order to invade the Kingdom, and bring in the Pretender: And, at the ſame time, he repreſented how unprovided he was, both with men and warlike ſtores, to defend that important place, in caſe of a ſudden attack: But no notice was taken either of his information, or repreſentation.

1714. Crown to him; and to desire him to repair, with all convenient speed, to *Holland*, where a *British* squadron, that was fitting out with all possible expedition, would attend him, and bring him over, in case of the Queen's death.' This letter was that very morning sent express by Mr. *James Craggs*, and with him orders were dispatched to the Earl of *Strafford*, to desire the *States-General* to get ready to perform the guarantee of the Protestant Succession, if need should require.

This done, the Privy-Council resumed the consideration of the State of the sea-port towns, and ordered a strong reinforcement to be sent down to *Portsmouth*; and rightly judging, that, if the Pretender's friends stirred any where in *Great-Britain*, it would be, most probably, in *Scotland*, they ordered Major-General *Whetham* to repair thither, and assist Major-General *Wightman*; and appointed the Earl of *Berkley* to command the fleet. The Queen gave some signs of life between twelve and one o'clock, and took some spoonfuls of broth. She continued in a lethargic condition till about six in the afternoon, when, her pulse beating a little faster and higher, those about her began to entertain some hopes. But the blisters not having had the desired effect, she expired on *Sunday* the 1st of *August*, a little after seven o'clock in the morning, having lived forty-nine years, five months, and six days, and reigned twelve years and five months, wanting seven days. She was not able, either to receive the Sacrament, which the Bishop of *London* was ready to administer, or to sign the draught of a will, whereby she directed her burial to be in the same manner and place with her late Royal Consort; and in which she left legacies to some of her servants.

Thus died Queen *Anne*, whose character has already, in great measure, been described, but will more fully appear in the following remarks on the circumstances and affairs of her Reign.

Remarks on the Reign and Character of Q. Anne.

No Reign was ever more memorable than this for important events. Different accounts and numerous comments have disguised and confounded many material particulars. But, notwithstanding this, the true state of affairs, and the real character of this Princess, may, without much difficulty, be explained. No period of time afforded men more eminent for wisdom and abilities, and more distinguished by successes equal to their merit. Had not such circumstances happened, *Europe* must have submitted to an Universal Monarchy, which would not have endured any remains of civil or religious Liberty.

When the war was begun, nothing could be more menacing than our prospects. The House of *Bourbon* despising all treaties, and most solemn engagements, without any difficulty or opposition seized territories more extensive and considerable, than were ever gained by the most rapid Conqueror, by the toils of a long life. All the powers of *Europe* were obliged, by the laws of prudence and self-defence, to oppose a Monarch thus prepared for their destruction. Those, at remoter distances, were easy and insensible; and some, who were nearly concerned, entered into the pernicious measures of *France*. The pride and oppression of the Court of *Vienna* aggravated the evil, by giving occasion to the insurrection of those subjects *, of whose usefulness and importance the present times have afforded full evidence. 1714.

* *The* Hungarians.

The *Turks* remaining quiet during the whole war; the insurrection in the *Cevennes*; and the victory at *Hockstedt*, are instances of the most favourable incidents. When we review the case of those brave and oppressed Protestants, how can we forbear inquiring, Why was not a deep and incurable wound then given to *France* in her vitals? Must we ascribe our fatal neglect to bigotry, perfidy, to an aversion to all foreign Churches, and to the natural operation of Tory principles? It is affirmed, it was only carried by one vote at the Council-board, not to call them rebels in our *Gazette*: And, *Will your Majesty assist rebels?* Is said to have been the expostulation of a very grave Nobleman with the Queen's conscience. While too many were averse, others seem to have had no true sense of the importance of this incident. Complaints have been likewise made of our being betrayed by our Agents.

The wonderful and very seasonable success at *Hockstedt* was properly pursued by our great General. But, How faulty was the House of *Austria* on their part? How much valuable time was wasted; and how feebly did they come prepared to the siege of *Landau?* Military preparations were neglected, and the vain pomp and shew of a King of the *Romans* chiefly regarded. Thus the troops were obliged to continue in the field till the beginning of winter, to their great detriment. The feebleness or slowness of the *Germans*, or the envy of their General, defeated the designs which were excellently formed, of penetrating into *France* on its weakest side. A year's respite thus gained enabled the enemy to offer us battle. A complete and cheap victory was gained and followed with all desirable consequences. Time spent in the sieges of this and the following years has been represented as the want of conduct, or something worse. But the importance of a barrier is evident to every honest and thinking man. When this security is neglected, the awe and terror it must produce will convince by facts far more effectual than the clearest reasoning. The entering *France*, and leaving behind the numerous fortified towns of the new conquests, had any mischance happened, would have been deemed an unpardonable want of precaution. To a second attempt, by the way of *Lorrain*, there was nothing to give encouragement.

Our advantages in other parts were very considerable; particularly by disappointments of the enemy in the sieges of *Gibraltar* and *Barcelona*. But what account can be given of our misfortune and misconduct, when a sure, near, and easy method of possessing *Spain* was offered? What hindered Lord *Galway*'s marching with proper expedition to *Madrid?* Had this been executed, all the Courts and Tribunals of the Kingdom would have been secured. By dispatches from thence the Governments of *America* might have been gained. But in what terms shall we mention the delays of King *Charles* and the Earl of *Peterborough*, after the flying retreat of King *Philip* and his army? Their behaviour, in all its parts, was a direct contradiction to all the dictates of prudence, interest, and glory. Had they immediately assembled the troops in *Valencia* and *Catalonia*, joined Lord *Galway*, and marched directly to the *Pyrenees*, *Philip* must have been for ever excluded; and the great and good

ends of the war would have been happily and ſpeedily accompliſhed. What a reverſe happened, has been related in its proper place. 1714.

The diſappointment before *Toulon* was almoſt equally affecting. Such a conqueſt would have been a moſt ſenſible wound to *France*. Had not the army been weakened by the great body of troops ſent to the conqueſt of *Naples*, the affair muſt have ſucceeded. Jeſuitical counſels and *French* money are ſuppoſed to have influenced the Court of *Vienna*. The reaſoning fatally urged was to this purpoſe: If the naval power of *France* is deſtroyed in the *Mediterranean* by taking *Marſeilles* and *Toulon*, the uncontroulable dominion of two maritime powers, which are Proteſtants, will be intolerable. The Prieſts of *Italy* and *Spain* trembled for *Rome* and the Holy Houſe. They had lively forebodings of ſomething worſe than the return of the days of *Cromwell*. As they had an aſſured proſpect of *Spain*, the perfect awe and ſubjection of the maritime part of that Catholic Kingdom to Heretics came into conſideration: This, though known to Dr. *Hare*, was not inſerted in his excellent political tracts publiſhed in 1711 and 1712, for a very obvious reaſon; ſince it would have given aſſiſtance to the Miniſters in their evil deſigns of infuſing into the Nation ill-will and averſion to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and kind inclinations to that of *Bourbon*.

Not improving advantages and opportunities is matter of eaſy obſervation to all, who reflect on the ſeveral wars, of which we have accounts. In Confederacies, wherein there are a variety of humours and oppoſite intereſts, ſuch misfortunes are in a great meaſure unavoidable. But, notwithſtanding the ſeveral eſcapes of the enemy, the Duke of *Marlborough*'s ſure and ſteady progreſs, and the damages the *French* ſuſtained in other places, reduced them to a ſtate of the utmoſt diſtreſs and terror. Their frontiers were impaired to ſuch a degree, that we had gained an eaſy and ſecure admiſſion into the open and defenceleſs parts of *France*, had his Queen and Country duly ſupported this great Captain. The grand Monarch would have been driven from his Capital; his glory had received an indelible ſtain; and his vain and inſolent ſubjects a juſt mortification. Such advantages would have repaid all our toils and expences. He muſt have gladly compounded by recalling his grandſon from *Spain*. His forcible and fraudulent acquiſitions muſt have been ſurrendered; and ſure foundations laid for the laſting peace and ſafety of this part of the world. Clearer and more obvious truths appear no where in the hiſtories of any age or people; yet ſuch hath been the deluſion of party, that contrary repreſentations have gained an intire credit. The ſpeculative and practical propagators of them have been conſidered by a numerous party, as the beſt Writers, and the wiſeſt and moſt worthy Miniſters.

The temper, behaviour, and management of the Queen, on whom ſo much depended, deſerves a particular and impartial conſideration. As both parties in their turns were greatly diſobliged and offended, no praiſes have been given her for perſonal ſteadineſs and wiſdom. In ſome ſermons indeed, parts and abilities have been aſcribed to her; but, were ſuch paſſages duly explained, the abilities would be found to belong only to her Miniſters.

Great are the diſhonours, which have redounded to the ſacred order by the behaviour of thoſe Princes, who have been moſt favoured with their eſteem. The effects of their zeal have not appeared in a warm and equal concern for the welfare of ſociety; but in aiding one party to oppoſe and ruin the other. Benevolence and compaſſion have been diſregarded; and wrath, clamour, and brutal qualities have been encouraged; and thoſe of the divine and humane kind been greatly neglected.

There were two things, to which the inglorious part of this Reign may be chiefly imputed; the Queen's paſſion for Favourites, and the prejudices of her Education. To the ſecret influence of Favourites was owing the diſgrace of her General, who, while he was ſteadily purſuing the intereſt of the Public, was not only diſmiſſed and loaded with the heavieſt reproaches, but even proſecuted for what had been granted him by the Queen's warrant under her own hand, and what was afterwards given to the Duke of *Ormond*. By the ſame ſecret influence, the exchanging the Able, Honeſt, and Succeſsful, for Thoſe whoſe management proved them in all reſpects the reverſe, was eſteemed an important deliverance. Hence alſo it was, that the Miniſters had often ſuch put upon them as were their enemies, and the juſt averſion of thoſe on whoſe aſſiſtance they depended. This incommoded every Miniſtry, and was the cauſe of the Queen's conſtant complaints of her being only a Royal Slave. In a word, paſſion for favourites ſeemed to have a greater effect upon her, than the impreſſions of ambition and glory: For otherwiſe, the moſt worthy deſigns had not been abandoned, when there was ſo near a proſpect of their accompliſhment.

The prejudices of the Queen's education had alſo a great ſhare in ſullying the glory of her Reign. It was her misfortune to be educated in ſuch times, and under ſuch perſons, as had given her wrong ideas of Religion and the Church, and infuſed into her, from her very infancy, ſtrong prejudices againſt the Whigs, who were repreſented to her as enemies to the Conſtitution in Church and State. Deliberate reviews are very uncommon, and eſpecially in thoſe who are at the height of power. This evil was therefore incurable, and had very ill conſequences. Hence, though the Queen has been juſtly commended for her devout and regular attendance on the offices of the Church (1), and for ardent wiſhes for its proſperity, yet for want of true notions of religious liberty (which ſhe had never been taught) attempts were repeatedly made in the beginning of her Reign, with her approbation, to diſcourage and diſtreſs the Diſſenters. But theſe attempts were diſappointed by the moderation and juſtice, which then ſubſiſted in the Houſe of Lords. The concurrence of the Treaſurer * and General † in thoſe meaſures hath been repreſented-

* *Lord* Godolphin.
† *The Duke of* Marlborough.

(1) She was ſo ſtrict an obſerver of forms, that once at *Windſor* ſhe reproved the Miniſter for giving her the Sacrament before the other clergy then preſent had firſt received it. *Coke*, Vol. III. 481.

(1) It

1714. preſented as an inſtance and moſt unſeaſonable expreſſion of their enmity to the true principles of liberty. But the immediate and preſſing motive of their behaviour was a neceſſity of complying with the inclinations of their Royal miſtreſs. Had they refuſed, they would have given their rivals a very dangerous advantage. And, though we ſhould allow the fulleſt ſtrength to their old leven, yet it muſt be ſuppoſed, if they had been at perfect liberty, their known prudence and policy would have reſtrained ſuch appearances of it at this time. For nothing could be more mortifying and offenſive to the *Dutch*, and all the Reformed Churches. Beſides, to begin ſuch a war with diſuniting meaſures at home would have been to the laſt degree abſurd.

Diſtreſſing and incapacitating were conſiſtent with the deſigns, the views, and the meaſures of the four laſt years of the Queen's reign. All Proteſtants abroad, as well as thoſe at home, who differed from the Eſtabliſhment, were marked with infamy. A loud noiſe for the Church filled all places, and prevented all attention to the calamity and deſtruction preparing for the State. Depriving the Diſſenters of the natural right of educating their children was the prelude to the diveſting of them of their moſt important privileges in ſociety. For their power of voting for Members of Parliament would have been taken away; and they would have been rendered equally incapable of being concerned in the choice of Members of Corporations.

How ſoon hath the ſenſe of ſuch a deliverance been loſt! Becauſe impracticable favours have not been granted, many of them, who dignify themſelves with the name of *Conſiſtent Proteſtants*, and the true aſſerters of liberty in its full extent, have ſhewn themſelves extremely perverſe both in their words and actions; and in ſome places applied their wonderfully-preſerved privileges and capacities for the ſervice of an intereſt, which had doomed them to deſtruction; in others, they have been indolent and unconcerned.

How the Queen's zeal for the Church operated in the affair of Dr. *Sacheverel*, is but too well known. This zeal gave the enemies of the Miniſtry advantages at Court and in the Country, beyond their moſt ſanguine expectations. To the mad ferment which was diffuſed through the Kingdom, and which influenced the future elections, the eaſy ſucceſs of the new Miniſtry may be juſtly aſcribed. For though they had been poſſeſſed of power; and though the Nation was tired out with taxes; yet nothing but the operation of the noiſe and name of the Church could have given them ſo ſecure a majority. This alone, after ſuch affecting ſucceſſes, was capable of producing an inſenſibility of the advantages given the enemy, and of the diſtreſs, to which we moſt faithleſsly and inſolently reduced our Allies. Our liberties, trade, and commerce could only by this means have been placed in ſo bad a ſituation.

An explanation of the real ſecret of the management of the new Miniſtry, and of the impeaching Parliament, hath not been attempted. Pehaps of this, as well as of ſome other particulars both at home and abroad, no full and exact account will ever be given. It hath been ſaid, that the Treaſurer and his Friends foreſaw and intended ſome of the conſequences. The Junto and their Friends, the zealous promoters of it, were to have been given up. That the Junto had often made remonſtrances and demands, both with regard to perſons and things, in a manner diſagreeable to the Prime Miniſter, may be allowed, without ſuppoſing a wiſe man capable of ſo abſurd a ſcheme for his deliverance. Beſides, the combination between the then Patriots and the Tories was known to be ſo firm, as not to ſuffer him to entertain the leaſt hopes of making any impreſſion. From all appearances, we may conclude it to have been the effect of haſty unthinking zeal. Expreſs and Parliamentary approbation was intended for the principles, on which the Revolution is founded. Something of this kind ſeemed neceſſary, becauſe, throughout this Reign, Revolution principles had been perpetually diſgraced and oppoſed from the Preſs and the Pulpit.

The heart of the Queen was well known, and her ſecret affections and diſſatisfactions well underſtood. Therefore, during the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, and immediately after, the principles of the Revolution were vilified beyond meaſure; and the doctrines of Slavery became matter of glory, as the peculiars of Chriſtianity and the Church. Addreſſes were graciouſly received, wherein, with the omiſſion only of his name, the Pretender's title was expreſsly aſſerted; and, by evident implication, this was calling the Poſſeſſor of the Throne an *Uſurper*; language, which hath ever been unpardonable with every other Prince. However this be, moſt certain it is, that thoſe who had expreſſed their readineſs to concur in the meaſures of the Court, were regarded as well affected, and declarations and aſſurances in favour of the Houſe of *Hanover* were conſidered only as a matter of neceſſity and form.

No one of our Monarchs ever had greater advantages of doing good both at home and abroad, nor had any Reign been diſtinguiſhed with ſuch glorious and important events. *Germany* ſaved from deſtruction; the Imperial Crown preſerved and fixed on the head of our Ally; *Flanders* ſubdued; the exorbitant power of *France* reduced; the Union of *England* and *Scotland*, are events for which the Reign of Queen *Anne* will be had in everlaſting remembrance. But by a diſhonourable peace, how fruitleſs were theſe important events rendered? How ſoon was the power of *France* reſtored to a condition of injuring, oppreſſing and terrifying the world? And very probably, nothing but the Queen's ſudden removal prevented the execution of thoſe ſchemes in favour of the Pretender, which the Peace-makers had laid, and for which due preparation had been made (1).

Had

(1) It is made a queſtion by ſome, whether the Queen knew any thing of the deſign of bringing in the Pretender, notwithſtanding the ſtrong appearances of it. In 1708, when the attempt was made on *Scotland*, Sir *George Bing* had no inſtructions as to the perſon of the Pretender. When this particular was taken into conſideration, the council broke up in confuſion. For when ſome mentioned methods of diſpatch, the moving appearance of the Queen's flowing tears prevented all farther deliberation. *Lamberti* ſays (Vol. VIII. p. 65.) that

Had not the Emperor and *Catalans* prolonged the war, *Lewis* XIV. ſome months before the Queen's death would have ſent us his laſt legacy; for he would have been at perfect liberty to have aided thoſe here, who had prepared every thing for a ſecond Reſtoration. Who can mention the *Catalans*, and forbear lamenting their ſevere and horrible uſage? We not only neglected their ſecurities and privileges, though they had been true to all their engagements, but aſſiſted in compleating their ruin (1). The caſe of the *Catalans* ſeems to afford full proof, that the Queen was deceived by her Miniſtry, and kept in total ignorance of affairs; for if that had not been the caſe, ſhe muſt have had no inclination to truth and probity, and have been incapable to diſtinguiſh between right and wrong, in the ſtrongeſt inſtances, which cannot well be ſuppoſed (2). 1714.

The domineering manner, in which we joined with *France*, in dictating terms to our Allies; the faithleſs and inſolent manner of abandoning them; the injurious uſage of them in debates and reſolutions of Parliament, and by Miniſterial Writers, have given impreſſions greatly detrimental to all future Negotiations, and fixed indelible infamy upon our Nation.

Queen *Anne*, as to her perſon, was middle ſized,

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that it was very evident, the Queen of *Great-Britain* was extremely inclined to ſet the Pretender on her Throne. This inclination firſt appeared on the death of her ſon the Duke of *Gloceſter*. For an expreſs being ſent by the Queen (then Princeſs of *Denmark*) to the Court of *St. Germain's*, to notify the Duke's death, the Earl of *Manchester*, Ambaſſador from King *William* to the Court of *France*, ſent his Secretary Mr. *Chetwin* to *Loo*, to inform the King of this proceeding. The reader may alſo ſee the extract Numb. I. annexed to the end of this reign, concerning the Pretender's affair.

(1) See the caſe of the *Catalans*, Numb. II, at the end of this Reign.

(2) How groſsly the Miniſtry impoſed on the Queen, appears from ſeveral tranſactions, orders and directions given by the Miniſters in the Queen's name, directly contrary to her ſentiments as expreſſed in her meſſages and ſpeeches to the Parliament, concerning the terms of peace, which ſhe communicated to both Houſes. The Committee of Secrecy examined this matter, and compared the Queen's Declarations with the meaſures her Miniſters preſumed to take in carrying on the negotiations. This they did in the following manner, in their report to the Houſe of Commons.

The firſt time that the Queen made any mention of the peace to the Parliament, was on *December* 11, 1711. at which time nothing had been concluded between *England* and *France*, but the ſpecial Preliminaries that were ſigned by the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St. John* on the part of *England*, and Monſieur *Meſnager* on the part of *France*, *September* 27, 1711, and the general preliminaries ſigned by Monſieur *Meſnager* only, which were ſent over by the Earl of *Strafford* as the foundation of a general peace. After theſe Preliminaries were ſigned, Mr. *St. John* had preſſed Monſieur *de Torcy*, that the King of *France* would explain himſelf with regard to the Allies; begs that the Queen may have ſome explication of his intentions in reſpect to the particular intereſt of the Allies, and concludes with ſaying, if the Sieur *Gaultier* returns with theſe marks of confidence, you will ſee our Parliament as much inclined to peace as ever it was to war.

Such explications as the King of *France* thought fit to make, are contained in the anſwer to rhe memorial brought by Monſieur *Gaultier*, *Nov.* 18, 1711 *. Upon which her Majeſty, at the opening of that Seſſion, in laying before the Parliament the ſtate of the treaty then on foot, according to the advice and repreſentation made to her by her Miniſters, ſaid, 'That notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace. Our Allies, eſpecially the *States-General*, whoſe intereſt I look upon as inſeparable from my own, have, by their ready concurrence, expreſſed their confidence in me.' The Queen thought the *States* had readily concurred with her; but it muſt be remembred, that the *States* had in the ſtrongeſt manner repreſented againſt the propoſitions ſigned by Mr. *Meſnager*, as too general and uncertain, not being a ſufficient foundation upon which a Negotiation might be hazarded; they dreaded the fatal conſequences of opening the general conferences, before the articles offered by *France* were made ſpecifick, and before they knew what they were to truſt to for their own barrier and their commerce. Theſe repreſentations were made in *Holland* to the Earl of *Strafford*; and Mr. *Buys* was ſent over into *England* to enforce them here.

But, inſtead of acquainting the Queen with theſe repreſentations, or acting according to her Majeſty's ſentiments, Mr. *St. John*, *October* 9. declares, 'Certain it is, that her Majeſty is ſo far determined in her meaſures, that thoſe will deceive themſelves who may imagine by delay to break them.' And *October* 29. 'The Queen remains firm in her firſt reſolution, of cauſing the Conferences to be opened upon the articles ſigned by Monſieur *Meſnager*.' And *November* the 2d, 'The Queen will not finally concert a plan for the proſecution of the war with the *States*, until they join with her in agreeing to open the Conferences of peace.' And *November* 15. Lord *Strafford* ſays, 'He had now told them her Majeſty's order to him was to declare, that ſhe ſhould look upon any delay as a refuſal to comply with her propoſitions.' By theſe threats and extraordinary meaſures, the *States* are compelled by the Queen's Miniſters, to conſent to open the Conferences; when at the ſame time her Majeſty was perſuaded, that they readily concured in what had been propoſed to them. Her Majeſty declares, 'She looks upon the intereſt of the *States-General* to be inſeparable from her own.' Mr. *St. John* declares, 'That *Britain* had gone ſo much too far in weaving her intereſt into that of the Continent, that it would prove no eaſy task to diſentangle them without tearing and rending.'

The Queen ſays further, 'The Princes and *States* which have been engaged with us in this war, being by treaties entitled to have their ſeveral intereſts ſecured at a peace, I will not only do my utmoſt to procure every one of them all reaſonable ſatisfaction, but I ſhall alſo unite with them in the ſtricteſt engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the general peace ſecure and laſting.' And in her meſſage of the 17th of *January* following, her Majeſty again expreſſes 'The care ſhe intended to take of all her Allies, and the ſtrict union in which ſhe propoſed to join with them.' Ibid.

By theſe Declarations it appears, her Majeſty's own reſolution was to unite with the Allies in the ſtricteſt engagements. But her Miniſters had taken upon them, in the private propoſitions ſent over by Mr. *Prior*, to inſert an article, 'That the ſecret ſhould be inviolably kept between *England* and *France*, till allowed to be divulged by the conſent of both parties.' And although *France*, in the firſt propoſitions ſent over by Monſieur *de Torcy*, had offered to treat with *England* and *Holland*, either ſeparately or jointly, with the reſt of the Allies, at the choice of *England*, the Queen's Miniſters excluded the Allies; and in the Conference held with Monſieur *Meſnager*, 'They are much ſurprized to find that he had orders to inſiſt, that the Queen ſhould enter into particular engagements, upon divers articles, which depend not upon her, and which regard the intereſt of the Allies: And they inſiſted that it was abſolutely neceſſary to remit the diſcuſſion of the particular intereſts of the Allies to general Conferences.' And when Mr. *St. John* was preſſing Monſieur *de Torcy* to give them ſome explica-

1714. fized, and well made, but not ſo majeſtick as her Siſter Queen *Mary*. Her hair dark brown; her complexion ſanguine and ruddy; her face round, rather comely than handſome; her features ſtrong and regular; and the only blemiſh in her face was owing to the defluxion ſhe had, when young, in her eyes, which left a contraction in the upper-lids, and gave a cloudineſs to her countenance. Her bones were ſmall, and hands beautiful. She had a very good ear for muſic, and performed on the *Guitar*, an inſtrument formerly much in vogue. Her voice was remarkably clear and harmonious, which particularly appeared, in the graceful delivery of her ſpeeches to the Parliament. She was reckoned a pattern of conjugal affection, and a prudent indulgent Mother. She was liberal, though an enemy to luxury and profuſeneſs. She was very reſerved; and, in all conditions of life, ſhe required a ſtrict attendance from all perſons in their reſpective ſtations, ſhe herſelf being nicely obſervant of all the decorum's of a Court. 1714

The exerciſe ſhe principally loved was hunting, which ſhe practiſed in her chaiſe; but the gout increaſing upon her, and growing extremely unwieldy, ſhe diſuſed that and other diverſions, conducive to her health, which perhaps might have been longer preſerved, had ſhe not eat ſo much,

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tions of what was deſigned for the Allies, he aſſures him, 'If the King would offer a plan of ſpecifick Preliminaries, the Queen will never communicate it to her Allies.' And upon another occaſion, he declares, 'This Negotiation was begun and carried on upon a ſuppoſition, that the Queen muſt deſiſt from many conditions which in rigor ſhe was obliged to procure for her Allies.'

In the meſſage of the 17th of *January* the Queen declares, 'Her Plenipotentiaries had begun, in purſuance of their inſtructions, to concert the moſt proper ways of procuring a juſt ſatisfaction to all in Alliance with her, according to their treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *Indies*.' And her Majeſty had ſaid before, in anſwer to an addreſs from the Houſe of Lords, preſented the 11th of *December* 1711. 'I ſhould be ſorry any one could think I would not do my utmoſt to recover *Spain* and the *Indies* from the Houſe of *Bourbon*.'

See p. 238.

See p. 229.

The Committee did not doubt but her Majeſty was determined to recover *Spain* from the Houſe of *Bourbon*: But, that her Miniſters had no ſuch thoughts, and did not in the leaſt endeavour it, appears in every part of the Negotiation. In the firſt propoſitions ſent over by Mr. *Prior*, demands are made of the King of *France*, to be performed by the King of *Spain*, which the King of *France* was to engage for. And as appears by an entry in Lord *Strafford*'s book, Mr. *Prior* had orders to ſee if they had full powers from *Spain*. In the ſpecial Preliminaries, an acceptation whereof was ſigned by the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr. *St John*, *September* the 17th, 1711. it is ſaid expreſly, The King promiſes in the name of the King of *Spain* his grandſon, and according to the powers which his Majeſty has received from that Prince, That Port *Mahon* and *Gibraltar* ſhall remain to the *Engliſh*. Theſe ſteps had been taken by the Queen's Miniſters, even before her Majeſty had made theſe Declarations; which the Committee cannot therefore but conclude her Majeſty was not informed of. And although the Queen's Plenipotentiaries were obliged by their inſtructions to inſiſt, That *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* ſhould not be allotted to any branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; when the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, on the 11th of *February*, 1711-12. gave in their ſpecific explanation of the general Preliminaries, ſigned by Mr. *Meſnager*; the King of *France* made his firſt offers in the name, and by virtue of powers from his grandſon King *Philip*, as King of *Spain*. On the 4th of *March*, 1711-12. at a meeting of the Miniſters of the Allies at *Utrecht*, where they were to communicate to each other their reſpective demands, Count *Sinzendorff* inſiſted, That the reſtitution of the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy ſhould be expreſly mentioned; upon which occaſion it appears, by a letter from the *Engliſh* Miniſters of the 6th of *March*, That they were the only Miniſters that did not make any mention at all of *Spain*, and that they were ſenſible of the diſadvantageous conſequences of being ſo; but being deſirous to take off this odium, they make a general Declaration concerning the juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for the Queen's Allies, in conformity to their Alliances; and humbly hope what was ſaid will not be found contrary to what has been hitherto declared.

All the attempt that the Queen's Miniſters ever made towards obtaining this great point, which her Majeſty declares, ſhe ſhould be ſorry any one could think ſhe did not do her utmoſt to procure, was to demand aſſurances that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* ſhould never be united. The method of preventing this union was never mentioned by the Queen's Miniſters in order to be treated of, nor the ſenſe of *France* and *Spain* ever asked upon it till the latter end of *March*, 1712.

In the ſame meſſage her Majeſty further adds, 'The world will now ſee how groundleſs thoſe reports are which have been ſpread by men of evil intentions, to ſerve the worſt deſigns, as if a ſeparate peace had been treated, for which there has not been the leaſt colour given.'

See p. 238.

In this Declaration, her Majeſty is adviſed by her Miniſters, in order to clear them from the juſt ſuſpicions which all the world had conceived of the ſeparate meaſures they were engaged in, not only to declare there had not been the leaſt colour given for ſuch jealouſies, but to brand all that entertain ſuch apprehenſions, with the character of men of evil intentions, that had the worſt deſigns to ſerve. But that moſt juſt cauſe had been given for theſe reports, is ſufficiently evident from what was juſt now obſerved. The Miniſtry had inſiſted that the ſecret ſhould be inviolably kept between *England* and *France*, excluſive of all the Allies. A ſeparate Negotiation between *England* and *France* had been carried on by papers ſent backward and forward, and much time ſpent therein, as is ſaid in Lord *Strafford*'s inſtructions. Mr. *Prior* had been ſent into *France*, and Mr. *Meſnager* had been in *England*, and not the leaſt communication was given for five months together to any of the Allies of theſe tranſactions, which were depending from *April* 1711, to *September* following, from the time that the firſt propoſals ſigned by Monſieur *de Torcy* were ſent to the *States*, till the ſeven general Preliminaries ſigned by Mr. *Meſnager*, were communicated to them. When theſe general Preliminaries were ſigned, which were ſent over as a foundation to open the general Conferences, a ſet of ſpecial Preliminaries between *England* and *France* was ſigned on both parts, which were concealed, publickly diſowned, and never appeared till this enquiry; and all theſe tranſactions had paſſed, however diſguiſed to her Majeſty, before the time that her Miniſters adviſed the Queen to impoſe ſo groſly upon the Nation, as to declare in Parliament, there had not been the leaſt colour given for theſe ſurmiſes.

Her Majeſty is adviſed here to declare, That to report that a ſeparate peace had been treated, proceeds from evil intentions, and to ſerve the worſt deſigns. But the Committee obſerves, That after this Declaration of the Queen, her Miniſters propoſe to *France*, agreed with *France*, and ſent poſitive and repeated orders to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries, not only to treat, but to conclude a ſeparate peace with *France*. On the 20th of *June*, 1712. Mr. *St. John* acquaints Monſieur *de Torcy*, the Queen will make no difficulty to conclude immediately a ſeparate peace with *France*, leaving the Allies a time wherein they may have liberty to ſubmit to ſuch conditions, as ſhall be agreed upon between

1714. much, an unhappineſs derived to her not from her Father, who was abſtemious enough, but from her Mother (1).

It was her unhappineſs not to be much acquainted with our *Engliſh* Hiſtory, and the actions of her Predeceſſors; whereas, Queen *Mary* 1714.

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between the Queen and the moſt Chriſtian King. In anſwer to this, Monſieur *de Torcy* tells Mr. *St. John*, upon condition the Queen does immediately make a ſeparate peace, and keep no meaſures with her Allies, the King has determined to ſend his orders to permit the *Engliſh* troops to enter into *Dunkirk*. On the 12th of *July*, 1712. Mr. *St. John* thinks the Queen in a condition not to loſe a moment's time in concluding with the Miniſters of *France* the Convention for a general ſuſpenſion of arms both by ſea and land, and even the treaty of peace between *Britain* and *France*. And on the 4th of *Auguſt*, 1712. Monſieur *de Torcy* acquaints Mr. *St. John*, That the King conſented to the Duke of *Savoy*'s having *Sicily* upon certain conditions; wherein one expreſs condition is, That a peace be concluded between *England* and *France*, *Spain*, and *Savoy*. And at laſt, when the treaty drew near to a concluſion, and almoſt all the Allies were ready to ſign, on the 20th of *February*, 1712-13. poſitive orders are ſent to the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries to conclude and ſign with *France*; and on the 28th, Lord *Bolingbroke* repeats his orders to the *Britiſh* Plenipotentiaries to conclude and ſign with *France*: And acquaints them, 'The Duke of *Shrewsbury* had declared, that their Lordſhips had orders, in caſe the *French* complied, as they now have actually done, to ſign her Majeſty's peace with *France* without further delay; and that his Grace had alſo declared, That in this caſe her Majeſty would open the Parliament by telling them that ſhe had made a peace with *France*: Theſe two conſiderations, his Lordſhip ſays, were perhaps the moſt prevalent inducements to the *French* Court to come roundly into her Majeſty's propoſitions.'

The Committee cloſe this head with repeating a paſſage from one of Lord *Bolingbroke*'s letters to Mr. *Prior*, wherein he ſays, 'If ſuch overtures as theſe were not inſtantly accepted, our ſeparate peace would, ſitting this Parliament, be addreſſed for, made, approved, and the cauſe of *France* for once become popular in *Great-Britain*.'

See p. 267. On the 6th of *June* 1712, the Queen ſays, 'I am now come to let you know upon what terms a general peace may be made.'

On the ſame day, Lord *Bolingbroke* acquaints Monſieur *de Torcy*, 'That though the King of *France* had not anſwered the Queen's demands, according to expectation, the Queen would not defer going that day to Parliament, and making all the declarations that were neceſſary to render the Nation unanimouſly inclined to the peace.'

ibid. The Queen ſays, 'The difficulties had been increaſed by other obſtructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.' Whereas it is notorious, that the Miniſters had received but the day before, the account that King *Philip* had conſented to make the renunciation, upon which account only the Queen's ſpeaking to the Parliament had been deferred.

ibid. The Queen ſays, 'I have not omitted any thing which might procure to all our Allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is neceſſary for their ſecurity.'

Lord *Bolingbroke*, on the very ſame day, in his letter to Monſieur *de Torcy*, ſays, 'Lord *Strafford* is going back to *Utrecht*, and the inſtructions he is to carry will put the Queen's Plenipotentiaries in a condition to keep no longer thoſe meaſures to which they have hitherto been obliged to ſubmit; but from henceforth they may openly join with thoſe of *France*, and give law to them, who will not ſubmit to juſt and reaſonable conditions.'

ibid. The Queen ſays, 'Nothing has moved me from ſteddily purſuing, in the firſt place, the true intereſt of my own Kingdoms.'

Lord *Bolingbroke* juſt before, on the 24th of *May*, had propoſed to Monſieur *de Torcy*, 'That the Queen being much more intent upon the general peace, than any particular advantages, Commiſſaries ſhould be appointed to ſettle, after the peace, ſuch points relating to trade, as required a longer diſcuſſion than the preſent criſis would admit.'

The Queen ſays, 'That to prevent the Union of the two Crowns, ſhe would not be content with what was ſpeculative, but inſiſted upon ſomething ſolid:' Although Monſieur *de Torcy* had before declared to the Queen's Miniſters, 'That to accept of this expedient which they propoſed, would be to build upon a ſandy foundation.' ibid.

The Queen ſays, 'The nature of the propoſal for a renunciation is ſuch, that it executes itſelf; and that *France* and *Spain* are thereby more effectually divided than ever.' But Monſieur *de Torcy* had before aſſured the Queen's Miniſters, 'That this renunciation would be null and void, by the fundamental laws of *France*; and they would deceive themſelves, who accepted of it as an expedient to prevent the Union of the two Crowns.' ibid.

The Queen ſays, 'Proviſion is made, that the ſame privileges and advantages as ſhall be granted to any other Nation by *France*, ſhall be granted in like manner to us.' But it appears, by a letter of Lord *Bolingbroke*'s in *January* following, to the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, 'That *France* refuſed to let our trade ſtand upon the foot of *Gens amiciſſima*; declared the Tariff of 1664, which was granted to the *Dutch*, except the four ſpecies, was too beneficial for us; and refuſed to grant it, until another Tariff ſhould be made in *Great-Britain* exactly conformable to that of 1664, whereby our duties would be reduced as theirs are in *France* by that Tariff.' ibid.

As to our commerce with *France*, the Queen ſays here, *June* 6, 1712, 'It was in a method of being ſettled.' And Mr. *Prior* ſays of it in *May* following, near a twelvemonth after, 'We had like to have made an *Athanaſian* buſineſs of it at *Utrecht*, by that explanation of our own way of underſtanding our own commerce. Their letters to you, full of ſurmiſes and doubts, that all was unhinged; and their letters to us again, that explanations, however made, were only to ſave appearances, and ſignified nothing: This *Mélange*, I ſay, and my endeavouring to underſtand it, had like to make me run mad, if the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s extreme good ſenſe, and Monſieur *de Torcy*'s not only honeſt, but right underſtanding, had not redreſſed us.'

The Queen ſays, 'The *French* conſented to deliver up *Newfoundland* and *Placentia*.' But it muſt be remembered, that in the preliminaries ſigned in *September* preceding, the *French* had reſerved to themſelves a liberty of taking and drying fiſh in *Newfoundland*. p. 268.

The Queen ſays, 'An abſolute ceſſion was to be made of *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*.' But Cape *Breton*, which was always underſtood to be, and is ſo declared by the Queen's inſtructions to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, to be part of *Nova Scotia*, is expreſsly given up to *France*. ibid.

The Queen ſays, 'The trade to *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* may in general be ſettled, as it was in the time of the late King of *Spain*, *Charles* the Second.' But when the project of the treaty of commerce came from *Madrid*, Lord *Bolingbroke* ſays of it, 'They had ſent a blind, lame, miſhapen, indigeſted monſter, inſtead of that fair offspring, which we had reaſon to expect from our candor.' ibid.

If all the other parts of this ſpeech be ſtrictly examined, it will be found that the Miniſtry did ſo groſly deceive the Queen, in order to impoſe upon the Parliament by her authority, that there is ſcarce a paragraph that does not contain ſome unfair, or at leaſt equivocal repreſentation of the ſtate of the Negotiations. And when the Queen was adviſed by her Miniſters to make this communication to Parliament, as the terms upon which a general peace might be made, it is very evident, they had no aſſurances that *France* would make good what they prevailed upon the Queen to declare in ſo ſolemn and public a manner.

(1) This ſeems to confute the ſcandalous report of the

1714. *Mary* was extremely well verſed, not only in our own, but the Hiſtories of other Countries.

Her Reign may be called *Bloodleſs*, not one perſon having been executed, at leaſt beheaded, for treaſon, during the whole courſe of it; which cannot be ſaid of any Reign ſince the time of *Edward* I, who died in 1307.

Semper Eadem was the motto of Queen *Elizabeth*, which Queen *Anne* aſſumed upon her Acceſſion to the Throne; and which, had ſhe purſued with the ſame reſolution and ſteadineſs, ſhe might have exceeded her in glory and fame. But in one thing ſhe was very unlike Queen *Elizabeth*, whom ſhe propoſed for her pattern. Queen *Elizabeth* was very ſparing of her honours, and a man muſt have deſerved it, before he could obtain ſo much as a Knighthood at her hands (1): Whereas Queen *Anne* made more Peers of the Realm at once, than the other did in a Reign of forty-four years. Indeed, her Great-Grandfather King *James*, was the firſt that was laviſh in conferring honour, whoſe example was but too much followed by his Deſcendants; ſo that Queen *Anne* was not ſingular in that reſpect, except in creating ſo many together, for an end that will remain a blemiſh upon her Adminiſtration, as long as Hiſtory endures. 1714.

In Queen *Anne* ended the line of the *Stuarts*: Their merit and demerit may be rightly ſtated, by conſidering what their regards or diſregards were to the welfare of *Europe*; to the union and ſtrengthening of the Proteſtant Intereſt; and to the quiet and proſperity of their ſubjects. In order to make up ſuch an account duly and accurately, many important materials are ſtill wanting.

There had been a new vault made on the South-ſide, and towards the Eaſt-end of *Henry* VII's Chapel, to depoſit the body of King *Charles* II, in which that Prince, Queen *Mary*, King *William* III, and Prince *George* of *Denmark*, were laid. Here the remains of Queen *Anne* were likewiſe depoſited, and there being no more room left, the vault is cloſed up with brickwork.

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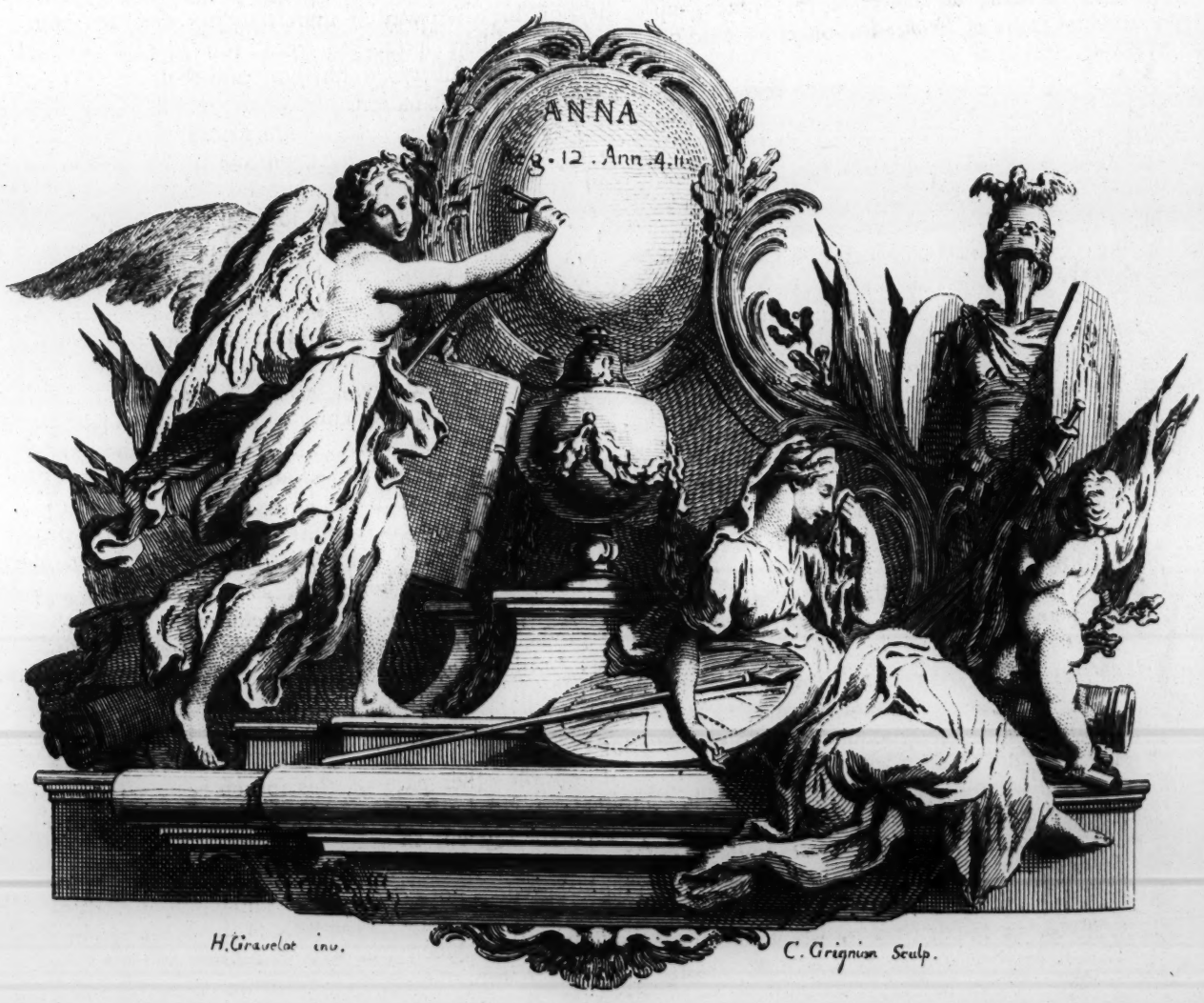
the Queen's drinking ſpirituous liquors, which was told with ſo much aſſurance, that many who loved and eſteemed her gave in to it, whereas one of her * Hiſtorians affirms it for a truth, that ſhe abhorred all ſtrong waters. The *French* Continuator of *Rapin* gives credit to the common report, and ſays, ſhe accuſtomed herſelf to it out of complaiſance to the Prince her huſband.

* Coke.

(1) It is well known how angry Queen *Elizabeth* was with the Earl of *Eſſex* for making ſo many Knights at the taking of *Cadiz*.

The End of the Reign of Queen ANNE.



EXTRACTS and PAPERS relating to the Hiſtory of Queen *ANNE*.

I. *The proceedings about the Pretender, as reported by the* Committee of Secrecy, *June* 1715.

THE *Committee* begin with obſerving, that Abbot *Gaultier* *, though he did not appear to have any public character, reſided in *England* during the greateſt part of the Negotiation for peace; and, upon extraordinary occaſions, was often ſent backward and forward. But the ſhare, he had in the more public tranſactions, was not his only buſineſs. It was evident, ſome Negotiations, which required more than ordinary privacy, were verbally tranſacted; and, upon all ſuch occaſions, Abbot *Gaultier* was the perſon, to whom the *French* and *Engliſh* Miniſters mutually referred each other. And as of neceſſity nothing could be a greater ſecret, than all matters relating to the Pretender, this province was particularly allotted to Abbot *Gaultier*, that through his hands, and under his conveyance, by *French* Couriers, going continually betwixt *France* and *England*, ſuch practices might be carried on with great ſafety, which, in any other manner, had been too dangerous an undertaking.

The firſt time, that any ſecret Negotiation is expreſsly referred to Abbot *Gaultier*, is found in a letter of Mr. Secretary *St. John*, of *March* 4, 1711-12, wherein he tells Monſieur *de Torcy*, 'He had deferred writing to him of late, till he might write with certainty, till the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made among our people at home, and till the Queen had taken the only reſolution, which could bring us, in a ſhort time, to a good and ſolid peace. I have now the ſatisfaction to tell you, that this reſolution is taken; and that Mr. *Harley* will carry with him this night, or to-morrow morning, the final inſtructions of the Queen to her Plenipotentiaries. I refer myſelf to Mr. *Gaultier*, to explain to you more at large the ſubject of this Gentleman's Commiſſion, and what the Queen hopes his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will do to co-operate with her.'

The Committee of Secrecy obſerved, that ſeveral letters and papers were wanting, which, by the circumſtances of time and matters then depending, appeared to be of moment and conſequence; it was not to be expected, that thoſe, who had been ſo careful to ſuppreſs matters of leſs importance, would leave behind them any tranſactions, that might tend openly and directly to favour and ſupport the cauſe of the Pretender. But there were ſtill left ſeveral paſſages, which are a plain indication of the tenderneſs and regard, with which the cauſe and perſon of the Pretender were treated, as often as mentioned, and which the Committee thought fit to bring together in one view, as follows:

There is a paper, that was left in Lord *Bolingbroke*'s cloſet, dated at *Verſailles* the 24th of *September* 1711, indorſed, as other office-papers uſually are. It gives an account, that the Pope's Nuncio had, in his laſt audience of the King of *France*, made the following declaration: 'That the Court of *Rome* being fully informed, that *France* was endeavouring to procure a peace upon the moſt advantageous terms, that was poſſible; and being perſuaded, that, if the peace ſhould be made, *England* would not ſuffer, that the King of *France* ſhould permit the Prince of *Wales* to continue in his Realms; the Court of *Rome* offers to the King of *France*, to give this Prince an *aſylum* at *Rome*, or in any other part of the Eccleſiaſtic Dominions.' To which the King of *France* returned in anſwer, 'That an *aſylum* for the Prince of *Wales* would be no obſtacle to the peace: That if, the Allies did truly deſire to make a peace, he would accept of any reaſonable propoſitions they ſhould make; and in this caſe an article for the Prince of *Wales* would be inſerted in the treaty.'

June 7, 1712, the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, giving an account to Lord *Bolingbroke* of ſome diſcourſe he had with ſome of the Miniſters of the Allies, ſays, 'Monſieur *Conſbruck*, one of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, kept alſo within the terms of decency, ſave only, that he took it for granted, that one great end of all this management on our part was to bring in the Pretender; which apprehenſion one of the Miniſters of the States lately owned in private diſcourſe, to have been the fundamental reaſon of all their conduct of late.'

It is well known, what great ſtreſs and weight was laid upon the removal of the Pretender out of the Dominions of *France*. This was what all the Nation, with great juſtice, expected, and what the Queen declared was taken care of, as an additional ſecurity to the Proteſtant Succeſſion. But his removing out of *France*, and being permitted to reſide in *Lorrain*, was not only a great ſurprize to all the Nation, but was received with ſuch juſt indignation, that the Parliament addreſſed the Queen upon this occaſion, 'That ſhe would inſiſt upon his removal from *Lorrain*; that reſidence being equally or more dangerous to *Great-Britain*, than his abode in *France*.' Her Majeſty's anſwer, *That ſhe would repeat her inſtances*, occaſioned in the Houſe of Lords a becoming reſentment, that the Duke of *Lorrain* ſhould preſume to receive and entertain the Pretender to her Majeſty's Crown, in defiance to her Majeſty's application to the contrary. But it now appears in what manner the removal of the Pretender out of *France* was tranſacted and ſettled; and that his reſiding in *Lorrain* was not only with the approbation, but even by the direction and appointment of the *Engliſh* Miniſtry. Mr. *St. John*, in his letter to Monſieur *de Torcy*, of the 24th of *May* 1712, *O. S.* when he ſent him over the conditions, upon which her Majeſty would make thoſe important and deciſive declarations to Parliament, concludes that letter with ſaying, 'He hopes, that, with the general repoſe, we ſhall ſee revived, in a few weeks, a good underſtanding between two Nations, which may become, to each other, the moſt uſeful friends, for the ſame reaſons they have been the moſt formidable enemies. The Queen commands me to tell you,

* See p. 219, 252.

that ſhe hopes, when you ſend an anſwer to this letter, we ſhall have an account, that the Chevalier had begun his journey.' In anſwer to this, Monſieur *de Torcy* ſays to my Lord *Bolingbroke*, on the 10th of *June*, 'You may aſſure the Queen, that the Chevalier is ready to depart at a moment's warning, if he did but know where he was to go, and in what place he might be in ſafety. I own to you, that I know no Prince, who is willing to receive him, for fear of diſpleaſing the Queen or other powers. It will be abſolutely neceſſary, that there ſhould be ſome explanation upon this ſubject, which I deſire you to make to me by the Abbot *Gaultier*, if you do not judge it proper to do it yourſelf.'

Mr. Secretary *St. John*, on the 6th of *June* 1712, *O. S.* writes a public letter, in anſwer to the ſeveral points contained in Monſieur *de Torcy*'s laſt letter; but, in that letter, takes no notice at all of the Chevalier. But the day after, *June* the 7th, 1712, he writes a private letter, as he calls it himſelf, to Monſieur *de Torcy*, and concludes it with ſaying, 'The Abbot *Gaultier* will write to you upon the ſubject of the Chevalier.' There were two copies of this private letter, one delivered by Lord *Bolingbroke*, the other entered in Lord *Strafford*'s book: And, in the copy of this letter given by Lord *Bolingbroke*, this paſſage, 'That Abbot *Gaultier* ſhall write about the Chevalier,' is omitted by his Lordſhip,

On the 22d of *June* 1712, *N. S.* Monſieur *de Torcy* writes two letters to Lord *Bolingbroke*. In the public letter nothing is ſaid of the Pretender: The private letter concludes with ſaying, 'I have the honour to ſend you a letter under the King's hand for her *Britannic* Majeſty; and I refer you to what the Abbot *Gaultier* ſhall ſay to you about the departure of the Chevalier.'

On the 21ſt of *Auguſt* 1712, Lord *Bolingbroke* being then in *France*, to give the finiſhing ſtroke to all matters of conſequence, that were undetermined, in his diſpatch to the Earl of *Dartmouth*, giving an account of his proceedings at the Court of *France*, ſays, 'The Chevalier has fixed his departure for the firſt of next month, *N. S.* They propoſe, that he ſhall retire to *Bar*, and they intend to write to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to aſk of the Emperor, and other Princes, a ſecurity for his perſon during his reſidence in that place.'

But on the 28th of *December* 1712, *N. S.* it appears, that the Chevalier was ſtill in *France*; upon which account Mr. *Prior* writes thus to my Lord *Bolingbroke*: 'Another point, upon which this Court is very ſollicitous, is, that the Chevalier remaining in any town of *France* obſtructs the ſigning the peace; yet he cannot go to *Lorrain*, till the Emperor's paſſports will ſecure him there. Your Lordſhip, by the peruſal of the papers, will ſee the ſtate of that caſe, and I have only to add upon this ſubject, that the Court of *France* expreſſes an impoſſibility on their ſide to do more than they have done; and hopes we ſhould have intereſt enough with the Emperor, to obtain ſuch paſſports from him, as may ſecure, as well the perſon, who is to go into *Lorrain*, as the Duke of *Lorrain*, who is to receive him.'

Mr. *Prior*, on the 29th, writes to the ſame effect to the Lord-Treaſurer, and ſays, 'The Monarch is a good deal troubled upon this head, leſt the young man ſhould fall into the hands of the Huſſars or Barbarians. And Monſieur *d'Aumont* has, I preſume, orders to ſpeak to our Miniſtry upon it. As to the dowry, I ſhall not only be dunned to death, but hanged; for the Dowager ſends meſſages to me, which you in *England* do not think it extremely lawful to receive. But, if it is to be paid, pray let it be done in an handſome manner, that may ſhew the charity of the Queen, and the generoſity of her Lord-Treaſurer.'

The papers, referred to in Mr. *Prior*'s letter, contain an account of what the Duke of *Lorrain* had done at the deſire of the King of *France*, to obtain from the Allies the neceſſary ſafeguard for the Chevalier. He ſays, that underſtanding, that the Queen of *Great-Britain* had already granted her ſafeguard or protection to the Chevalier *de St. George*, he believed they had no more to do, but to apply to the Emperor, and to the *States-General*.

By this account it is evident, that Abbot *Gaultier* was the perſon intruſted to manage the affairs of the Pretender, with whom ſuch practices were verbally to be tranſacted, as the *Britiſh* Miniſters did not think proper to commit to writing. It appears, that the place, to which he was to go, becauſe nobody would receive him at the hazard of the Queen's diſpleaſure, and where he might remain in ſafety, was to be preſcribed from *England:* That this was not fixed and determined till Lord *Bolingbroke* went into *France:* And, if his Lordſhip's inſtructions are conſidered, it will be hard to find in them any thing of that importance and ſecrecy, as to require his going in perſon to ſettle it. His Lordſhip gives an account from thence, that the Pretender was to go to *Bar*; and this is acquieſced in here, without the leaſt objection made. The Miniſtry are told by Mr. *Prior*, that the Court of *France* hopes, by our intereſt, ſuch paſſports would be procured, as might ſecure his perſon. And, in the paper ſent to *France* from the Duke of *Lorrain*, it is aſſerted, that the Queen of *Great-Britain* had already granted her protection to the Pretender.

But, *November* 6, 1713, Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to Mr. *Prior*, and ſays, 'Her Majeſty having repeated to the Duke of *Lorrain* the inſtances, which, you know, have been ſo often made to the moſt Chriſtian King, for removing of the Pretender to her Crown out of his Dominions, I am directed to acquaint you therewith, that you may ſpeak to the Miniſter of *Lorrain*, and to any other Miniſter, whom you ſhall think proper; and let them know it is abſolutely inconſiſtent with the amity and good correſpondence, that is between the Queen and their Maſters, to receive into their Dominions, or to protect a perſon, who diſputes her Majeſty's moſt undoubted title, and thereby endeavours to diſturb the peace and quiet of her Kingdoms. That you may be able to ſhew them, that this is the collective ſenſe of the whole Nation, as well as the Queen's command to you, I herewith ſend you the addreſſes of both Houſes of Parliament.' This can be underſtood as no more than a bare compliance with the addreſſes of Parliament. And how little reſentment and indignation was conceived againſt the Duke of *Lorrain*, for this indignity offered to her Majeſty, appears from a letter written by

by Lord *Bolingbroke* to Mr. *Prior*, *November* 10, within four days after his laſt-mentioned letter upon the ſubject of the Pretender. 'This letter, *ſays he*, will be delivered to you by Baron *de Forſtner*, who has been twice at our Court, with the character of Envoy from the Duke of *Lorrain*, and who is extremely well with your friends on this ſide of the water, that I make no doubt, but that he will be a welcome acquaintance to you. I muſt, at the ſame time, recommend the intereſt of the Duke of *Lorrain* his Maſter to your care. You know, Sir, how little that Prince has yet felt the good effects of what was ſtipulated for him at *Ryſwick*. You know, Sir, how juſtly he pretends to an equivalent from this Emperor for the *Montſerrat*. In a word, you are enough apprized of his wants, of his expectations, and of her Majeſty's earneſt deſire, if by any means ſhe can, to contribute to the eaſe and to the advantage of a Prince, who deſerves much better uſage than he has on many occaſions met with.

There were ſeveral other letters, that were wrote after the addreſs of Parliament, to preſs the removal of the Pretender from *Lorrain*: But, after what has been ſaid, it is needleſs to obſerve, what little effect was to be expected from ſuch repreſentations made in the ſeveral Courts of *Europe*, which were known to be contrary to the ſenſe and intention of the Court of *Great-Britain*. And, if any further demonſtration was wanting to ſhew their true ſpirit and inclination, it may be obſerved, that the addreſſes in Parliament were made in *July* 1713, and the firſt letter, that Lord *Bolingbroke* wrote in purſuance of thoſe addreſſes, was the 6th of *November*, which was four months after the addreſſes were preſented to the Queen.

It will not be improper to inſert here an extract of a memorial, touching the demolition of the ſluices of *Dunkirk*, delivered by Monſieur *de Torcy* to Lord *Bolingbroke*, at *Paris*, in *Auguſt* 1712. 'It is not our buſineſs now to examine, whether the Queen of *England*, and the *Engliſh* Nation, were in the right to demand the demolition of the fortifications, and the filling up the harbour of *Dunkirk*. That is a thing reſolved and agreed upon. It may perhaps come to paſs, in the courſe of this affair, *for reaſons eaſily to be foreſeen*, that *England* ſhall repent having demanded the demolition of a place, and the deſtruction of an harbour, which might be of great uſe *in conjunctures, which perhaps are not very remote*.' The *Committee of Secrecy* did not take upon them to explain, what *conjunctures France* had in view, and which they thought *not very remote*, when *Dunkirk* might be of particular ſervice; but they thought proper to conclude that part of their report with obſerving, That the Pretender did, immediately upon the demiſe of Queen *Anne*, publiſh a *Declaration*, which the Duke of *Lorrain* acknowledged in his letter of the 6th of *December* 1714, that he received from the Pretender himſelf, wherein is this remarkable paſſage: 'Yet contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the Princeſs our Siſter (*of whoſe good intentions towards us we could not for ſome time paſt well doubt*; *and this was the reaſon we have ſat ſtill, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death*) we found, that our people, inſtead of taking this opportunity of retrieving the honour and true intereſt of their Country, by doing us and themſelves juſtice, had immediately proclaimed for their King a foreign Prince, to our prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and inconteſtable laws of Hereditary Right, which their pretended acts of Settlement can never abrogate.' Thus ſtood the Pretender's affairs at the death of Queen *Anne*.

II. *The caſe of the* Catalans, *as repreſented in the Report of the* Committee of Secrecy, *June*, 1715.

AFTER ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts by way of *Portugal*, and the deſign upon *Cadiz*, to ſettle King *Charles* on the Throne of *Spain*; and that the Confederate fleet had appeared before *Barcelona* in 1704, without the deſired ſucceſs; her Majeſty, in the beginning of the year 1705, ſent Mr. *Crowe* as her Miniſter to *Genoa*, with private inſtructions, to the following effect: 'That her Majeſty being informed, that the people of *Catalonia* were inclined to caſt off the yoke impoſed upon them by the *French*; and by withdrawing themſelves from the power of the Duke of *Anjou*, to return to the obedience of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, was deſirous to maintain and improve that good diſpoſition in them; and, to induce them to put the ſame ſpeedily in execution, had made choice of him to carry on ſo great a work, for the advantage of her ſervice, and the good of the common cauſe. He is therefore ordered to repair to *Genoa*, *Leghorn*, or other ſuch neutral country or place, as he ſhould judge moſt proper for carrying on her Majeſty's ſervice in this particular; and to treat with the *Catalans*, or any other people of *Spain*, about their coming into the intereſt of *Charles* the Third of *Spain*, and joining with her Majeſty and her Allies. For that purpoſe he is to inform himſelf, what number of forces they will raiſe, and what they expect ſhall be ſent to aſſiſt them. If any of the Nobility inſiſt upon a ſum of money to be advanced to them, he muſt aſſure them, he does not doubt but he ſhall be impowered to remit to them whatſoever is neceſſary and reaſonable for their ſupport, as ſoon as they are actually in the field. That he ſhall give the *Catalans*, or other *Spaniards*, aſſurances of her Majeſty's utmoſt endeavours to procure the Eſtabliſhment of all ſuch rights and immunities, as they have formerly enjoyed under the Houſe of *Auſtria*. That ſhe has, for their further ſatisfaction, ſent to King *Charles* the Third, for powers for confirming the ſame to them; and that ſhe is willing, if they inſiſt on it, to give her guaranty, that it ſhall be done.'

Mr. *Crowe* had alſo a Commiſſion of the ſame date with his inſtructions, to treat with the *Catalans* upon the terms before-mentioned, upon this expreſs condition on their ſide, that they ſhould acknowledge and receive King *Charles* as lawful King of *Spain*, and utterly renounce the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

He had, with this, credential letters ſigned by the Queen, directed to the Nobility, Magiſtrates, and all Officers, civil and military, of *Catalonia*, deſiring them to depend upon the promiſes he ſhould make them in her name.

The Earl of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, by their inſtructions, dated *May* 1, 1705, are

are likewiſe ordered to uſe their endeavours to induce the *Catalans* to join with them in their undertakings; and, to animate that people to proſecute their liberty with more vigour, they are impowered to aſſure them of the Queen's ſupport, and to promiſe them, in the Queen's name, that ſhe will ſecure them a confirmation of their rights and privileges from the King of *Spain*, that they may be ſettled on a laſting foundation to them and their poſterities. But, leſt perſuaſions alone ſhould not prevail, they are ordered, in caſe the *Catalans* make no ſuitable return to theſe kind offers, to annoy the towns on the coaſt of *Spain*, and to reduce them by force.

In conformity to theſe inſtructions, a declaration was drawn here, and delivered by Mr. Secretary *Harley* to the Earl of *Peterborough*, for him to publiſh in *Spain*, full of aſſurances, in the Queen's name, of ſupport, and of their liberties on the one hand, and threats on the other; which declaration he, on his arrival in *Spain*, did accordingly publiſh.

The ſucceſs of that expedition is well known. King *Charles*, in his letter to the Queen, of *October* 22, 1705, gives an account of it, and what it was owing to, namely, 'The aſſurances of your Majeſty's generous protection, upon which my ſubjects of *Catalonia* expoſe their lives and fortunes.'

No want of fidelity or zeal for the common cauſe during a long war, which abounded with extraordinary turns of fortune, was ever objected to theſe people. On the contrary, they received to the laſt the applauſes of the Allies, and aſſurances repeated to them by every General and Miniſter, who was ſent from *Great-Britain* to that Country, that they ſhould never be abandoned.

When the Queen entered into ſeparate meaſures of peace, Lord *Lexington* was ſent Ambaſſador to *Spain*; at which time, conſidering the circumſtances of King *Philip*'s affairs, and the obligations he had then received from the Queen, the *Catalan* privileges, if plainly demanded and inſiſted upon, could not have been refuſed; and, without it, could never be expected to be granted to a people ſo remarkably zealous for the common cauſe.

But his inſtructions, inſtead of directing him to inſiſt upon this, as a condition of the Queen's coming into the peace, order him only to repreſent to the Court of *Spain*, that it is no leſs for the King's intereſt, than for the Queen's honour, that a general amneſty, without exception, be granted to all *Spaniards*, who have adhered to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and, in a particular manner, to the *Catalans*, with regard to their perſons, eſtates, dignities, and privileges.

Theſe inſtructions, though very defective, were not complied with; for Lord *Lexington*, in the 11th article of his paper, which is called *demands*, delivered to the Court of *Spain*, upon his arrival there expreſſes himſelf thus: 'That the Queen prays his Catholic Majeſty, that a general amneſty, without exception, be granted;' but leaves out the words in his inſtructions, with regard to their perſons, eſtates, dignities, and privileges.

The King's anſwer was, 'That the general amneſty, relating intirely to the general peace, was not proper for the preſent treaty; and therefore he leaves it to be then treated of: That his Majeſty will make uſe of his great clemency, provided the Queen will contribute to the ſafety, to the repoſe, and to the intereſts of ſo many faithful ſubjects, who, according to their duty, had followed his righteous cauſe in *Flanders*, and in all the parts of *Italy*; and that an expreſs article be inſerted in the peace, wherein it ſhall be declared, That all ſubjects, who have done their duty, by adhering to his Catholic Majeſty, ſhall be eſtabliſhed in their eſtates and honours, of what nature ſoever they be, which they enjoyed, when they were under his obedience; and that they may mortgage, exchange, or ſell, at their pleaſure; and that they ſhall have full liberty to continue in the ſervice of their King; and that neither, upon this pretext, or any other whatſoever, they ſhall receive the leaſt prejudice, or the leaſt harm in their eſtates and honours, or any moleſtation whatever; and that any municipal law to the contrary (if there be any ſuch) ſhall be made void by the treaty of peace.'

Lord *Lexington* tranſmits this anſwer to *England*, which, though containing a direct refuſal at preſent of what was deſired, and only general aſſurances of clemency from the King, on conditions, that could not poſſibly be expected to be complied with; yet his Lordſhip, in his letter to Lord *Dartmouth*, writes word, That the 11th article (which is this about the *Catalans*) was agreed to; and thinks, what they deſire is but juſtice; and then goes on, 'Thus, my Lord, I have finiſhed my Negotiation in the beſt manner I could, and hope it will be to her Majeſty's ſatisfaction.'

No diſſatisfaction was ſhewn by the Miniſtry in *England*, either with this manner of negotiating, or the fruitleſſneſs of it; but the Lord *Lexington* is ordered to proceed in the buſineſs, both as it was an act of humanity, which every one, to the utmoſt of their power, ought to promote; and that the intereſt of the King of *Spain* was moſt nearly concerned by that means, to get the *Germans* out of the Country.

Hereupon another memorial for an amneſty is preſented: The motive uſed to induce the King to grant it, is his own intereſt, and to remove the *Germans*, without any notice taken of the Queen's honour being concerned in the affair.

The King anſwered, 'That the *Catalans* had deſerved little from him: That they were now reduced to a ſmall extent of ground, by the withdrawing of the troops of *Britain* and *Portugal*: That his troops, and thoſe of the King, his Grandfather, were entering into their Country by three ſeveral ways: Therefore, more in complaiſance to the Queen, than for the arguments, that had been offered, he was willing to grant his pardon to thoſe *Catalans*, who acknowledged his clemency, and repenting them of their error, ſhould ſubmit to his Dominion and Vaſſalage within a time to be prefixed.'

Count *Zinzendorf*, in the project for evacuating *Catalonia*, inſiſted upon the preſerving the people their privileges. But the King of *Spain* refuſed it, and would only grant them an amneſty and pardon.

Lord *Dartmouth*, in his letters both to the Marquiſs *de Monteleone* and Lord *Lexington*, ſays, 'He cannot expreſs the Queen's ſurprize to hear, that the privileges of the *Catalans* were not intended to be preſerved to them by the Court of *Spain*: That theſe privileges were ne-

ceſſarily included in the meaning of a general amneſty already granted. And this was an affair, wherein the Queen's honour was extremely concerned, and that ſhe was obliged by motives of conſcience not to depart from it.' Lord *Lexington* is hereupon ordered to inſiſt again upon it in the ſtrongeſt manner imaginable; that when the King of *Spain* is convinced of her Majeſty's ſteadineſs, and the firmneſs of her reſolution to adhere to this demand, no doubt he will yield to what has been ſo ſolemnly promiſed, and is in itſelf ſo reaſonable. That the Marquiſs *de Monteleone*, being reſtrained by his inſtructions from treating upon this point, the negotiating of it muſt intirely lie upon Lord *Lexington*.

Accordingly, his Lordſhip preſents another memorial for a general amneſty, with the confirmation of all their privileges. The amneſty, he ſays, was granted; but the privileges intirely refuſed, and in ſuch a poſitive ſtile, as he never met with, but in demanding a tract of ground about *Gibraltar*.

In another letter to Lord *Dartmouth*, ſpeaking of the many denials he met with in *Spain*, he ſays, 'Things are not here upon the ſame foot, as they were before the ſuſpenſion; for the King told me theſe words, *We know, that the peace is as neceſſary for you as for us, and that you will not break it off for a trifle.*'

It may ſeem, at firſt ſight, unaccountable how the Queen's endeavours could fail of ſucceſs, when ſhe declared her conſcience was concerned in this matter; and that though ſhe deſired a peace, ſhe would not act inconſiſtently with honour and juſtice to obtain it.

The firſt fatal ſtep to the ruin of the *Catalans* was the orders ſent Lord *Lexington* (contrary to his firſt inſtructions) upon his arrival at *Madrid*, to acknowledge *Philip* as King of *Spain* in a private audience, before any one article of peace or commerce was ſettled, which put him in a condition of refuſing this, and whatever elſe he ſhould think fit.

The manner how *Spain* gained this important point, appears to be as follows: Lord *Dartmouth* had acquainted Mr. *Prior*, that Lord *Lexington* was not to acknowledge *Philip* King of *Spain*, till he had agreed to the demands his Lordſhip was to make in the Queen's name. However, Lord *Dartmouth* thinks it convenient, that the ſentiments of the *French* Court ſhould be known upon this matter as ſoon as poſſible.

This method of proceeding with *Spain* was very much diſliked in *France*; and Mr. *Prior* writes Lord *Dartmouth* a very elaborate letter, full of Monſieur *de Torcy*'s reaſons, to induce the *Engliſh* Miniſtry to recede from that point, and concludes with this remarkable one, 'That the whole treaty being eventual, this acknowledgement of *Philip* as King of *Spain* would fall, as the other points, unleſs the conditions were made good, and the peace agreed and ratified.'

Hereupon the Lord *Bolingbroke* determines this matter in favour of *Spain*, by imputing the former directions to Lord *Dartmouth*'s miſtaking the Queen's meaning, and writes Mr. *Prior* word, that he was equally ſurprized and vexed to find, by the uncouth way of explaining the Queen's ſenſe, that Mr. *Prior* had been led to imagine, it was intended Lord *Lexington* ſhould make any difficulty of acknowledging the King of *Spain* as ſuch. 'The proceeding this way, by acknowledging the King in the firſt place, *ſays his Lordſhip*, ſeems natural, civil, and unexceptionable; but any other ſcheme is abſurd and inconſiſtent with all the reſt of our proceedings:' And he then concludes, 'For God's ſake, dear *Matt*, hide the nakedneſs of thy Country, and give the beſt turn thy fertile brain will furniſh thee with, to the blunders of thy Countrymen, who are not much better Politicians, than the *French* are Poets.'

Lord *Dartmouth*, it ſeems, thought fit to acquieſce, and, the ſame day that this letter was writ, diſpatched orders to Lord *Lexington*, to acknowledge King *Philip* in the firſt place, notwithſtanding his former inſtructions to the contrary.

But to return to the *Catalans:* The Miniſters did not ſhew that zeal for the Queen's honour, as might be expected, but plainly gave up this matter. Lord *Bolingbroke*, in his letter to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, tells them, 'It is not for the intereſt of *England* to preſerve the *Catalan* liberties; and likewiſe begs leave to make an obſervation to them, that the *Catalan* privileges are the power of the purſe and ſword; but that the *Caſtilian* privileges, which the King of *Spain* will give them (in exchange for the *Catalan*) are the liberty of trading and reſorting to the *Weſt-Indies*, and a capacity of holding thoſe beneficial employments the King has to beſtow in *America*, which, *ſays his Lordſhip*, are of infinitely greater value to thoſe, who intend to live in a due ſubjection to authority.'

Lord *Lexington* alſo, inſtead of ſupporting the *Catalan* privileges, treated the people as rebels; and to induce *Spain* to make peace with *Portugal*, puts Monſieur *Orry* in mind of the neceſſity *Spain* is in of withdrawing their troops from *Andaluſia*, in order to end the rebellion of the *Catalans*.

When the Convention was forced upon the Emperor for evacuating *Catalonia*, the Imperial Miniſters at *Utrecht* inſiſted upon the preſerving, by that treaty, the privileges of *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, and *Yvica*. But *France* and her Confederates inſiſting, that this matter ſhould be referred to the peace, the Imperial Miniſters at laſt acquieſced, upon the Queen of *Great-Britain*'s declaring again, 'That ſhe would interpoſe her good offices in the moſt effectual manner, to obtain the privileges of *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, and *Yvica:*' And the *French* King engaged, at the ſame time, to join his endeavours for that purpoſe. Hereupon, the Negotiation in *Spain* was kept up, till our treaty of peace with that Crown was ripe, by which the *Catalan* liberties were to be abandoned. This Lord *Lexington* ſigned, contenting himſelf with proteſting againſt that article at the ſame time he ſigned it, as he had writ word before he intended to do; and that therefore the Queen was intirely at liberty to reject it. Notwithſtanding the King of *Spain*'s former refuſal, Lord *Lexington* is again directed to inſiſt upon the *Catalan* privileges, and is again told, That the Queen thought herſelf obliged by the ſtrongeſt ties, thoſe of honour and conſcience, to inſiſt upon it, for a people, whom the neceſſity of the war had obliged her to draw into her intereſt. His Lordſhip had ſigned the treaty with *Spain* before theſe orders to preſent another memorial arrived. He thereupon acquaints the Marquiſs of *Bedmar*, that he was ſorry he was obliged to do any

thing, which he knew was againſt the King's ſentiments, but having received expreſs orders, he muſt follow his duty, and preſents the following memorial:

'The under-written Miniſter of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, in purſuance of the ſtrict orders he received the laſt poſt, is obliged moſt humbly to renew the inſtances he has ſo frequently made to your Majeſty in favour of the *Catalans*. The Queen orders him to repreſent, that ſhe has nothing more at heart, than to obtain for theſe people the ſame privileges they formerly enjoyed, which ſhe thinks herſelf obliged to do by the two ſtrongeſt motives, that are poſſible, honour and conſcience, that ſhe may not leave a Nation, which the misfortune of war obliged her to draw into her intereſt, in a worſe condition than ſhe found them. She hopes, that after all the pains ſhe has taken for procuring a ſolid and laſting peace to *Europe*, your Majeſty will not leave her with the grief of having been the occaſion of the loſs of the privileges of that people, but rather, that in reſpect to the ſtrict friendſhip, which with God's bleſſing is ſo near being eſtabliſhed between your Majeſties, as well as the Union ſo neceſſary to the intereſts of both Nations, your Majeſty will not make any difficulty any longer, to grant this favour to her Majeſty, which ſhe has ſo much at heart.'

The Marquiſs *de Bedmar*'s anſwer to this memorial was, That this point about the *Catalans* having been debated in the treaty lately concluded, and ſigned in this Court by his Excellency and himſelf, which his Excellency will own, and may be pleaſed to acknowledge, the King does not ſee, that any thing farther is to be done in the matter.

This treaty was ſent to *England*, and ratified by the Queen. Lord *Dartmouth* ſays, in his letter to Lord *Lexington*, that Lord *Bolingbroke* had the principal ſhare in the Negotiation; and that the article of the *Catalans* was put in as ſoft terms, as was conſiſtent with the Queen's honour to allow.

The terms of the treaty are, That the *Catalans* ſhall have the ſame privileges as the King's beſt beloved ſubjects the *Caſtilians* enjoy.

When the King of *Spain* had received this convincing proof of our Miniſtry's attachment to his intereſts, and that the ties of the Queen's honour and conſcience were of no force with them, when oppoſed to his deſires, he takes a further ſtep, and directly propoſes to Lord *Lexington*, that the Queen would aſſiſt him with ſhips to block up *Barcelona*. His Lordſhip's anſwer was, That he was afraid this propoſal would meet with this difficulty, That her Majeſty would be very unwilling to lend her ſhips to exterminate a people, that had taken up arms, in a great meaſure, at the inſtigation of her Miniſters: And that ſhe would think ſhe had done enough to gratify the King, in not inſiſting upon the preſerving for them their antient liberties, without helping to deſtroy them. But the regard the Miniſtry had to this requeſt of the King, will afterwards appear.

The *French* Ambaſſador and the Princeſs *des Urſins*, propoſed to Lord *Lexington* (and the night before he left *Madrid*, the King ſent for him, and engaged him) to write a letter, concerted with him, and approved by the King, to the Regency of *Barcelona*, adviſing them to ſubmit themſelves to their King. His Lordſhip aſſures them of his conſtant endeavours to do the beſt he could for them: That God had not permitted him to do more than he had done: That if they would take their reſolutions ſoon, before he was out of *Spain*, he would write for them in the manner they ſhould deſire: And concludes his letter with new aſſurances of his concern for their intereſt.

To make this appear the more friendly to them, he tells them, he had intruſted the Conſul at *Alicant* to get this letter conveyed to them, upon ſome pretence or other; though a duplicate of it was alſo ſent to the Count of *Lecheraine*, one of the King of *Spain*'s Generals, before the town, with direction to have it ſent in as by a deſerter, without his knowledge.

Mr. *Burch*, his Lordſhip's Secretary, amongſt other reaſons, gives this for the writing this letter, That if the *Catalans* had a mind to accommodate, the Queen would have the mediation: And if they had not, that then the Court of *Spain* would ſee, that her Majeſty would be always ready to ſerve them.

But this artifice to induce the *Catalans* to abandon their defence, in hopes of his Lordſhip's good offices, had no effect upon men determined to die for the liberty of their Country. Nothing but force could extort that from them; and therefore Sir *Patrick Lawleſs*, in *September* 1713, preſents a memorial to the ſame effect, with what was propoſed the month before to Lord *Lexington* in *Spain*, ſetting forth, that the *Catalans* and *Majorcans* had not ſubmitted themſelves to the King's obedience, and interrupted all commerce and correſpondence in the *Mediterranean*; and ſubmits it to the conſideration of the Queen, not only as guarantee of the treaty of evacuation, but as it concerned the intereſts of *Great-Britain*; and therefore his Catholic Majeſty hopes, the Queen will order a ſquadron of her ſhips to reduce his ſubjects to their obedience; and thereby compleat the tranquillity of *Spain*, and of the *Mediterranean* commerce.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, a fleet is accordingly fitted out for the *Mediterranean*, under the command of Sir *James Wiſhart*, whoſe firſt inſtructions bear date the 28th of *February*, and the additional 18th of *March* 1713-14; by which he is ordered to inforce a ſtrict obedience of the treaty of evacuation in all its parts, upon any complaints of the Queen's ſubjects, of interrupting of commerce or depredations by the veſſels of *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, *Naples*, and other places, to demand reſtitution; and, in caſe of a refuſal, to make reprifals: To repair with the fleet before *Barcelona*, then beſieged by the enemy, and demand immediate payment of the value of the Queen's ſtores in the town, or a ſufficient ſecurity for payment in ſome reaſonable time: To take care to time his arrival before the town, according to the advices from Lord *Bingley*, then deſigned to be ſent to *Spain*: By the ſtrongeſt repreſentations to induce the Regency of *Barcelona* to accept of the terms, that ſhall be obtained for them: To take all the neceſſary meaſures, purſuant to the Queen's intentions, to put an end to the confuſions, that now reign in thoſe parts: And all proper methods of perſuaſion to induce the inhabitants of *Majorca* to ſubmit to the terms that ſhall be offered them; and, in caſe of

of refuſal, to employ his ſquadron in countenancing and aſſiſting all attempts, which may be made for reducing them to a due obedience.

It may be obſerved here,

1. That although the Queen had engaged herſelf by the treaty of evacuation, to employ her good offices in the moſt effectual manner, to obtain the *Catalans* their liberties; yet inſtead thereof, the moſt effectual methods were uſed to the contrary; and Mr. *Prior* acquainted Monſieur *de Torcy*, that the Queen was aſſured, the *Catalans* would ſubmit upon the terms before offered by the King of *Spain*, without ſo much as mentioning their antient privileges any more.

2. That the *French* King, who had put himſelf under the ſame obligation as the Queen by that treaty, after this account from Mr. *Prior* of the Queen's ſentiments, thought fit alſo not to aſk for their privileges; Mr. *de Torcy* alſo alledging, that the King had little intereſt with the Court of *Spain*.

3. That *Britain* was under the ſame engagements by that treaty, to ſupport the privileges of *Majorca*, as thoſe of *Catalonia*, at the time Sir *James Wiſhart* had direct orders to attack them.

4. That when thoſe rigorous meaſures were forming againſt the *Catalans*, Lord *Bolingbroke* writes word to Mr. *Prior*, 'That by what we obſerve in the *Catalan* Agent here, of whom we have never taken the leaſt notice as a public man, it is pretty plain, that a reaſonable accommodation might be made, as he expreſſes it, with that turbulent people.' What was called *turbulency* in the *Catalans*, may appear by their anſwer to the Duke of *Popoli*, the King of *Spain*'s General, who ſummoned them to ſurrender. They told him, they would die rather than be ſlaves; but if their antient liberties were confirmed to them, they would open their gates, and receive him with all gladneſs.

The Houſe of Lords expreſſed their concern in a public manner for the miſeries of the *Catalans*; and by their addreſs to the Queen, *April* 3, 1714, made it their moſt humble and earneſt requeſt to her Majeſty, 'That ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue her interpoſition in the moſt preſſing manner, that the *Catalans* may have the full enjoyment of their juſt and antient privileges continued to them.' Her Majeſty's anſwer was, 'That at the time ſhe concluded her peace with *Spain*, ſhe reſolved to uſe her interpoſition upon every occaſion, for obtaining thoſe liberties, and to prevent, if poſſible, the misfortunes, to which that people are expoſed by the conduct of thoſe more nearly concerned to help them.'

Hereupon, for form's ſake, and to allay the indignation conceived againſt the Miniſtry by the people in general, who compaſſionated the calamities of thoſe, who fought for liberty; the demand of the *Catalan* privileges is again put down in Lord *Bingley*'s inſtruction, who was before ordered to go to *Spain*, but was never ſent. So that the only favour obtained from the Miniſtry by this earneſt addreſs of the Houſe of Lords in behalf of the *Catalans*, was an intimation ſent by Lord *Bolingbroke* to the Admiral, not to appear before *Barcelona*, nor to attack the *Majorcans*, till he ſhould hear from Lord *Bingley*, and receive directions from *England:* And alſo a letter from his Lordſhip to Mr. *Grimaldo*, above two months after the addreſs, though the town was inveſted at the time of making it, wherein he makes a kind and friendly complaint, as he terms it, that the *Catalan* privileges had not been yet granted them, nor any reaſonable terms offered, which they muſt either have accepted, or forfeited the Queen's compaſſion, and that of the whole World.

The Admiral had alſo his ſcruples, whether his orders, couched in ambiguous terms, would juſtify him in attacking *Barcelona*. He therefore writes to Lord *Bolingbroke* and Lord *Bingley* upon it, and ſubmits it to Lord *Bingley*'s conſideration, whether the *Catalans* might not refuſe conditions, that may be moſt advantageous, if they find he is not to act by force; and deſires, that his orders to act before *Barcelona*, either by force or otherwiſe, may be very plain and clear; aſſuring him, that he will moſt punctually obey thoſe already given him, and ſuch as he ſhall hereafter receive.

When Sir *James Wiſhart* arrived at *Cadiz*, he gave the Governor a liſt of the ſhips under his command for the *Mediterranean* ſervice, who ſent it immediately to *Madrid:* But though ſeveral meſſages came from Court to the Governour during the Admiral's ſtay there, no one compliment was made him, to ſignify his arrival was welcome, or any queſtion aſked about what ſervices he was to perform; which a little ſurprized him: That as ſoon as they had an account at *Madrid* of his arrival at *Cadiz*, Mr. *Orry* was diſpatched to *Catalonia* with full power to treat with the *Catalans:* 'So that, ſays he, it would appear, that though the King of *Spain* has all the advantages of the Queen's ſhips, as much as if they were actually before *Barcelona*, by repreſenting to thoſe people, which they very well knew, our arrival in thoſe parts, and how far we are on our way to the *Mediterranean*; yet the King would not ſeem to owe the ſucceſs of ſuch agreement to the Queen and her ſhips, but to *France* only.'

But this Negotiation of Mr. *Orry* failing of ſucceſs, by the *Catalans* refuſing to ſubmit, without having their liberties granted them, obliged the Court of *Spain* to take more notice, than otherwiſe they were inclined to do, of the Admiral, who, from *Alicant*, writes to Lord *Bingley*, then expected at *Madrid*, That he had received a very civil letter from Mr. *Grimaldo*, who ſent him the King's orders for exempting the proviſions for the fleet from paying any duty. He tells him, That this exemption was uſually granted to the Admiral himſelf, that commanded; but being a trifle, he ſubmits it to his Lordſhip's better judgment, whether the granting him this might not be a means to prevent any thing, that might be intended by the Court of *Madrid* more to his advantage; and leaves it to his Lordſhip's conſideration, what may be moſt for his intereſt at that place; and hopes, by his friendſhip, to find ſome marks of favour from thence, in regard to his expence in this expedition, ſo much intended for their ſervice, and for which he has no allowance from home but his pay, which will not defray half his charges.

In another letter of Sir *James Wiſhart* to Lord *Bingley*, he acquaints his Lordſhip, that though he had formerly deſired him to move the King of *Spain*, that the grant of exemption of duties for proviſions for the fleet might be made to himſelf; yet, upon farther conſideration of the matter, which is but of ſmall moment, and may appear greater at the Court of *Spain* and

England than really it is, he desires his Excellency not to take any notice of it, but let it stand as it does; and desires his countenance and assistance upon any other occasion, that the Court of *Madrid* might take to express their good-will to him. Nor was it long before the Admiral gave the Court of *Spain* more particular proofs, that he was not unworthy of their expected favours.

After *Barcelona* had been invested a considerable time by the *Spaniards*, and reduced to great difficulties for want of provisions, the *French* King, though engaged with the Queen by the treaty of evacuation, to employ his good offices in the most effectual manner, in favour of the *Catalan* liberties, thought fit to send his troops against them, commanded by Marshal *Berwick*, who opened the trenches before *Barcelona* the 1st of *July*, *O. S.* 1714. And, on the 8th of the same month, Sir *James Wishart*, in the Queen's name, writ them a threatening letter, directed to the Deputies, and others, who possessed the Government there, telling them, that complaints had been made of their disturbing the commerce of the Queen's subjects; and that they had insolently presumed to take, carry up, and plunder their ships, and used the men in a barbarous manner: He had therefore thought fit to send Captain *Gordon* with two men of war, to represent to them these unwarrantable and presumptuous proceedings; and by the Queen's command demands immediate satisfaction for the same, and the punishment of the Officers of the ships with the utmost severity. If this be not punctually complied with, he leaves it to themselves to judge what the consequences may be.

The Deputies returned answer, 'That only one of those vessels, mentioned in Captain *Gordon*'s memorial, was taken by them into *Barcelona*, being laden with salt, for which they paid the price immediately to the Captain of it: That being besieged, they thought they might do so with justice, and by the law of Nations: That they were so far from living like pirates, as their enemies suggested, in order to distress them, by preventing any one's coming with provisions for their relief: That what *English* vessels had entered their ports with provisions, had been well treated, and had freely sold their merchandize, and at a higher price, than they could have got any where else: That they had paid them with their best sort of money, and to all their satisfactions: That they had that day published an order, forbidding, upon pain of death, any of their ships to molest any *English*, even though they were were going with provision to the enemy. They hoped his Excellency will be satisfied with their conduct, which is conformable to the rights of people, that are besieged; assuring him, that when they know any of their ships, either with Commission, or without, that shall have caused the least damage to any *English*, they will not only immediately inflict a rigorous punishment, but repair all the damage, desiring to live in the good correspondence they have had with his noble and generous Nation, with the utmost deference for the Queen, and ready to obey his Excellency's orders with all affection and respect.'

The Government of *Barcelona*, in their extremity, writ another letter to the Admiral, dated *July* 23, setting forth, 'That his Excellency very well knew, that the engagement *Catalonia* entered into to receive *Charles* the Third for their King, was founded on the protection of the High Allies, but most particularly of *England*, without which they were not capable of undertaking so great an enterprize. That they had, for seven years together, endeavoured to serve the *English* Nation in every thing it was possible for them to do, by contributing troops and considerable sums of money without interest. And though they had pleased themselves with the thoughts of the happiness to be always subjects of *Charles* III, yet by the ordinary change, to which human affairs are liable, they now see the troops of the Duke of *Anjou*, aided by the *French*, Masters of all the Principality, except *Barcelona* and *Cardona*, committing through the whole the most execrable hostilities, burnings, and plunderings, without sparing the effusion of innocent blood, and without distinction of age or sex. That for a year together the enemy's army had oppressed *Barcelona* by sea and land, making them continually suffer the calamity of so long a blockade, during which time the enemies have thrown fourteen thousand bombs into the town; which have ruined the greatest part of the houses: That now they expect to be attacked in form, and that in twenty-four hours the town will be battered in breach. They cannot express their affliction, to see the danger of the Inhabitants exposed to be victims of that cruelty, with which the enemy threatens to treat them. Having no comfort left, they fly to the Queen of *Great-Britain*, beseeching her protection by the inclosed letter to *Don Dalmases*, their Envoy at *London*; and, in the mean time, till an answer can come, they beseech his Excellency, from their souls, to mediate with the *French* troops, who oppressed them, for a suspension of arms, since the Congress at *Baden*, now sitting, to conclude of a general peace, may still determine this affair: They doubt not, that his mediation will be able to procure them this relief, since his squadron is superior to that of the enemy. They see no other remedy in nature for their misfortunes; and therefore hope his Excellency will not refuse them: That if *Catalonia* has merited any thing by its services, and by its conjunction with the *English* Nation, this is the time to receive the fruits of it: That it is worhty of his Excellency to comfort the afflicted, and not to deny them this favour in their great necessity.'

How the Admiral was affected with this letter, appears by one of his to Lord *Bingley*, dated *Aug.* 7, 1714, wherein he acquaints him, 'That Mr. *Grimaldo* had signified to him from the King of *Spain*, that all the King's ships of war being employed before *Barcelona*, his Majesty could not send any of them to meet his Flota then coming home; and therefore desired the Admiral to send three of his upon that service;' which was accordingly complied with. Of this he had acquainted Lord *Bolingbroke*, and hoped to meet with her Majesty's approbation.

The *Catalans* thus abandoned and given up to their enemies, contrary to faith and honour, were not, however, wanting to their own defence; but appealing to Heaven, and hanging up at the High Altar the Queen's solemn declaration to protect them, underwent the utmost miseries of a siege; during which multitudes perished by famine and the sword, many were after-

afterwards executed, and many perſons of figure were diſperſed about the *Spaniſh* Dominions in dungeons.

III. *The Lord* Oxford's *Letter to the Queen*, June 9, 1714.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

I Preſume, in obedience to your Royal command, to lay before your Majeſty a ſtate of your affairs. Though I have very much contracted it from the draught I made, and the vouchers from whence it is taken, yet I find it ſwell under my pen in tranſcribing, being willing to put every thing before your Majeſty in the cleareſt light my poor underſtanding can attain to. It was neceſſary to lay it before your Majeſty in the ſeries of time, from the beginning to this preſent time; and when that is compleatly laid before you, it remains only for me to beg God to direct your Majeſty.

And as to myſelf, do with me what you pleaſe; place me either as a figure, or a cypher; diſplace me or replace me, as that beſt ſerves your Majeſty's occaſions, you ſhall ever find me, with the utmoſt devotion, and without any reſerve,

MADAM,

Your moſt dutiful, moſt faithful,
moſt humble, moſt obedient ſubject,
and unworthy ſervant,

OXFORD.

A brief account of public affairs, ſince Aug. 8, 1710, *to this preſent 8th of* June, 1714. *To which is added, the ſtate of affairs abroad, as they relate to this Kingdom; with ſome humble propoſals for ſecuring the future tranquillity of her Majeſty's Reign, and the ſafety of her Kingdoms.*

Her Majeſty, on the 8th of *Auguſt* 1710, was pleaſed to alter her Treaſury, and two days after, in a new Commiſſion, *Robert Harley*, by her Majeſty's great favour, was made Chancellor of the *Exchequer*.

The ſtate of affairs at home and abroad are freſh in every one's memory.

The condition of the Treaſury at that time was laid before her Majeſty in a large repreſentation.

I beg leave to touch ſome few heads: The army was in the field, no money in the Treaſury; none of the Remitters would contract again; the Bank had refuſed to lend a hundred thouſand pounds to Lord *Godolphin*, on very good ſecurity; the Navy, and other branches of ſervice, eleven millions in debt, which enhanced the price of every thing proportionably; the Civil Liſt in debt about ſix hundred thouſand pounds; and the yearly income too little for the current certain expence, by the loweſt computation, one hundred twenty-four thouſand, four hundred ninety-five pounds, two ſhillings and four-pence.

In a few days this new Commiſſion made proviſion for paying the army, by the greateſt remittance that had ever been known: Though the oppoſition from every office, which was full of perſons who were enemies to the change made by the Queen, was very ſtrong, and very troubleſome and vexatious: And ſuch was the ſituation of affairs, that nothing but great patience could ever have overcome theſe difficulties; it being impoſſible, as well as unavoidable; to make removes, but by degrees.

As ſoon as it was poſſible (and notwithſtanding the clamours then raiſed, it was the only proper time) a new Parliament is called.

Its firſt meeting was *November* 27, 1710. *Robert Harley* had prepared the funds ready (before the Parliament met, as he had done every Seſſion to this day) not only for the current ſervice of the year, both by ſea and land, but alſo for eaſing the Nation of above nine millions of debt. This was thought ſo chimerical, when *Robert Harley* did begin to open it, that it was treated with ridicule, until he ſhowed how practicable it was. It is true, this gave great reputation abroad, and enabled to treat advantageouſly of a peace. It raiſed ſinking credit at home; but, at the ſame time, as it drew envy upon *Harley* from ſome, and the rage of others, ſo it gave offence to ſome of his fellow-ſervants, who told him plainly, that he ought to have told his ſecret, and if he would not get money himſelf, he ought to have let his friends ſhare a hundred thouſand pounds, which would not have been felt, or found out, in ſo vaſt a ſum as nine or ten millions.

To this principle was owing the ſetting on foot at this time the unhappy voyage to *Canada*; to all which meetings *Harley* avoided coming, and gave Lord *Rocheſter* his reaſons; and after he deſired his Lordſhip to be a means to the Queen, to hinder that expedition, but it happened to be too late. But Lady *Maſham* knows how much *Harley* was concerned at it, though he did not know the true ſpring of that voyage, which will appear after in this paper.

The beginning of *February*, 1710-11, there began to be a diviſion among thoſe called *Tories* in the Houſe, and Mr. Secretary *St. John* thought it convenient to be lifting a ſeparate party for himſelf.

To prevent this, Lord *Rocheſter* and *Harley* deſired to have a meeting, and to cool ſuch raſh attempts; and it was contrived Mr. Secretary *St. John* ſhould invite us to dinner (which was the laſt time he ever invited *Robert Harley*, being now above three years) where was the Duke of *Shrewſbury*, Earl *Poulet*, Lord *Rocheſter*, and others; and Lord *Rocheſter* took the pains to calm the ſpirit of diviſion and ambition.

Harley was at this time ſeized by a violent fever; and on his firſt coming abroad, *March* 8, met with a misfortune which confined him many weeks. The tranſactions during that time, are too public, as well as too black, for *Harley* to remember or to mention.

In the end of *May*, 1711, the Queen, out of her abounded goodneſs, was pleaſed to confer undeſerved honours on *Robert Harley*; and, on the 29th of the ſame month, was pleaſed to put the Treaſurer's Staff into his hands: A poſt ſo much above *Harley*'s abilities to ſtruggle with, that he had nothing but integrity and duty to recommend him to her Majeſty's choice; ſo he muſt have recourſe to her Majeſty's tranſcendent goodneſs and mercy to pardon all his faults and failings, both of omiſſion and commiſſion, during the whole courſe of his ſervice.

But to return and reſume the thread of this diſcourſe. The 4th of *June* 1711, three days after the Treaſurer was ſworn, he was ſurprized with a demand of twenty-eight thouſand thirty-ſix pounds and five ſhillings, for arms and merchandize, ſaid to be ſent to *Canada*. When the Treaſurer ſcrupled this, Mr. Secretary *St. John* and Mr. *Moor* came to him with much paſſion upon this affair; and, about a fortnight after, the Secretary of State ſignified the Queen's poſitive pleaſure to have that money paid: And accordingly her Majeſty ſigned a warrant, *June* 21, and the Treaſurer not being able then, with all his precaution, to diſcover further light, the money was paid, *July* 4, 1711.

Since the return from that expedition, the ſecret is diſcovered, and the Treaſurer's ſuſpicion juſtified: For the public was cheated of above twenty thouſand pounds.

There is reaſon to be more particular upon this head, becauſe it is one of the things never to be forgiven the Treaſurer; and Lord-Chancellor told him more to that purpoſe, that they told him no Government was worth ſerving, that would let them make thoſe advantages, and get ſuch jobs.

One thing more is craved leave to be added, That the Treaſurer was forced to uſe all his ſkill and credit to keep the Houſe of Commons from examining this affair laſt Parliament.

June the 12th, 1712, The firſt Seſſion of laſt Parliament ended.

From this time, to the beginning of the next Seſſion, *the Treaſurer's hands were full of negotiating the peace in all Courts abroad*; and beſides the ordinary and neceſſary duty of his office at home, he had frequent occaſions of calming the quarrels and grudges Mr. Secretary had ſometimes againſt Lord *Dartmouth*, ſometimes againſt Lady *Maſham*, and ſometimes againſt the Treaſurer himſelf.

The ſecond Seſſion of the laſt Parliament began *December* the 7th, 1711.

This was attended with great difficulties and dangers, as well from the practices of the diſcontented here, as the deſigns carried on by Mr. *Buys*, Prince *Eugene*, and *Bothmer*; in which deſigns concurred the Emperor, and other States and Princes who gained by the war.

This put her Majeſty under a ſort of neceſſity to preſerve the whole, and to take a method which had been uſed, *to create ſome new Peers*.

So many having been brought formerly out of the Houſe of Commons, of thoſe who uſed to manage public affairs, it was propoſed to Mr. Secretary, That if he would be contented to ſtay in the Houſe of Commons that Seſſions, her Majeſty would have the goodneſs to create him a Peer, and that he ſhould not loſe his rank.

The ſecond Seſſion ended the 21ſt of *June*, 1712, and notwithſtanding *Bothmer*'s memorial, and all other attacks both from abroad and at home, Supplies were provided, and every thing relating to the Public put upon a good foot, and the Malecontents began to deſpair, as appeared by the Duke of *Marlborough*'s retiring abroad, and other particulars.

After the Seſſion was ended, the Queen, as ſhe had promiſed, ordered a warrant for Mr. Secretary *St. John* to be a Viſcount: This happened to put him in the utmoſt rage againſt the Treaſurer, Lady *Maſham*, and without ſparing the Greateſt.

It did avail very little to tell him how much he had got in place; for had he been created with the other Lords, it would have fallen to his ſhare to have come next after Lord *Trevor*: But the Treaſurer, with great patience, bore all the ſtorm, of which Lord *Maſham* was often a witneſs of the outrageous ſpeeches; and Mr. *Moor* very lately told the Treaſurer, that Lord *Bolingbroke* ſaid very lately to him, that he owed him a revenge upon that head.

This diſcontent continued, until there happened an opportunity of ſending him to *France*; of which there was not much occaſion: But it was hoped, that this would have put him in good humour; which it did, until in *October* 1712, there were Knights of the Garter made. This created a new diſturbance, which is too well remembered, and breaks out now very often in outrageous expreſſions publickly againſt all then made.

In *November*, on the death of Duke *Hamilton*, he was much againſt Duke *Shrewſbury*'s going, for reaſons very plain, which then were in Negotiation: For before the laſt Seſſion of that Parliament began, a new model was framed, or a ſcheme of Miniſtry; which how they afterwards came to fall out, will appear in its due place.

The third and laſt Seſſion began *April* the 9th, 1713; which was as ſoon as the peace was concluded, and could be proclaimed.

It is not decent to take notice, *That during this whole Negotiation, the Treaſurer was obliged, by his own hand, and his own charge, to correſpond in all the Courts concerned in the Negotiation; and very often he had the good luck to ſet right ſeveral miſtakes, and to obtain ſome things very little expected: But the only merit of this belongs to her Majeſty, the credit of whoſe favour brought it about, and gave power to the Treaſurer to act with ſucceſs.*

During this Seſſion, the Lords of the Cabinet, and others, met every *Saturday* at the Treaſurer's, in order to carry on the Queen's buſineſs, as they had done the year before on *Thurſdays*. Many offers were made, and repeated by the Treaſurer, in order to attack former offenders, and quiet the minds of the Gentlemen, and of the Church-party; and the only reaſon for this failing, was, becauſe of the project laid for their new ſcheme, and putting themſelves at the head, as they called it, of the Church-party.

This being the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and ſome Gentlemen fearing their elections, and ſome for other reaſons, dropt the bill of Commerce.

The Treaſurer ſaw this opportunity, and immediately took it, and prevailed with Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, and others, to come into the payment of the civil liſt debts, incurred before the change of the Treaſury, though the preſent Treaſurer was railed at, and maligned; which he choſe to bear patiently, rather than own the true reaſon, that there was no money to do it with, which would have ruined all at once.

This ſtep of paying the debts, put the Malecontented into the utmoſt rage, which they did very publickly expreſs in both Houſes.

This laſt Seſſion of that Parliament, and the third ſince the change of the Miniſtry, ended *July* the 16th, 1713.

The peace with *France* being over, and it growing neceſſary to put her Majeſty's affairs into a further and more ſettled regulation, and to eaſe the Treaſurer of the burthen, as well as envy, of ſuch a bulk of buſineſs: Her Majeſty was pleaſed to approve of the ſcheme of the Duke of *Ormond*'s ſtaying here to attend the army-affairs, which was neceſſary at the time of diſbanding; Duke *Shrewſbury* to go to *Ireland*, upon his return from *France*; Lord *Findlater* to be Chancellor of *Scotland*; Lord *Mar* third Secretary; Lord *Dartmouth* Privy-Seal, and Mr. *Bromley* Secretary of State, and Sir *William Wyndham* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. I am ſure the Queen very well remembers the rage this cauſed, as perfectly defeating their ſcheme, and ſhewing that her Majeſty would put her affairs upon a ſolid foot: The Lord-Chancellor ſaid it was againſt law, and to this day will not treat Lord *Findlater* with decency; and Lord *Mar* has met with many ill treatments, as well as Mr. Secretary *Bromley*.

But that the Treaſurer might leave them without excuſe, and make her Majeſty's affairs, if poſſible, eaſy with and to thoſe in her ſervice; as ſoon as he was recovered enough to write, he wrote a large letter to Lord *Bolingbroke*, containing his ſcheme of the Queen's affairs, and what was neceſſary for Lord *Bolingbroke* to do, as belonging only to his province. This letter was dated *July* the 25th, 1713, and was anſwered *July* the 27th, by Lord *Bolingbroke*; the copy was ſhown to Lady *Maſham*, who came to viſit the Treaſurer then confined to his chamber; and ſhe then thought it a very good one, and what was proper for the occaſion. I believe the whole would be of uſe to give light to her Majeſty into the ground and foundation of the follies and madneſs which have ſince appeared; the whole is ready for her Majeſty's peruſal when ſhe pleaſes.

In this letter the Treaſurer gives an account to Lord *Bolingbroke* of the occaſions, or rather the pretences for giving diſturbance to the Queen's ſervants. He propoſes the remedy, and what was requiſite to be done by him as Secretary in his own province, and alſo aſſurance of the Treaſurer's aſſiſtance to the utmoſt, and of his deſire to conſult with him (Lord *Bolingbroke*) how to unite the reſt of our friends.

Being then ſick, the Treaſurer took the liberty to put Lord *Bolingbroke* in mind of the ſeveral particulars which then required diſpatch, and were ſolely belonging to his province, without any other interpoſition than that of taking your Majeſty's direction.

Amongſt others, that of a circular letter upon the addreſſes of both Houſes, relating to the Pretender.

This was not done in three months. His Lordſhip wrote word it was done *July* the 27th.

In the ſame letter the Treaſurer propoſed, that (according to the treaty of peace) care ſhould be taken of the following particulars, *viz. Newfoundland*, *Hudſon's-Bay*, *Acadia*, *St. Chriſtopher's*, *Aſſiento*, and other things contained in the treaties of Commerce.

Theſe particulars the Treaſurer thought to have been executed, until within a few weeks he heard the contrary by accident, and that the time in the ſeveral treaties was elapſed. Upon this, the Treaſurer on *Wedneſday*, *June* the 2d, told Mr. *Moor* of this, and that every body would be liable to blame who are in the Queen's ſervice. *Thurſday*, *June* the 3d, 1714, Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to the Treaſurer a letter, which begins thus:

" Mr. *Moor* has been this morning with me, " and has put into my hands a paper, which he " calls, I think not improperly, a charge upon " me."

This paper contains the neglect above-mentioned in the Treaſurer's letter, of *July* the 25th, 1713, and yet thoſe faults are now charged upon the Treaſurer.

From this account it is obſervable, that the Earl of *Oxford* took to himſelf the credit of correſponding with his own hand, and at his own charge, in all the Courts concerned in the Negotiations of peace, and that very often he had the good luck to ſet right ſeveral miſtakes, and obtain ſome things little expected: That he boaſted of his laying hold of a ſeaſonable opportunity in Parliament, upon rejecting the bill of Commerce, to prevail with Members of the Houſe of Commons to come into the payment of the Civil Liſt debts; and alſo charged ſeveral perſons, then in high ſtations, with corruption, and imbezzlement of the public money; and recommended himſelf to the Queen, by having uſed all his ſkill and credit to keep the Houſe of Commons from examining into the ſame. The Committee of Secrecy having received information, that large ſums of money had been directed *for ſpecial ſervices relating to the war*, by ſigns manual, and warrants upon the ſame, counterſigned by the Earl, which ſums were afterwards paid to his order, the Committee thought it incumbent upon them to lay before the Houſe copies of theſe ſigns manual and warrants, and orders thereupon, together with extracts from the regiſter of the *Exchequer*, by which it appeared, that theſe large ſums iſſued for the ſervice of the war, were received and applied *to the Earl's private uſe*.

IV. *A letter from the* States-General *to the Queen of* Great-Britain, *&c. dated* Hague, June 5, 1712, N. S.

MADAM,

AFTER all the proofs which your Majeſty has given during the courſe of your glorious Reign, of your great zeal for the Public Good, and of your adherence to the Common Cauſe of the High Allies; after ſo many marks you have had the goodneſs to give us, of your tender affection, and of your friendſhip to our Republic; and after the repeated aſſurances you have given us, and that very lately too, of your intentions, that your troops ſhould act againſt the common enemy, until the war was concluded by a general peace: It is impoſſible we ſhould not be ſurprized and afflicted by two declarations we have lately received, one after another, in the name of your Majeſty; the firſt by the Duke of *Ormond* your General, that 'he could undertake nothing without new orders from you;' the other by the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, your Plenipotentiary to the Congreſs at *Utrecht*, 'That your Majeſty perceiving that we did not anſwer as we ought, the propoſals which you had made us, and that we would not act in concert with your Miniſters on the ſubject of peace, you

you would take your meaſures apart: And that you did not look upon yourſelf to be now under any obligation whatever, with reſpect to us.'

As ſoon as we had notice of thoſe declarations, we ſent orders to our Miniſter, who has the honour to reſide at your Majeſty's Court, to repreſent to you the reaſons of our ſurprize, and the conſequences of thoſe declarations; and to requeſt you with that reſpect which we always had, and which we ſhall for ever entertain for your Royal perſon, that you would give other orders to the Duke of *Ormond*, that he may act with all poſſible vigour, according to the exigency of the war; and that your Majeſty would have the goodneſs to entertain other ſentiments of us, than thoſe which the Biſhop of *Briſtol* had declared to our Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*.

But the more we conſider thoſe declarations, the more important we find them, and the more we apprehend their conſequences: Therefore we could not forbear applying ourſelves by this letter directly to your Majeſty, hoping that you will conſider it, as we promiſe ourſelves you will, both from your great prudence and wiſdom, and from your ſo much famed zeal for the public welfare; particularly from your uſual friendſhip and affection for us and our Republic.

We proteſt before all things, that as we ever had a true friendſhip, as well as the higheſt reſpect for your Majeſty, and a ſincere affection to all your intereſts, with an earneſt deſire to live in a perfect good underſtanding and union with you; we have ſtill the ſame ſentiments, and ſhall always preſerve them, wiſhing for nothing more, than to be able to give your Majeſty the moſt convincing proofs of it.

After this, we pray your Majeſty to conſider, according to your great penetration, whether we have not juſt ground to be ſurprized, when we ſee a ſtop put, by an order in your Majeſty's name, without our knowledge, to the operations of the Confederate army, the fineſt and ſtrongeſt which perhaps has been in the field, during the whole courſe of the war, and provided with all neceſſaries to act with vigour; and this, after they had marched, according to the reſolution taken in concert with your Majeſty's General, almoſt up to the enemy, with a great ſuperiority, both as to the number and goodneſs of troops, and animated with a noble courage and zeal to acquit themſelves bravely; ſo that, in all human appearance, and with the Divine Aſſiſtance, which we have experienced ſo viſibly on ſo many other occaſions, we ſhould have been able, either by battle or ſieges, to gain great advantages over the enemy, to have bettered the Affairs of the Allies, and to facilitate the Negotiations of Peace.

We flatter ourſelves indeed with the hopes, which the Duke of *Ormond* has given us, That in a few days he expects other orders; but in the mean time, we are ſorry to ſee one of the fineſt opportunities loſt, being uncertain whether we ſhall have another ſo favourable, ſince the enemy have time given them to fortify themſelves, and take their precautions, while the army of the Allies lies ſtill without action; and, conſuming the forage all round, deprive themſelves of the means of ſubſiſting for time to come, in thoſe places where, by concert, the operations of the campaign were deſigned; which may make ſuch enterprizes impoſſible hereafter, as were practicable now, and conſequently render the whole campaign unſucceſsful, to the inеſtimable prejudice of the common cauſe of the High Allies.

Certainly when we conſider the army as it really is, compoſed of the troops of your Majeſty and the other Allies, joined together by common concert, to act for the greateſt advantage and furtherance of the Common Cauſe, and the aſſurances which your Majeſty had given us by your Letters, by your Miniſters, and laſt of all, by your General the Duke of *Ormond*, of 'your intentions that your troops ſhould be ordered to act with their uſual vigour,' as well as the engagements into which your Majeſty is entered, not only with reſpect to us, but alſo ſeparately and jointly with us, in reſpect to the other Allies; it is very difficult for us to conjecture and conceive, how an order ſo prejudicial to the common cauſe, given ſo ſuddenly, without our knowledge, and undoubtedly too without the knowledge of the other Allies, can agree and conſiſt with the nature of an Alliance, and with thoſe aſſurances and engagements juſt now mentioned. For though, according to the declaration of the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, your Majeſty holds yourſelf to be diſengaged from every obligation with regard to us, it is plain, that the matter now in queſtion is not our particular intereſt or advantage, but that of all the Allies, who will ſuffer by the prejudice, which an order ſo little expected muſt needs bring to the Common Cauſe.

But, Madam, we cannot forbear telling your Majeſty, that the declaration made by the Biſhop of *Briſtol*, at *Utrecht*, has no leſs ſurprized us, than that of the Duke of *Ormond* in the army. It appears to us ſo extraordinary, that we know not how to reconcile it with the great goodneſs and kindneſs which your Majeſty has always honoured us with; and not being able to conceive how ſuch a ſudden change could happen, with reſpect to us, we are not only ſurprized, but afflicted at it. We have carefully examined our conduct, and find nothing in it, that can have given ground to that diſſatisfaction which your Majeſty expreſſes with us, by this declaration.

From the very firſt day that your Majeſty aſcended the Throne, we teſtified all the deference that you could deſire from a State in friendſhip and alliance with you. We carefully ſought after your amity and affection, and conſidering the happy effects which a good intelligence, harmony, and union between your Majeſty and us, and the two Nations, might produce, and have really produced, and the advantage which reſulted from thence to both, as well as to the common cauſe of all the Allies, we made it our buſineſs heartily to cultivate them, and more and more to gain your Majeſty's confidence, and to conform ourſelves to your ſentiments as much as poſſibly we could.

We think that we gave a ſignal proof of this, particularly with regard to the Negotiations of peace; ſince not only after we were informed of the Conferences formerly held in *England* upon this ſubject, we did expect that your Majeſty would give us an account of them; having this firm confidence in your friendſhip for our Republic, and in your zeal for the Good of the Common Cauſe, that nothing would be done to prejudice us, nor the other Allies: But alſo when your Majeſty communicated to us the prelimi-

nary articles ſigned by M. *Meſnager* in *England*, and when you propoſed to us the calling and holding a Congreſs for a general peace, and required of us to grant for this end neceſſary paſſports for the enemies Miniſters, we conſented to it, though we had many reaſons, which to us ſeemed very well grounded, not to enter into ſuch a treaty without a better foundation, or at leaſt without the concurrence of the other Allies; but we preferred your Majeſty's ſentiments to our own, in order to give you a new proof of our deference.

We did no leſs, with reſpect to the difficulties which were ſtarted on the ſubject of the treaty of mutual guaranty for the Succeſſion of the Proteſtant Line to your Majeſty's Kingdoms, and for our Barrier; a treaty of ſuch importance to the two Nations, that we look upon it as the ſtrongeſt tie that could be thought on to unite for ever the hearts and intereſts of both, concluded after the matureſt deliberation, and ratified on both ſides in the moſt authentic form: For though we might have ſtood to the treaty as it was, yet we entered into a Negotiation upon thoſe difficulties, and particularly on the point of the *Aſſiento*, concerning which, we gave our Plenipotentiaries ſuch inſtructions, that we no longer doubted but all the difficulties would have been adjuſted to mutual content, and that we ſhould thereby have entirely regained your Majeſty's confidence; and the rather, becauſe, in the firſt place, when the meeting of a Congreſs for a general peace was in hand, your Majeſty declared to us by your Ambaſſador, 'That you deſired no more than our concurrence in that ſingle point, and this only mark of our confidence, and that then you would give us ſtrong and real proofs of your affection towards us, and of your upright intentions, with reſpect to the common cauſe of all the Allies;' and that afterwards, when the difficulties about the Succeſſion and the Barrier were raiſed, Your Majeſty did likewiſe aſſure us, that if we would remit ſomething upon the moſt eſſential points, and particularly about the affair of the *Aſſiento*, it would be the true way to re-eſtabliſh a mutual confidence; which being once reſtored, your Majeſty would take particularly to heart the intereſts of this State, and act in conjunction with us in the whole Negotiation, to obtain an honourable, good, and ſure peace.

But we find ourſelves very much out in our expectation, ſince, at the very ſame time, when we made the greateſt advances towards your Majeſty, and that we did verily believe we ſhould come to an agreement about the points in difference, we ſee the Earl of *Strafford* gone, without finiſhing that affair; we ſee the army ſtopped in the beginning of its career; and we hear a declaration, by which your Majeſty looks upon yourſelf to be diſengaged from all obligations with us; for which the reaſons alledged are, 'That we have not anſwered as we ought, the advances which your Majeſty made towards us, and that we would not act in concert with your Miniſters about the peace.'

If your Majeſty will be pleaſed to look with a favourable and equitable eye upon our conduct, we flatter ourſelves, and have a firm confidence, that you will find nothing in it which can give you ſuch diſadvantageous ideas and thoughts of us; but that you will rather find, that we have performed and do ſtill perform all that we are bound to, as good and faithful Allies; and particularly to your Majeſty.

What we have ſaid already, might perhaps be ſufficient to perſuade you of it; but we muſt add, that having always eſteemed your Majeſty's affection, and a good harmony betwixt the two Nations, as one of the ſtrongeſt ſupports of our State, and of the Proteſtant Religion, and as one of the moſt effectual methods to maintain and advance our common intereſts, and thoſe of the whole Confederacy; and this ſincere opinion being firmly imprinted on our hearts, we were never backward to communicate and conſult in all confidence with your Majeſty and your Miniſters, upon the affairs of peace, according to the foundations laid down in the Grand Alliance and other Treaties. We declare, that we have always been inclinable and ready to do it; and are ſo ſtill, as far as we can, without prejudice to the other Allies, and without departing from, or acting againſt the Engagements, Treaties, and Alliances which we have entered into.

But, Madam, all the propoſals hitherto made to us upon that ſubject, were couched in very general terms, without communicating to us the reſult of the Negotiations betwixt your Majeſty's Miniſters and thoſe of *France*, nor even your Majeſty's thoughts about the ſubject, which we ought to have concerted together. It is true, that in ſome of the laſt Conferences, your Majeſty's Miniſters demanded to know whether ours were furniſhed with a full power, and authorized to draw up a plan for the peace; but it had been juſt, before ſuch a thing was demanded of us, That they ſhould have communicated the reſult of the Negotiations ſo long treated of betwixt your Majeſty's Miniſters and thoſe of the enemy; or, at leaſt, they ſhould have told us your Majeſty's thoughts.

Had that plan related only to your Majeſty's intereſt and ours, we ſhould perhaps have been in the wrong not to have forthwith come into it, though even in that caſe the affair would not have been without its difficulties, ſince the leaſt notice of it which ſhould have come to the enemy, muſt have been very prejudicial: But as the plan in queſtion concerned the intereſt of all the Allies, and almoſt all *Europe*, we had very ſtrong apprehenſions, That as the particular Negotiations betwixt your Majeſty's Miniſters and thoſe of *France*, and the readineſs with which we conſented to the Congreſs at *Utrecht*, and to the giving of paſſports to the enemy's Miniſters, had already occaſioned abundance of ſuſpicions, and much uneaſineſs to his Imperial Majeſty, and the other Allies: We ſay, we apprehended, that his Imperial Majeſty, and the other Allies coming to know (which would have been very difficult to conceal from them) the concert betwixt your Majeſty's Miniſters and ours, for a plan of peace, and that before the Miniſters of *France* had given a ſpecific anſwer to the demands of the Allies, their ſuſpicions and uneaſineſs would have increaſed, and that way of proceeding might have given them ground to entertain prejudicial thoughts, as if it had been the intention of your Majeſty and us, to abandon the Grand Alliance and the Common Cauſe, or at leaſt that we alone took upon us to determine the fate of all the other Allies; by which his Imperial Majeſty and the other Confederates

might have been puſhed on to ſeparate meaſures, and to take ſuch ſteps as would be no ways agreeable to your Majeſty's intereſt.

We thought theſe reaſons ſtrong enough to juſtify our conduct to your Majeſty on this head; and if we did not enter with all the readineſs which you might have wiſhed for, into the concert propoſed, we hope, that at moſt, your Majeſty will look upon our backwardneſs, only as an exceſs of prudence, or of ſcruple, and not in the leaſt as a want of confidence in your Majeſty; while the Allies might have conſidered it as a departing from the treaties, and particularly from the eighth article of the Grand Alliance. We alſo hope that your Majeſty, for the reaſons here alledged, will lay aſide thoſe hard thoughts of us, as if we had not anſwered as we ought, the advances which your Majeſty made towards us, and that we would not act in concert with your Miniſters, upon the ſubject of the peace. But, Madam, though your Majeſty ſhould not acquieſce in our reaſons (of which however we cannot doubt) we pray your Majeſty to conſider, Whether that be ſufficient for your Majeſty to think, that you are diſengaged from all obligations with reſpect to us?

Had we acted againſt, and contravened the engagements and treaties which we had the honour to conclude with your Majeſty, we might have expected from your goodneſs and juſtice, that you would have repreſented thoſe Contraventions to us, and not have looked upon yourſelf to be diſengaged, till ſuch time as we had refuſed to give all neceſſary redreſs. But, as we did no ways engage to enter with your Majeſty into a concert to draw up a plan of peace, without the participation of the other Members of the Grand Alliance, the backwardneſs we have ſhewn upon that head, cannot be looked upon as a contravention of our engagements, and therefore cannot ſerve to diſengage your Majeſty from yours, with reſpect to us, ſince we are verily perſuaded, that we have fully anſwered all our treaties, and all our Alliances, both with your Majeſty, and with the High Allies in general; and that we have done more in this preſent war, than could in juſtice and equity have been expected from us. All the difference betwixt your Majeſty and us in this point, is no more, if rightly conſidered, than a diſparity of ſentiments.

In truth, Madam, if for ſuch a cauſe betwixt Potentates, allied and united together by the ſtrongeſt and ſtricteſt ties of Alliance, Intereſt, and Religion, any one of thoſe Potentates could quit all their engagements, and diſengage themſelves from all their obligations, there is no tie ſo ſtrong, which may not be broke at any time; and we know of no engagements that could be relied on, in time to come.

We aſſure ourſelves, that when your Majeſty conſiders the conſequences, you will not perſiſt in the declaration which the Biſhop of *Briſtol* has made: We beſeech you, with all the reſpect, and all the earneſtneſs of which we are capable, that you would not; and alſo that you would be pleaſed to revoke the order given to the Duke of *Ormond*, if it be not revoked already; and that you would authorize him to act according to occurrences, and as the exigency of the war, and the advancement of the Common Cauſe ſhall require.

We alſo requeſt you, Madam, to communicate to us the reſult of the Conferences betwixt your Miniſters and thoſe of the enemy, or at leaſt your thoughts upon the peace, and we will endeavour to give your Majeſty all imaginable proofs of our deference for your ſentiments, and of our ſincere deſire to preſerve your valuable friendſhip as much as we can, without acting contrary to the faith of the engagements into which we have entered, by Treaties and Alliances with your Majeſty, and other Potentates.

We are firmly perſuaded, that it is not your Majeſty's intention in any manner to break them, ſince you have always been of the ſame opinion with us and the other Allies, That a good union betwixt the Allies, not only during the preſent war, but alſo after the peace ſhall be concluded, is, and always will be the moſt ſolid, and even the only method to preſerve the liberty and independency of all together, and of every one in particular, againſt the great power of *France*.

We expect alſo, that after having given ſuch great and ſignal proofs of your wiſdom, of your firmneſs, and of your zeal for the ſupport of the Common Cauſe, your Majeſty will not now take ſuch reſolutions as may be prejudicial to us and to the other Allies; but that, in order to obtain an honourable, ſure, and general peace, you will purſue the ſame methods, and keep to the ſame maxims which you formerly held, and which Almighty God hath bleſſed in ſo remarkable a manner, by victories and great events, which will render the glory of your Majeſty's Reign immortal (1).

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(1) To theſe papers it may be proper to add extracts of the Treaties of *Utrecht*.

I. *Between* Great-Britain *and* France.

I. Perpetual peace and true friendſhip.

II. Ceſſation of all hoſtilities.

III. All offences, damages, *&c.* ſhall be buried in oblivion.

IV. The moſt Chriſtian King acknowledges the limitation of the Succeſſion to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, in the Proteſtant Line, and on the faith, word, and honour of a King, declares, He, and his Heirs ſhall accept and approve the ſame for ever; and promiſes, that no one beſides the Queen and her Succeſſors, according to the ſaid limitation, ſhall ever, by Him or his Succeſſors, be acknowledged King or Queen of *Great-Britain*; and that he and his Heirs will take all poſſible care, that the Perſon, who, ſince the deceaſe of King *James*, did take upon him the title of King of *Great-Britain*, ſhall not, at any time hereafter, return into the Kingdom of *France*, or any the Dominions thereof.

V. The moſt Chriſtian King promiſes, for Himſelf and Heirs, that they will at no time diſturb the Queen of *Great-Britain*, her Heirs and Succeſſors of the Proteſtant line, nor give any aid, favour or council, directly or indirectly, by land or ſea, in money, arms, ammunition, ſtores, ſhips, ſoldiers, or any other way, to any perſon who ſhould oppoſe the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

VI. The Union of *France* and *Spain* being the chief foundation of the war, it is provided and ſettled by renunciations, that theſe Kingdoms ſhall never be joined in one *. The moſt Chriſtian King engages,

* In this article are included, I. The *French* King's letters patents, which admit the renunciations of the King of *Spain*, and thoſe of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*. II. The King of *Spain*'s renunciation. III. The Duke of *Berry*'s renunciation. IV. The Duke of *Orleans*'s renunciation. V. The *French* King's letters patent of *December* 1700.

that he will not endeavour to obtain any uſage of navigation and trade to *Spain* and the *Spaniſh Indies*, than what was practiſed in the Reign of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, or than what ſhall be granted to other Nations.

VII. Free Navigation and Commerce, as before the war, and as agreed by the treaty of Commerce this day made between the two Nations.

VIII. That the ordinary diſtribution of juſtice be opened, ſo that the ſubjects of both ſides may ſue for, and obtain their rights, according to the laws of each Kingdom.

IX. The moſt Chriſtian King ſhall take care, that the fortifications of *Dunkirk*, towards the ſea, be razed within two months; and thoſe towards the land within three months, and the harbour be filled up, and the ſluices or moles levelled at the King's expence; and that the fortifications, harbours and moles be never repaired again. All which, however, ſhall not begin to be ruined, till every thing is put into his hands which is to be given him inſtead thereof, or an equivalent.

X. *Hudſon's Bay* ſhall be reſtored to the Queen of *Great-Britain*.

XI. All damages to the *Hudſon's-Bay* Company, by depredations of the *French* in time of peace, ſhall be ſatisfied, according to the eſtimates of Commiſſaries to be named at the requiſition of each party. The ſame concerning the damages laſt year in the Iſland of *Montſerrat*, and concerning the things complained of by the *French*, relating to *Nevis*, and Caſtle of *Gambia*.

XII. The Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*, all *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, *Port Royal* or *Annapolis*, ſhall be delivered to the *Engliſh*, and the *French* excluded from all kind of fiſhing in the ſeas, bays, or other places on the coaſts of *Nova Scotia*; that is, on thoſe lying towards the Eaſt, within thirty leagues, beginning from *Sable-Iſland*, and thence ſtretching along towards the South-weſt.

XIII. *Newfoundland*, and the adjacent Iſlands ſhall belong wholly to *Britain*; and the town and fortreſs of *Placentia* ſhall be delivered up within ſeven months. Only it ſhall be allowed to the *French* to catch fiſh, and dry them on land from Cape *Bonaviſta*, round northward to *Point Riche*. But the Iſland of *Cape Breton*, as alſo all others, both in the mouth of the river, and gulph of *St. Laurence*, ſhall belong to the *French*.

XIV. A year ſhall be allowed to the *French* to remove and carry off their effects, from the places to be yielded up by this treaty, and the free exerciſe of their Religion, to thoſe that are willing to remain there.

XV. The *French* of *Canada* ſhall give no moleſtation to the five Nations of *Indians*, ſubject to *Britain*; and the *Engliſh* ſhall behave peaceably to the *Americans*, friends of *France*, and on both ſides they ſhall enjoy full liberty of going and coming on account of trade.

XVI. All letters of repriſal and marque ſhall be recalled, and none granted hereafter, but upon plain proof of a denial, or wrongful delay of juſtice; and unleſs the petition of him, who deſires the letters of repriſal, be ſhown to the Miniſter of that Prince, againſt whoſe ſubjects the letters are demanded, that he, within four months or ſooner, may make inquiry, or procure ſatisfaction. But in caſe of no Miniſter, the letters are not to be granted till after four months, from the day the petition was exhibited to the Prince, againſt whoſe ſubjects the letters are deſired, or to his Privy-Council.

XVII. The conditions of the ſuſpenſion of arms, made the 11th day of *Auguſt* laſt, relating to ſhips, merchandizes, and other effects, taken on either ſide, ſhall be truly executed.

XVIII. But in caſe through inadvertency or imprudence, any thing ſhould be committed by any ſubject, whereby any article of this treaty hath not its effect, this peace ſhall not be interrupted or broken; but that ſubject alone ſhall be anſwerable for his own fact.

XIX. In caſe of a future war, ſix months from the day of the rupture ſhall be allowed to the ſubjects of each Nation, to remove all their effects, and retire themſelves where they pleaſe.

XX. Juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction ſhall be given to all the Queen's Allies, in thoſe matters which they have a right to demand from *France*.

XXI. The moſt Chriſtian King will, in friendſhip to the Queen, grant, in his treaty with the Empire, all things concerning Religion, to be ſettled according to the treaties of *Weſtphalia*.

XXII. Juſtice ſhall be done to the family of *Hamilton*, concerning the Dukedom of *Chatelaraut*, to the Duke of *Richmond*, concerning ſuch requeſts as he has to make in *France*, and to *Charles Douglas*, concerning certain lands, and to others.

XXIII. All priſoners taken during the war, ſhall be ſet at liberty without diſtinction or ranſom.

XXIV. All the conditions of the peace made this day, between the Kings of *France* and *Portugal*, are confirmed by this treaty, and the Queen of *Great-Britain* takes upon herſelf to be Guarantee.

XXV. The peace made this day between *France* and *Savoy*, is particularly included in this treaty, her Majeſty of *Great-Britain* expreſsly declaring, ſhe will be bound by the ſtipulations of ſecurity and guarantee promiſed therein, as well as by thoſe, ſhe has formerly taken upon herſelf.

XXVI. *Sweden*, *Tuſcany*, *Genoa*, and *Parma*, are in the beſt manner included in this treaty.

XXVII. Their Majeſties have alſo been pleaſed to comprehend in this treaty the *Hans-Towns*, namely, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, and *Hamburg*, and the City of *Dantzick*, with this effect, that as ſoon as the general peace ſhall be concluded, the *Hans-Towns*, and the City of *Dantzick*, may for the future, as common friends, enjoy the antient advantages which they have heretofore had in the buſineſs of trade, either by treaties, or by old cuſtom.

XXVIII. Thoſe ſhall be comprehended in this preſent treaty of peace, who ſhall be named by common conſent, on the one part, and on the other, before the exchange of the ratifications, or within ſix months after.

XXIX. Laſtly, ſolemn ratifications of this preſent treaty, and made in due form, ſhall be exhibited on both ſides at *Utrecht*, and mutually and duly exchanged within the ſpace of four weeks, to be computed from the day of the ſigning, or ſooner if poſſible.

XXX. In witneſs whereof, We, the underwritten Ambaſſador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiaries of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and of the moſt Chriſtian King, have put our Seals to theſe preſent Inſtruments, ſubſcribed with our own hands, at *Utrecht* the $\frac{31}{11}$ day of $\frac{March}{April}$ in the year 1713.

(L. S.) *Joh. Briſtol.* C.P.S.
(L. S.) *Strafford.*
(L. S.) *Huxelles.*
(L. S.) *Meſnager.*

II. *Between* Great-Britain *and* Spain.

I. Perpetual peace and true friendſhip.

II. Againſt the Union of the Kingdoms of *Spain* and *France*, as in the VIth article of the treaty with *France*.

III. A general amneſty on both ſides.

IV. All priſoners to be freed without ranſom.

V. and VI. Concerning the acknowledging and promiſing not to diſturb the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as in the IVth and Vth articles of the treaty with *France*.

VII. That the ordinary diſtribution of juſtice be reſtored.

VIII. That there be a free uſe of Navigation and Commerce, as it was in the Reign of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, and alſo according to the treaties of Commerce which are now, or will forthwith be made at *Madrid*. And whereas it is, by common conſent, eſtabliſhed as a fundamental rule, that the exerciſe of Navigation and Commerce to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, ſhall be as in the time of the ſaid *Charles* II, that therefore this rule may be obſerved inviolably, it is eſpecially agreed, that no licenſe ſhall at any time be given to the *French*, or any other Nation, to introduce Negroes, Goods, Merchandizes, or any things whatſoever into the *Spaniſh American* Dominions, except what may be agreed by the treaty of Commerce aforeſaid, and the privileges granted

granted in the *Aſſiento de Negroes*, mentioned in the XIIth article, except alſo what the Catholic King or his Succeſſors ſhall promiſe by any contract, after the *Aſſiento de Negroes* is determined. It is further agreed, that none of the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *America* ſhall ever be alienated from the Crown of *Spain*, to the *French* or other Nation. On the contrary, the Queen of *Great-Britain* will endeavour and aſſiſt the *Spaniards*, that the ancient limits of their *American* Dominions be ſettled, as in the time of *Charles* II.

IX. The ſubjects of each Kingdom ſhall, in all countries, have at leaſt the ſame privileges as to duties, or cuſtoms, and ſhall have the like favour in all things, as the ſubjects of *France*, or any Nation they favoured, do or ſhall hereafter enjoy.

X. *Gibraltar* is given up to the Crown of *Great-Britain*: But (to prevent abuſes by importing any goods) without any territorial juriſdiction, and without any open communication by land with the country round about. Proviſions, however, and other neceſſaries in times of ſcarcity, may be bought with money for the uſe of the garriſon and ſhips in the harbour. No leave ſhall be given to *Jews* or *Moors* to reſide there, nor ſhelter to any *Mooriſh* ſhips of war, whereby the communication between *Spain* and *Ceuta* may be obſtructed, or the coaſts of *Spain* infeſted. The free exerciſe of their Religion ſhall be granted to the Catholic inhabitants; and in caſe the town of *Gibraltar* ſhall hereafter be granted or ſold, *Spain* ſhall have the preference of having the ſame.

XI. The Iſland of *Minorca*, with all its towns and caſtles, particularly *Port-Mahon*, is alſo yielded to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. No refuge to be given to *Mooriſh* ſhips, but only on account of traffic. In caſe of alienation, the Crown of *Spain* to have the preference. The inhabitants to enjoy their religion, eſtates, and honours; and thoſe that retire, to ſell their eſtates.

XII. The Catholic King grants to the *South-Sea* Company, with excluſion of all others, the contract for introducing *Negroes* into his *American* Dominions, commonly called *el Pacto del Aſſiento de Negroes*, for the ſpace of thirty years, beginning from the 1ſt of *May* 1713, with the ſame conditions enjoyed by the *French*, together with tracts of land on the river of *Plata*, ſufficient for the ſubſiſtance of thoſe who are in the ſervice of the Company, and of their *Negroes*. The ſhips of the Company may alſo come cloſe to land; but a *Spaniſh* Officer ſhall be appointed to take care that nothing be done, contrary to his Maſter's intereſts, and all belonging to the Company ſhall be ſubject to the inſpection of the Officer, as to matters relating to the tracts of land, and diſputes to be referred to the Governor of *Buenos Ayres*. The contract of the *Aſſiento* concluded at *Madrid*, the 26th of *March* 1713, with all its conditions, not contrary to this article, is deemed as part of this treaty.

XIII. At the earneſt deſire of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, that the *Catalonians* ſhould not only obtain a full and perpetual oblivion of all that was done in the late war, and enjoy all their eſtates and honours, the Catholics hereby grants the deſired amneſty, and all the privileges which the *Caſtilians* enjoy, or may hereafter enjoy.

XIV. As *Sicily* is by this treaty yielded to the Duke of *Savoy*, the Queen of *Great-Britain* will take care, that in default of heirs-male, the poſſeſſion of *Sicily* ſhall revert to the Crown of *Spain*, and not be alienated on any pretenſe whatſoever, unleſs to the Catholic King.

XV. All treaties heretofore concluded between the two Crowns are hereby confirmed, as far as they are not contrary to thoſe treaties lately made and ſigned. And as the *Guipuſcoans* pretend to certain rights of fiſhing at *Newfoundland*, it is agreed, that all ſuch privileges as they and other people of *Spain* are able to claim by right, ſhall be allowed them.

XVI, XVII, and XVIII. The ſame as XVIIth, XVIIIth, and XIXth of the treaty with *France*.

XIX. The Kings, Princes and States, mentioned in the following articles, and all others nominated on either ſide by common conſent, before the ratifications are exchanged, or within ſix months after, ſhall be included in this treaty.

XX. Whatſoever ſhall be contained in a treaty between *Spain* and *Portugal*, with the approbation of *Great-Britain*, ſhall be deemed an eſſential part of this treaty.

XXI. The treaty of peace this day made between *Spain* and *Savoy*, is included in this treaty, the Queen of *Great-Britain* declaring, ſhe will be obliged by the terms of promiſe and guarantee therein made.

XXII. *Sweden*, *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, ſhall be included in this treaty.

XXIII. And alſo the Republic of *Venice*, for the ſake of the neutrality they have obſerved, and the many acts of humanity performed by them.

XXIV. And the Republic of *Genoa*, on the ſame accounts.

XXV. The City of *Dantzick* ſhall alſo be included.

XXVI. Solemn ratifications of this treaty ſhall be exchanged on both ſides, within ſix weeks or ſooner.

In witneſs whereof the Ambaſſadors and Plenipotentiaries ſigned and ſealed this preſent treaty at *Utrecht*, the $\frac{2}{13}$ day of *July* 1713.

(L. S.) *Joh. Briſtol.* C. P. S.
(L. S.) *Strafford.*
(L. S.) *Duc de Oſſuna.*
(L. S.) *El Marque de Montaleone.*

Separate Articles.

I. Since his Catholic Majeſty is ſtedfaſtly reſolved, and does ſolemnly promiſe by theſe preſents, that he will not conſent to any further alienation of Countries, Provinces, or Lands belonging to the Crown of *Spain*, the Queen of *Great-Britain* does likewiſe promiſe, that ſhe will perſiſt in thoſe meaſures, by which ſhe has taken care, that none of the Parties in war ſhall require or obtain of his Catholic Majeſty, that any farther part of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy be torn from it. And when it ſhall ſeem to the Queen of *Great-Britain* to be for the common benefit, the King of *Spain* does give his conſent, that a new treaty be entered into between *Great-Britain*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*.

II. The Queen of *Great-Britain* obliges herſelf to procure forthwith the Lady *Urſini* to be put into poſſeſſion of the Duchy of *Limburg*, or other countries in the *Netherlands*, which ſhall produce an annual clear revenue of 30,000 *l. Scudos*, according to the Diploma granted by his Catholic Majeſty to that Princeſs, the 28th day of *September*, 1711. *

* This Princeſs having quitted her rank and prerogatives at the Court of *Rome*, was made firſt Lady of the Bed-chamber to the Queen of *Spain*, whom ſhe met at *Nice* in *Provence*, and conducted into *Spain*. Afterwards, when the Regency of *Spain* was truſted to the Queen, at the King's going to command his armies in *Italy*, the Princeſs *Urſini* aſſiſted her with her care and counſel. She likewiſe took upon her the care of the education of the Prince of *Aſturias*. Theſe are the reaſons alledged by the King, for his granting her the territory of *Limburg*, and obliging the Queen of *Great-Britain* to procure it for her.

BRITISH MUSEUM

KING

G. Kneller pinxit. At Kensington Palace. Impensis I. & L. Tompion Londini. J. Houbraken sc.

T. Gravelot delin. P. F. Ravenet Sculp.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

BOOK XXVII.

SECT. I.

From the Acceſſion of King GEORGE I, to the End of the Rebellion in *Scotland.*

30. GEORGE I.

1714. *Vacant Throne, Character of King George I.*

THE Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover* entirely owe their advancement to the Throne of *Great-Britain*, to the effectual meaſures taken by King *William* and Queen *Anne*, for the excluſion of all Catholic Princes. Had not the order of the Succeſſion been changed, and ſuppoſing the doubtfulneſs of the Pretender's birth a ſufficient reaſon to ſet him aſide, the Houſe of *Savoy* would have been in poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh* Dominions, as they derive their right from the Princeſs *Henrietta*, Daughter of King *Charles* I, whereas the Houſe of *Hanover* are deſcended from the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter of King *James* I. Nor was it out of any particular regard for the Dukes of *Hanover*, that the *Engliſh* Nation agreed to alter the Succeſſion, but out of a belief, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, and the liberties of the State. All Catholics were therefore declared incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown, and conſequently the Succeſſion was eſtabliſhed in the Proteſtant branches. Upon this foundation it was, that, the Duke of *Gloceſter* being dead, the Princeſs *Sophia* was acknowledged for lawful Heir to the Imperial Crown of *Great-Britain*. 1714.

Though this change of the Succeſſion has been exclaimed againſt by many, it is built on very ſtrong reaſons. In Catholic Countries, a Proteſtant King will not be endured: Why therefore ſhould a Proteſtant State be obliged to ſuffer a Catholic King? Are there not, between Sovereign and Subjects, mutual obligations? And is not the preſervation of Religion one of the greateſt? If the Catholics think their Religion unſafe under a Proteſtant Prince, has not experience taught the Proteſtants, that their Religion can never be ſecure under a Catholic Prince? What the Nation had ſuffered from the zeal of King *James* to introduce his Religion, did it not ſufficiently juſtify their fears and precautions? To maintain the Proteſtant Succeſſion againſt the pretended Heir, and ſeveral others, who,

1714. who, after his deceaſe, might put in their claim, the beſt meaſures were taken. Of theſe, the moſt effectual was the humbling the exorbitant power of *France*, by which King *James* and his pretended Son were protected. *Lewis* XIV was at laſt forced to abandon their defence, and acknowledge the Proteſtant Succeſſion. All the other States, enemies of *France*, rejoiced at the Revolution, and made it their intereſt to ſupport it. The Union of *Scotland* with *England* had the ſame end, and was ſo eagerly deſired by King *William*, only that the *Scots* might ceaſe to wiſh for a ſeparate King, and concur with the *Engliſh* in the Succeſſion they had eſtabliſhed.

Purſuant to the act of Succeſſion, *George Lewis*, Son of *Erneſt Auguſtus*, firſt Elector of *Brunſwick Lunenburg*, by the Princeſs *Sophia*, Grandaughter of King *James* I, aſcended the Throne on the death of Queen *Anne*. His mature age, being then fifty-four years old (1), his experience, his perſonal qualities, his numerous family, the general peace then in *Europe*, the intereſt his Allies had to ſupport him, ſeemed to promiſe him a quiet and peaceable Reign; but, however, he was not without his diſturbances. This Prince had great talents for a Crown, and had not failed to exert them on occaſion. He was concerned in all the affairs of *Germany*, and always came off with advantage. The great ſervices, he had done for the Emperor *Leopold*, determined the Emperor *Joſeph*, his Succeſſor, to uſe all his power to procure him admittance into the Electoral College: And the Emperor *Charles*, Succeſſor of *Joſeph*, cauſed him to be acknowledged Elector by *Lewis* XIV, and by the Electors of *Cologn* and *Bavaria*, who, till the treaty of *Raſtadt*, had refuſed him that title. He had waged war in perſon and with ſucceſs. His campaign on the *Rhine* in 1709 was glorious, and would have been much more ſo, had not the too great bravery of Count *Mercy* diſappointed his project of ſending aid to the Duke of *Savoy*, to enable him to penetrate into *la Franche Comté*. This Prince had an excellent ſpirit and noble ſentiments: He was much more ſenſible of ſervices than of injuries; courageous, little capable of diſſembling or hiding his thoughts; *My maxim* (ſaid he, ſoon after his arrival in *England*) *is never to abandon my friends, to do juſtice to all the world, and to fear no man.* To theſe valuable qualities he joined a great application to buſineſs, and a ſincere deſire to render his ſubjects happy.

All theſe virtues together had gained him the reſpect and love of his *German* ſubjects, who were all ſubmiſſive to his will; and their obedience had nothing of conſtraint, becauſe his commands were always reaſonable, and dictated both by equity and goodneſs.

As ſoon as Queen *Anne* had reſigned her laſt breath, the Privy-Council met, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, and Reſident *Kreyenberg* (in whoſe hands they were lodged) produced the Elector of *Brunſwick*'s three inſtruments, nominating the perſons to be added, as Lords Juſtices, to the ſeven great Officers of the Realm (2).

After the opening of the inſtruments, a proclamation was iſſued, declaring, that the High and Mighty Prince *George*, Elector of *Brunſwick-Lunenburg*, was, by the death of Queen *Anne*, become our lawful and rightful liege Lord, King of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*. This proclamation was ſigned by above a hundred Lords and Gentlemen, ſeveral of whom, in leſs than a year, entered into treaſonable plots to deprive the King of his right, and broke out into open rebellion againſt him.

King *George* was proclaimed at the uſual places, and with the uſual ſolemnities, in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. The ſtreets were crowded with multitudes of people, and no diſorder was committed. The ſame day the Lords-Juſtices appointed the Earl of *Dorſet* to carry the King the news of his inauguration, and to attend him in his journey to *England*. The King proclaimed Aug. 1.

The Earl of *Ila*, Lord Juſtice-General of *North-Britain*, having received notice of the Queen's death, and orders to proclaim the King, went to the lodgings of the Duke of *Montroſe* (one of the Lords of the Regency) where he found the Marquiſs of *Tweedale*, and ſeveral other Lords and perſons of diſtinction, who, with the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, and the Officers of the State, cauſed the King to be proclaimed with great ceremony. The King proclaimed in Scotland Aug. 4.

Two days after the Lords-Juſtices of *Ireland*, the Archbiſhop of *Armagh* and Sir *Conſtantine Phipps*, having received the like notice, proclaimed the King on the 6th of *Auguſt* at *Dublin*. At the ſame time, they iſſued a proclamation for diſarming Papiſts, and ſeizing their horſes. And in Ireland Aug. 6.

There was not the leaſt diſturbance or interruption given in any place to the proclaiming of the King; only at *Oxford*, the Mayor received a letter brought by a perſon in a Batchelor's gown, requiring him to proclaim the Pretender (3). The Mayor communicated this letter to the Vice-Chancellor, and both of them tranſmitted copies of it to Mr. Secretary *Bromley*, Repreſentative for the Univerſity of *Oxford*, who

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(1) He was born *May* 28, 1660.

(2) The great Officers were:

Dr. *Tenniſon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,
Lord Chancellor *Harcourt*,
John Sheffield, Duke of *Buckinghamſhire*, Lord-Preſident,
Charles Talbot, Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Lord-Treaſurer,
William Legg, Earl of *Dartmouth*, Lord Privy-Seal,
Thomas Wentworth, Earl of *Strafford*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty,
Sir *Thomas Parker*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*.

To theſe were added, by the Elector of *Brunſwick*, in the inſtrument under his own hand, the following perſons:

Duke of *Shrewsbury*,	Earl of *Angleſey*,
Duke of *Somerſet*,	Earl of *Carliſle*,
Duke of *Bolton*,	Earl of *Nottingham*,
Duke of *Devonſhire*,	Earl of *Abingdon*,
Duke of *Kent*,	Earl of *Scarborough*,
Duke of *Argyle*,	Earl of *Orford*,
Duke of *Montroſe*,	L[d] Viſcount *Townſhend*,
Duke of *Roxburgh*,	Lord *Haliſax*,
Earl of *Pomfret*,	Lord *Cowper*.

(3) In the letter were theſe expreſſions:
'This is to warn you, if you ſhould receive an order to proclaim *Hanover*, not to comply with it, for the

1714. who ſent them letters of thanks. The Vice-Chancellor alſo offered a reward of a hundred pounds to the diſcoverer of the Author.

Precautions taken. Annals. In the mean time, the Lords of the Regency finding the Nation much expoſed by the ill condition of the army and fleet, took all poſſible precautions to guard againſt a ſurprize. They diſpatched ſuch Officers of the army, as they could truſt, to their reſpective poſts; gave orders to reinforce the garriſon of *Portſmouth*, and ſent veſſels out to view the harbours of *France*. They choſe Mr. *Joſeph Addiſon* to be their Secretary, and ordered all diſpatches, directed to the Secretary of State, to be ſent to him. This was particularly mortifying to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who was now obliged to ſtand at the door of the Council-Chamber with his bag and papers, and to receive orders from thoſe, whom, a few days before, he expected to command.

The Parliament met, Aug. 1. Pr. H. C. The Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, the afternoon of the very day the Queen died, purſuant to the act, which regulated the Succeſſion. The Speaker being in *Wales*, it was moved by Mr. Secretary *Bromley*, that the Houſe ſhould adjourn to the *Wedneſday* following. But this motion, though ſeconded, was anſwered by Sir *Richard Onſlow*, that time was too precious for any to be loſt at ſo critical a juncture. And therefore the Houſe adjourned only to the next day.

The Lord Chancel. his ſpeech to both Houſes. On the 5th of *Auguſt*, the Lords-Juſtices came to the Houſe of Peers, where the Lord-Chancellor, in their name, made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" IT having pleaſed Almighty God to take " to himſelf our late moſt gracious Queen of " bleſſed memory, we hope, that nothing has " been omitted, which might contribute to the " ſafety of theſe Realms, and the preſervation " of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, in " this great conjuncture. As theſe invaluable " bleſſings have been ſecured to us by thoſe acts " of Parliament, which have ſettled the Succeſ- " ſion of theſe Kingdoms in the moſt illuſtrious " Houſe of *Hanover*; we have regulated our " proceedings by thoſe rules, which are therein " preſcribed.

" The Privy-Council, ſoon after the demiſe of " the late Queen, aſſembled at *St. James's*, where, " according to the ſaid acts, the three inſtruments " were produced and opened, which had been " depoſited in the hands of the Archbiſhop of " *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, and the Re- " ſident of *Brunſwick*. Thoſe, who, either " by their offices, or by virtue of theſe inſtru- " ments, had the honour of being appointed " Lords-Juſtices, did, in conjunction with the " Council, immediately proceed to the proclaim- " ing of our lawful and rightful Sovereign King " *George*, taking, at the ſame time, the neceſſary " care to maintain the public peace.

" In purſuance of the acts before-mentioned, " this Parliament is now aſſembled, and we are " perſuaded, you all bring with you ſo hearty " a diſpoſition for his Majeſty's ſervice, and the " public good, that we cannot doubt of your 1714. " aſſiſtance in every thing, which may pro- " mote thoſe great ends.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" We find it neceſſary to put you in mind, " that ſeveral branches of the public revenue are " expired by the demiſe of her late Majeſty; " and to recommend to you the making ſuch " proviſions in that reſpect, as may be requiſite " to ſupport the honour and dignity of the " Crown: And we aſſure ourſelves, you will not " be wanting in any thing, that may conduce " to the eſtabliſhing and advancing of the pub- " lic credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" We forbear laying before you any thing, " that does not require your immediate conſi- " deration, not having received his Majeſty's " pleaſure. We ſhall only exhort you, with " the greateſt earneſtneſs, to a perfect unani- " mity, and a firm adherence to our Sovereign's " intereſt, as being the only means to continue " among us our preſent happy tranquillity."

The addreſs of the Commons. Pr. H. C. The Commons being returned to their Houſe, Mr. Secretary *Bromley* moved for an addreſs of condolance and congratulation, inſiſting much on the great loſs, the Nation had ſuſtained by the death of the late Queen. Mr. *Robert Walpole* moved for ſomething more ſubſtantial, 'to give the King aſſurances of their making good all Parliamentary funds;' and Mr. *Onſlow*, afterwards Lord *Onſlow*, very juſtly obſerved, 'That the ſtreſs of the addreſs ought not to lie upon condoling, but upon congratulating and giving the King aſſurances of their maintaining both his Majeſty's undoubted title to the crown, and public credit.' Accordingly, inſtructions were given for drawing up the following addreſs, which was unanimouſly agreed to the next day:

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

" WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loy- " al ſubjects, the Commons of *Great-* " *Britain*, in Parliament aſſembled, having a " juſt ſenſe of the great loſs the Nation has " ſuſtained by the death of our late Sovereign " Lady Queen *Anne*, of bleſſed memory, hum- " bly crave leave to condole with your Majeſty " on this ſad occaſion.

" It would but aggravate our ſorrow, parti- " cularly to enumerate the virtues of that pious " and moſt excellent Princeſs; the duty we owe " to your Majeſty, and to our Country, oblige us " to moderate our grief, and heartily to con- " gratulate your Majeſty's Acceſſion to the " Throne; whoſe princely virtues give us a " certain proſpect of future happineſs in the " ſecurity of our Religion, Laws, and Liber- " ties, and engage us to aſſure your Majeſty, " that we will, to our utmoſt, ſupport your " undoubted right to the Imperial Crown of " this

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the hand of God is now at work to ſet things upon a right foot, and in a few days you will ſee wonderful changes; which if you are wiſe enough to foreſee, you will obtain grace and favour from the hands of his Sacred Majeſty King *James*, &c.'

1714. "this Realm, againſt the Pretender and all "other perſons whatſoever.

"Your faithful Commons cannot but ex- "preſs their impatient deſire for your Majeſty's "ſafe arrival and preſence in *Great-Britain*.

"In the mean time, we humbly lay before "your Majeſty the unanimous reſolution of "this Houſe, to maintain the public credit of "the Nation, and effectually to make good all "funds which have been granted by Parliament, "for the ſecurity of any money which has been, "or ſhall be advanced for the public ſervice, "and to endeavour, by every thing in our "power, to make your Majeſty's Reign happy "and glorious."

The ſame day, the Houſe of Peers agreed upon the following addreſs:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

Addreſs of the Lords. Pr. H. L.

"WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loy- "al ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and "Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, though "deeply ſenſible of the great loſs theſe Nations "have ſuſtained, by the demiſe of her late "Majeſty of bleſſed memory, think it our "duty, at the ſame time, with thankful hearts "to Almighty God, to congratulate your Ma- "jeſty upon your happy and peaceable Acceſſion "to the Throne: And we do, with the ut- "moſt loyalty and duty, aſſure your Majeſty of "our zealous and firm reſolutions to ſupport "your undoubtedly rightful and lawful title to "the Crown, againſt all enemies and pretend- "ers whatſoever.

"Our zeal and affection for your Majeſty's "ſervice engage us to exert ourſelves with all "vigour and unanimity for ſecuring the pub- "lic ſafety; and we will always, to the utmoſt "of our power, maintain the honour and dig- "nity of your Crown. And we do, with "faithful hearts, beſeech your Majeſty, as ſoon "as poſſible, to give us your Royal preſence, "which we are perſuaded will be attended with "all other bleſſings to your Kingdoms."

This addreſs having been tranſmitted by the Lords-Juſtices to the King, he returned this anſwer:

GEORGE R.

The King's anſwer to the Lords addreſs.

"I take this firſt opportunity to return you "my hearty thanks for your addreſs, and the "aſſurances you have given me therein.

"The zeal and unanimity you have ſhewn, "upon my Acceſſion to the Crown, are great "encouragements to me; and I ſhall always "eſteem the continuance of them as one of the "greateſt bleſſings of my Reign.

"No one can be more truly ſenſible than I "am, of the loſs ſuſtained by the death of the "late Queen, whoſe exemplary piety and virtue "ſo much indeared her to her people, and for "whoſe memory I ſhall always have a particular "regard.

"My beſt endeavours ſhall never be wanting "to repair this loſs to the Nation. I will make "it my conſtant care to preſerve your Religion, "Laws, and Liberties inviolable, and to ad- "vance the honour and proſperity of my "Kingdoms.

"I am haſtening to you, according to your 1714. "deſire, ſo affectionately expreſſed in your "addreſs."

The addreſs of the Commons being alſo tranſmitted to the King, he returned the following anſwer:

GEORGE R.

The King's anſwer to the Commons addreſs.

"Your dutiful and loyal addreſs is very ac- "ceptable to me. The unanimity and affection "my Commons have ſhewn, upon my Acceſ- "ſion to the Crown, are moſt agreeable in- "ſtances and pledges of their fidelity to me. "I have a juſt ſenſe of your inexpreſſible loſs, "by the death of your late Sovereign. You "may be aſſured of my conſtant endeavours to "ſecure to you the full enjoyment of your Re- "ligion, Laws, and Liberties; and that it "will always be my aim to make you an "happy and flouriſhing People; to which "your reſolution to maintain the public credit "of the Nation will greatly contribute. I am "haſtening to you, according to your earneſt "deſire, and the juſt expectations of my peo- "ple."

Dr. Ratcliffe refuſed to attend the Queen.

A great many perſons, particularly the lead- ing men among the party, whoſe deſigns were fruſtrated by the Queen's ſudden death, being extremely angry with Dr. *Ratcliffe*, for not attending the Queen, when ſent for by the Duke of *Ormond*, their reſentments were carried ſo far, that, on the 5th of *Auguſt*, Sir *John Packington* made a complaint againſt him in the Houſe of Commons. But it being repreſented, that the Doctor, who had the honour of being a Member of the Houſe, was then abſent, that matter dropped.

Two days after, there was a debate about the choice of a Chairman of the Grand Committee of Subſidy; ſome of the Tory Members having moved and inſiſted on placing Sir *William Wyndham* in the Chair. But Mr. *Walpole* repreſented, that Mr. *Conyers* had, for ſo many years, ſo well diſcharged that office, that it would be inconſiſtent with gratitude, good manners, and prudence, to chuſe another. Upon which Mr. *Conyers* was placed in the Chair.

The Tories propoſe a million for the civil liſt.

The Tories having loſt this point, ſome of them, on pretence of ſhewing extraordinary zeal for the new Government, propoſed the giving the King a million ſterling for the civil liſt, which was 300,000 *l.* more than the late Queen had enjoyed. But, though no direct oppoſition was then made to that motion, yet it was afterwards dropped; the wiſeſt of the King's friends knowing, that the Tories would take occaſion from thence to reproach him, as oppreſſing the Nation by a higher revenue than the Queen, as they afterwards ſuggeſted in their libel, called *Engliſh advice*. For this reaſon, the propoſal for the ſame ſum as had been granted to the Queen was approved, and a bill for that purpoſe, being brought in, paſſed with great diſpatch. While the bill was depending, Mr. *Horatio Walpole* moved, that the Committee ſhould have power to receive two clauſes; one for the payment of the arrears due to the *Hanover* troops in *Engliſh* pay, being 65,000 *l.* the other for 100,000 *l.* to be paid by the Treaſury, to any perſon that ſhould apprehend the Pretender,

The civil liſt ſettled. Pr. H.

1714. tender, if he ſhould land, or attempt to land in any of the King's Dominions. Sir *William Wyndham* ſeconded Mr. *Walpole* as to the arrears; and Mr. *Shippen* very frankly owned, he had oppoſed that payment in the late Reign, but that he was for it now. Mr. *Aldworth*, Member of Parliament for *New Windſor*, ſupported likewiſe the motion; but, as if he deſigned to expoſe the Members, who, at this juncture, appeared ſo forward to pay thoſe very troops, which, a few months before, they had treated as runaways, he ſaid, 'That, for his part, he had formerly been againſt the payment, becauſe he had been given to underſtand, in that very Houſe, that thoſe troops were deſerters; but that he had ſince been informed, they were hired to fight, and had ſerved well as long as there was fighting: And if, when they came in ſight of the enemy, they, who hired them, would not ſuffer them to fight, he did not ſee any reaſon, why they ſhould be called deſerters.' As to the clauſe, for giving 100,000 *l.* to ſuch, as ſhould apprehend the Pretender, Mr. *C——n* ſaid, the next day, 'That he was not the day before in the Houſe, when that clauſe was moved; but, if he had been preſent, he would have oppoſed it, becauſe, in his opinion, the Proteſtant Succeſſion was no longer in danger, ſince his Majeſty's peaceable Acceſſion to the Throne:' And he was ſo poſitive in this aſſertion, that he defied all the Houſe to prove the contrary. He was ſeconded by Mr. *Shippen*; but Mr. *Pulteney*, and after him the Lord *Lumley*, made it clearly appear, 'That the Proteſtant Succeſſion was in danger, as long as there was a Popiſh Pretender, who had many friends both at home and abroad: That the late Queen was ſenſible of that danger, when ſhe iſſued out her proclamation againſt him; and that the caſe was not altered by her Majeſty's demiſe: That the Nation would be at no charge, if the Pretender did not attempt to land; and, if he did, 100,000 *l.* would be well beſtowed to apprehend him.' To this Mr. *C——n* made no reply.

Mr. *Craggs*, who, the day before the Queen died, had been diſpatched to *Hanover*, returned, the 13th of *Auguſt*, with letters from the King to the Lords-Juſtices: Upon which they went to the Houſe of Peers; and the Chancellor, in their name, made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"IT is with great ſatisfaction we can now tell you, that we have this morning received a letter from the King, wherein his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint us, that his Majeſty is haſtening hither, to employ his utmoſt care for putting theſe Kingdoms into a happy and flouriſhing condition.

"He has commanded us, in the mean time, to continue our care of every thing, that may conduce to the peace and ſafety of his Dominions. And we are aſſured, that, if this had required his more immediate preſence, he would, without the leaſt delay, have repaired hither, for the ſupport of ſo dutiful and faithful ſubjects. For his Majeſty does very particularly expreſs his great ſatisfaction in the loyalty and affection, which his people have univerſally ſhewn upon his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown. 1714.

"At the opening this Seſſion, we did not mention to you the apprehenſions we then had, from the ſmallneſs of the ſum at that time advanced, that the lottery would not be full, being deſirous, in the firſt place, to try to make it effectual in the manner the Parliament had eſtabliſhed it. But we are obliged now to acquaint you, that all our endeavours have failed of the deſired ſucceſs, though the contributions have been thereby conſiderably increaſed.

"We muſt therefore earneſtly recommend to you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, to take this into your conſideration, and to give ſuch further encouragement, as you ſhall think proper, for raiſing the whole ſum, which was intended, and is abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on the ſervice of the year."

The Parliament had, before the Queen's death, paſſed an act for a lottery for 1,400,000 *l.* but public credit was then ſo low, that not above ſixty or ſeventy thouſand pounds had been ſubſcribed. This was occaſioned partly by the diffidence of the monied-men in the late Adminiſtration, and partly by the low intereſt allowed for the blank tickets. The Lords of the Regency and Privy-Council, to reſtore public credit, and fill the lottery, went in a body to the Bank, and ſubſcribed large ſums themſelves, which was ſuch an encouragement to others to follow their example, that above 700,000 *l.* was ſubſcribed in two days; and the Parliament, purſuant to the King's deſire, giving further encouragement by making a ſmall addition to the intereſt for the blank tickets, one *per cent.* only, the remainder was ſubſcribed in a few days more. *The public credit reſtored.* Pol. St.

Addreſſes of thanks for the King's letter were voted by both Houſes, and ſent to *Hanover* by the Lords-Juſtices, who, about a week after, came to the Houſe of Peers to paſs the money-bills, that were ready for the Royal aſſent. The Speaker, upon preſenting the *Civil Liſt* and *Lottery* bills, made a remarkable ſpeech (1), and, the buſineſs of the Seſſion being finiſhed, the Lords-Juſtices prorogued the Parliament to the 3d of *September*. *The Parliament is prorogued,* Aug. 25.

Thus ended the ſecond and laſt Seſſion of the fourth Parliament of *Great-Britain*, and the laſt of Queen *Anne*'s Reign.

The

(1) The ſpeech was as follows:

My Lords,

'The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of *Great-Britain*, in Parliament aſſembled, under the preſent happineſs they enjoy by his Majeſty's peaceable and quiet Acceſſion to the Throne, could not enter upon any work more ſatisfactory and pleaſing to themſelves, than the providing a ſufficient revenue for the occaſions of his Majeſty's civil Government, in order to make his Reign as eaſy and proſperous, as the beginning of it hath been ſecure and undiſturbed.

They are ſenſible, that the peace of the Kingdom is not to be preſerved, nor the rights and liberties of the Subjects to be protected, without ſupporting the juſt authority and dignity of the Crown; and therefore they have thought it their intereſt, as well as duty, to make ſuch a proviſion, as may not barely ſuffice to the neceſſity

1714. *The* French *Envoy afraid of inſults.* Hiſt. Reg.

The *French* Miniſter, Monſieur *d'Iberville*, who had behaved himſelf with great haughtineſs, was, upon the Queen's death, ſeized with ſuch an apprehenſion of being inſulted by the people in his own houſe, that he ſent a letter to the Duke of *Ormond*, to deſire his protection; and, the Duke acquainting the Lords-Juſtices with it, ſome of the Trained-bands were ordered to guard his houſe. That Miniſter had, before he received any orders from his Court, aſſured the Regency, 'That his Maſter would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at *Utrecht*, particularly with relation to the ſettlement of the *Britiſh* Crown in the Houſe of *Hanover*.' And the Earl of *Peterborough*, who arrived in *London* from *France* on the 7th of *Auguſt*, told ſome of the Regency, that the *French* King had given him the like aſſurance; Mr. *Prior*, having likewiſe, by orders of the Regency, notified the Queen's death to the *French* King, received the ſame anſwer. Some days after, *Iberville* received a letter from the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, approving what he had done; and another from the *French* King to the *Britiſh* Regency with the ſame aſſurance, importing likewiſe, 'That having been informed, that reports had been ſpread, as if he deſigned to make alterations in the late renunciations, he thought fit to declare, as he had already done to the Earl of *Peterborough*, that theſe reports were altogether falſe and groundleſs: That, the King of *Spain* having ſent the Cardinal *del Guidice* as Ambaſſador to *France*, which might create ſome ſuſpicions, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had deſired the King, his Grandſon, to recal him: And that the Elector of *Brunſwick* having, ſome time before the death of the Queen, ſignified to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that, whenever his Succeſſion to the Crown of *Great-Britain* ſhould take place, he would cultivate a friendſhip with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, he (the King of *France*) on his part, aſſured the Lords-Juſtices, that he would do all that lay in his power to maintain a good intelligence and amity between the two Crowns.'

The French *King owns* King George.

The anſwer, which Mr. *Prior* received about the *Catalans*, was not altogether ſo agreeable to *England*. The Regency had wrote to the Court of *France*, 'That, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty having promiſed to interpoſe his good offices with the King of *Spain* in favour of the *Catalans*, they were ſurprized to find, that, inſtead of that, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had ſent his troops to aſſiſt thoſe of his Grandſon, in the reduction of *Barcelona*; and that they hoped, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would make good his promiſes, and conſider the ill conſequences of his ſuffering his forces to act againſt a people, who were under the protection of the Crown of *Great-Britain*.' To this Mr. *Prior* received an anſwer, 'That the moſt Chriſtian King had already made good his engagements in behalf of the *Catalans*: That their obſtinacy was the cauſe of all the misfortunes, that might befal them: And that his glory would not ſuffer him to recal his troops from before *Barcelona*.' Some days before this anſwer was tranſmitted to *England*, the Marquiſs *d'Almanza*, one of the Deputies from the Principality of *Catalonia*, made application to the Lords-Juſtices, and communicated to them a letter he had received from the Governor of *Majorca*, with an account of the condition of the City of *Barcelona*. Upon which they ordered, that a copy of the letter, which they had written to the Court of *France*, ſhould be communicated to the Marquiſs; and he was farther aſſured, that directions had been ſent to Admiral *Wiſhart*, not to moleſt the inhabitants of *Barcelona*, or hinder any relief to be brought to them by ſea. 1714.

The Lords-Juſtices were ſenſible how little the *French* King's aſſurances, that he would not diſturb the Proteſtant Succeſſion, were to be relied on; and therefore, though they had ſent a reinforcement to the garriſon of *Portſmouth*, under the command of Colonel *Pocock*, they ordered another draught of five hundred Out-penſioners of *Chelſea-Hoſpital* to march thither, under the command of Colonel *Jones*; and, at the ſame time, ordered the Juſtices of the Peace of *London* and *Weſtminſter* to take exact liſts of the Popiſh Recuſants, and to ſeize their arms and horſes; and,

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neceſſity of the Government, but may be ſuitable to the State, the honour and luſtre, which the Crown of *Great-Britain* ought to be attended with.

Whatſoever is ſuperfluous in that proviſion, and more than the ordinary ſervices of his Majeſty ſhall require, will but inable him to exert his higheſt and moſt valuable prerogative of doing good: And we can give no greater proof of the truſt we repoſe in his Majeſty's gracious diſpoſition, than putting the ſame intire revenue into his hands, which her late Majeſty died poſſeſſed of; whoſe virtues we all admired, and of whoſe affection and concern for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom, we had ſo long experience.

As the Crown itſelf deſcends immediately, and knows no vacancy, the Commons have taken care, that the revenue ſhould follow it as cloſe as poſſible; for they have given all the diſpatch to this grant, which the forms of their proceedings would allow. So that when his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to anſwer the impatient deſires of his people, by coming to take poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms, he will find himſelf equally eſtabliſhed in theſe revenues, as if he had ſucceeded to all by an uninterrupted right of inheritance. The only difference is this, that, if he had inherited them, he would have wanted one ſingle proof of the duty, and affection, and unanimity of his ſubjects.

Our deſire is, that this may be looked upon as an earneſt and pledge of that zeal and fidelity, which we ſhall always retain, and which, upon every occaſion, we ſhall be ready to demonſtrate to his Majeſty's perſon and Government: As ſuch, we hope his Majeſty will graciouſly accept it at this time; and hereafter, when he ſhall have had experience of this firſt voluntary offering of his loyal Commons, we hope he will find it to his ſatisfaction, as large and as ample as he could wiſh, might but the term of the grant be as long as we could wiſh, ſince it is to have equal continuance with his Majeſty's life.

My Lords, the bill, which the Commons have paſſed for the purpoſes I have mentioned, is intitled, *An act for the better ſupport of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of the Crown of* Great-Britain.

They have alſo prepared another bill, as well *for rectifying miſtakes in the names of the Commiſſioners for the land-tax, as for raiſing ſo much as is wanting to make up the ſum of fourteen hundred thouſand pounds, intended to be raiſed by a lottery, for the public ſervice, in the year* 1714. This having been recommended to their care, and appearing to them to be neceſſary for his Majeſty's and the public ſervice, they have reaſon to think they have now abundantly ſupplied the defects in the former proviſion; and in this aſſurance they humbly preſent this bill alſo for the Royal aſſent.'

(1) An

1714. and, upon the landing of the ſeven *Britiſh* battalions from *Oſtend*, a battalion of the Earl of *Orkney*'s Royal regiment of Fuſileers was commanded to march to *Portſmouth*, which made a ſtrength ſufficient for the defence of that important place.

On the 17th of *Auguſt*, the Earl of *Berkley*, Commander of the ſquadron of men of war and yachts, appointed to attend the King and Prince, arrived on the coaſt of *Holland*. Monſieur *Klingraef*, the King's Reſident at the *Hague*, immediately diſpatched an expreſs to *Hanover*, to acquaint him with it.

plaints Mer- ts a- f the of n Reg. The ill conduct of the late Miniſtry with relation to the treaty of commerce with *Spain* ſoon appeared. For, on the 19th of *Auguſt*, the Merchants, trading to that Kingdom, laid before the Regency the difficulties under which they laboured, by means of a large donative which King *Philip* was about to extort from the *Britiſh* and other Merchants (1). This increaſed the general indignation againſt the Managers of the *Spaniſh* treaty, who had ſettled our trade to *Spain* in ſo precarious a manner, as made it ſubject to the will and pleaſure of the King of *Spain*, whoſe Miniſters believed themſelves ſo ſecure of ours in *England*, that they thought they might put any hardſhips on our Merchants. But upon the news of the Queen's ſudden death, and of the vigorous proceedings of the Regency, they entertained other ſentiments, and recalled the orders they had given for exacting the donative.

ltier and. The latter end of *Auguſt*, the Abbot *Gaultier*, who had been the Agent of *France* and the Pretender, ſet out for that Kingdom, as many others had done upon the Queen's death, who had come hither on very ill deſigns.

Bo broke ved. About the ſame time, Mr. *Murray* arrived expreſs from *Hanover*, with an account, that the King had deferred his departure for ſome days; and brought ſeveral orders for the Regency and Council, particularly for the preparing a patent to create the Prince Royal, Prince of *Wales*; and for removing the Lord *Bolingbroke* from his office of Secretary of State; which was done on the laſt of *Auguſt*, with particular marks of diſpleaſure; three of the Lords of the Regency, the Dukes of *Shrewſbury* and *Somerſet*, and the Lord *Cowper*, having taken the Seals from him, and locked and ſealed up all the doors of his office.

The union between *England* and *Holland* was ſo neceſſary for their mutual preſervation, that it was one of the firſt cares of the Lords of the Regency to notify to the *States* the Queen's death, and his Majeſty's peaceable Acceſſion to the Throne. This was done on the 4th of *Auguſt* by the Earl of *Strafford*, the *Britiſh* Ambaſſador in *Holland*, who made a ſpeech on the occaſion, wherein he obſerved, that, by the act of Succeſſion, all officers were to continue in employment ſix months after the demiſe of the Queen, unleſs the Succeſſor otherwiſe diſpoſed of the offices; and that conſequently he remained ſtill Ambaſſador of the Crown of *Great-Britain*. Upon the arrival of Baron *Bothmar*'s Secretary with the news of the Queen's death, Monſieur *Klingraef*, the Reſident of *Hanover*, preſented to the *States* a memorial, with a letter from the King, which was lodged in his hands, to be in readineſs, if there ſhould be occaſion, by which the King required of the *States* the performance of their guaranty of his Succeſſion to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. The *States* aſſembled that very night, upon *Klingraef*'s delivering the King's letter; and, the next day, Aug. 15. N. S. came to a reſolution to return this anſwer, 'That, as ſoon as they were informed of the ſickneſs and death of the Queen, they immediately bethought themſelves of their engagements for the guaranty of the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Great-Britain* in the Proteſtant line, as it was ſettled by acts of Parliament. That, at the ſame time, they conſidered with themſelves, not only how much it concerns the Kingdoms of *Great-Britain*, that the Settlement of the Succeſſion in the Proteſtant line ſhould have intire effect, but alſo how deeply the Proteſtant Religion, the ſafety of their State, and the liberty of all *Europe*, were intereſted therein. That therefore they unanimouſly reſolved to perform their engagements, and to execute all that by treaty of mutual guaranty they had promiſed. That as they received the account of the Queen's death with grief, ſo it was very acceptable news to them, that his Electoral Highneſs, as the next Heir in the Proteſtant line, was inſtantly proclaimed King by the unanimous advice of the Council, and with the acclamations of the People. That they moſt heartily congratulate him thereupon, and wiſh him all further happy ſucceſſes in a proſperous Reign. That from this good

The Earl of Strafford notifies to the States the King's Acceſſion.

(1) An account of this affair was publiſhed in the two following letters from *Cadiz*:

Cadiz, July 29.

'The King of *Spain* has demanded a donative in this place, and in other parts of *Spain*, and particularly of the *Britiſh* Merchants and other Foreigners inhabiting here; and their proportion of the donative is ſettled by a note left at each of their houſes, regulating what each perſon is to pay, which the Merchants have refuſed to comply with, as being contrary to treaties in force, and have repreſented the ſame to the King of *Spain*: But, inſtead of finding redreſs, they have had ſoldiers quartered upon them, and expect the number to be doubled every day, during the time they ſhall refuſe to pay the donative. However, they have reſolved to let their effects be ſeized, rather than comply with a demand ſo unjuſt in itſelf, and ſo diſhonourable to the *Britiſh* Nation, of which there is no precedent.'

Cadiz, July 29.

'Our factory is inſulted the moſt that ever was yet experienced from this Government; a donative (or free gift) being endeavoured to be extorted by violence from us. To which effect our Governor has put guards of ſoldiers in our houſes, threatening to double them at 8 rials value *per diem*, which amounts to half a dollar, until we pay the ſaid donative, which amounts to 125 pieces of eight on ſome, on others more or leſs. Thus the principal of our articles and privileges are trampled on. This is the reſpect ſhewn to our Queen and Nation, and the honourable uſage given to her ſubjects here. And what can be expected for the future? We hope a ſudden and determined reſolution will be taken at the Court of *England*, to get ſatisfaction for this arbitrary dragooning the *Britiſh* ſubjects; and that a ſtop will be put to their ever pretending here any more to ſuch an extortion and breach of public faith; otherwiſe no living, nor can we be ever ſecure here.' *Hiſt. Reg.*

1714. good beginning they hope his Majeſty will take peaceable poſſeſſion of his Kingdoms without any oppoſition. That, nevertheleſs, they were willing and ready to perform their engagements, and to take all proper meaſures with him for that end. That, it being likely his Majeſty will ſpeedily go for *England*, they will be very glad, if he will pleaſe to take his journey thro' their Dominions. That they will endeavour to facilitate his paſſage with all that is in their power; and that they will at all times ſhew the high eſteem they have for his Majeſty's perſon and friendſhip; and that they have his intereſts as much at heart as their own.' This reſolution was, with a letter to the King, delivered to the Reſident of *Hanover*; and, at the ſame time, the *States* diſpatched letters to the ſeveral Provinces, deſiring them forthwith to provide the neceſſary funds for ſetting out a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war; of which twelve, that were ſaid to be deſigned for the *Baltic*, were almoſt ready to put to ſea.

Treaty between Spain *and* Portugal *procured by the Regency.*

About the middle of *Auguſt*, the Count *de Tarouca*, Ambaſſador Plenipotentiary of *Portugal*, in a Conference with the *States-Deputies*, notified to them the favourable declaration the Regents of *Great-Britain* had cauſed to be made to Monſieur *de Bruciado*, the *Portugueſe* Envoy at *London*, 'That *Spain* ſhould be obliged to conclude peace immediately with the Crown of *Portugal*; or, in caſe of refuſal, his *Portugueſe* Majeſty might depend upon being aſſiſted by the Crown of *Great-Britain*, conformably to the treaty of defenſive Alliance between theſe two Crowns.' This declaration having been reported to the *States-General*, they cauſed aſſurances to be given to the *Portugueſe* Miniſter, 'That they would readily concur in all meaſures his *Britannic* Majeſty might judge proper to be taken, for obliging *Spain* to agree with *Portugal* on fair and juſt conditions of peace.' After theſe declarations, there was little difficulty in concluding the treaty between *Spain* and *Portugal*.

The Earl of *Strafford* having received a letter from the King, to return the *States* thanks for their reſolution about the guaranty, the Earl, two days after, made a ſpeech to the *States*, and, among other things, ſaid, 'That they had thereby engaged the friendſhip of a King, which could not but be very advantageous to them, as well in regard to the neighbourhood and powerfulneſs of his Kingdoms and States, as with reſpect to his Majeſty's perſonal merit, who, for his many excellent qualities, would be eſteemed and courted by all *Europe*, as well as loved and reſpected by his own ſubjects: And that as he was known to be a Prince, who was a religious obſerver of his word, they might be aſſured, that, in gaining his friendſhip, they ſecured to themſelves a ſolid and laſting ſupport.'

The Court of *France*, confounded by the Queen's ſudden death, followed the beſt counſel, which, in the preſent condition of their affairs, they could take, which was, to acknowledge King *George*. Accordingly, beſides the forementioned declarations, Monſieur *de Chateauneuf*, their Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, made the Earl of *Strafford* the uſual compliments of condolance upon the death of the Queen, and, at the ſame time, thoſe of congratulation upon the King's Acceſſion to the Throne. And it is obſervable, that the Pretender, who, by our Miniſters and thoſe of *France*, had been put in hopes of carrying his point, as appears by his own declaration *, and by what paſſed between our Miniſters and the Abbot *Gaultier*, was intirely diſappointed. For upon the news, which he received the 14th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* that the Queen was either dead, or paſt recovery, he poſted immediately for *Verſailles*: But, the King of *France* having notice of it, the Marquiſs *de Torcy* ſent to tell him, 'That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was ſurprized at his being returned into his Dominions, knowing the engagements he was under, in reſpect to the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Great-Britain* in the Houſe of *Hanover*; and therefore deſired him to quit his territories.' Upon this the Pretender, having made a melancholy viſit to the Queen-Dowager of *England* at *Chaillot*, returned to *Barleduc*, under the deepeſt concern for the ill ſucceſs of his journey; and ſet out afterwards for the Court of *Lorrain* at *Luneville*, from whence he went to *Plombieres*, to drink the waters of that place.

It will not be improper to take notice of ſome remarkable paſſages at *Hanover*, before the news of the Queen's death reached that Court. On the 26th of *July*, *N. S.* the Earl of *Clarendon*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Queen, arrived at *Hanover*; but, the Elector being then at *Herenhauſen*, it was the 4th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* before the Earl was conducted thither to have his firſt audience: One reaſon of the delay was, that the King of *Pruſſia* arrived there *incognito* on the 30th of *July*, *N. S.* The cauſe of this interview between theſe two Princes at this juncture was variouſly diſcourſed of; but, very probably, the deſign of it was to cultivate a good correſpondence between them, which their enemies had endeavoured to interrupt. The *French* Court and ours knew, it would not be eaſy to defeat the Proteſtant Succeſſion, while theſe two families, which were both included in the intail, were united in affection and intereſt; and therefore they attempted to divide them, by propoſing to the King of *Pruſſia*'s Miniſter here, that his Maſter ſhould immediately ſucceed after the Queen, if he would fall in with the meaſures of the two Courts. But that King was too diſcerning to be caught in that ſnare: He knew, that their deſign was only to ſet the two families at variance, which muſt not only defeat the Proteſtant Succeſſion, but ruin the intereſt of the Reformation, render the two families incapable of ſupporting their own or their Country's intereſt againſt the deſigns of *France* and *Sweden*, and facilitate the Pretender's way to the Throne of *Great-Britain*. He therefore not only rejected the propoſal, but likewiſe aſſured the Elector of *Hanover*, that he would aſſiſt him with all his power to maintain his title to the *Britiſh* Crown; and, having concerted meaſures with him for their common intereſt, returned to *Berlin* the 3d of *Auguſt*, *N. S.*

Mr. *Craggs*, who had been ſent to *Hanover* with an account of the Queen's dangerous illneſs, arrived there on the 16th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* and went directly to *Herenhauſen* with the Privy-Council's letter to the King. The ſame night three other expreſſes arrived at *Hanover*; two to the King, and one to the Earl of *Clarendon*, with the news of the Queen's death; which the Earl communicated to him at two o'clock in the morning.

714. morning. This was confirmed, four hours after, by the arrival of Monſieur *Godike*, Secretary to Baron *Bothmar*, with the further account of his Majeſty's being proclaimed King of *Great-Britain* in the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, without the leaſt ſhew of oppoſition. The King received this news, ſo much to his glory and advantage, with a ſerenity of countenance and compoſure of mind, peculiar to him. The Baron *de Rhede*, his firſt Chamberlain, was immediately diſpatched to *Berlin*, to deſire an interview with the King of *Pruſſia*, before his departure for *Holland*. But, that Prince having begun his journey to *Koningſberg* in *Pruſſia*, before the Baron's arrival at *Berlin*, the interview was prevented. However, as ſoon as the King of *Pruſſia* received from the *Hague* the news of the Queen's death, and of the proclaiming of King *George*, he immediately declared his reſolution to contribute his aſſiſtance to the maintaining of that Succeſſion, in caſe it ſhould be diſputed; and ſent orders to his Miniſters at the ſeveral Courts, particularly to Mr. *Bonnet*, his Reſident at *London*, to notify. 'That, as his Majeſty had conſtantly declared himſelf in favour of the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover* to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, ſo now he was affected with peculiar joy to hear, that the Settlement of that Crown had, in due time, taken effect, by the proclaiming of King *George*; the rather, becauſe it viſibly tended to the promoting the Proteſtant Religion, and the true intereſt and welfare of the *Britiſh* Nation: And that, in caſe of need, he was ready to employ all the power which God had put into his hands, in aſſiſting to maintain that Succeſſion againſt all, who might offer to diſpute it.'

The neighbouring Princes and States likewiſe either went in perſon, or ſent Envoys and Deputies to congratulate his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Crown; which occaſioned a great concourſe of people, and retarded the King's departure; the thoughts of which ſo afflicted the inhabitants of *Hanover*, who had ſo long enjoyed the bleſſings of his mild Government, that they were inconſolable. The King, in order to alleviate their grief, cauſed intimation to be given to the Magiſtrates, that they might aſk ſome favour of him; and, at their requeſt, the exciſe of proviſions was taken off, the debts of inſolvent debtors were diſcharged, and their perſons ſet at liberty.

The King, having committed the Government of his *German* Dominions to a Council, at the head of which he placed his Brother Prince *Erneſt*, took into conſideration what part of the Royal Family he ſhould carry with him, and then determined, that the Prince ſhould go with him; that the Princeſs, his Conſort, ſhould follow a few weeks after, with the two eldeſt Princeſſes; and that the young Prince *Frederic George* ſhould remain at *Hanover* with his youngeſt Siſter. The King alſo named thoſe of the houſhold, who were to attend him to *Great-Britain* (1). 1714.

The King ſet out from *Herenhauſen* the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, and in four days came to *Utrecht*, from whence he went to the *Hague*. He had there ſeveral Conferences with the *States*, wherein the aſſurances, which had been mutually given by letters of friendſhip and effectual aſſiſtance, were confirmed (2). At length, on the 16th of *September*, the King and Prince embarked at *Orange-Polder*, on board the *Peregrine* and the *Mary Yatcht*, which having, ſoon after, joined the ſquadron of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* men of war, that waited for them, under the command of the Earl of *Berkeley*, they all ſailed for *England* with a fair wind; and, the next day, about nine in the evening, arrived ſafe at the *Hope*, where the Admiral thought fit to drop anchor. There being a thick fog the *Saturday* morning, the yatcht did not go up the river till the afternoon. The King and Prince went into a barge in *Long Reach*, and arrived at *Greenwich* about ſix o'clock in the evening. The Duke of *Northumberland*, Captain of the Life-guard, and the Lord-Chancellor, at the head of the Lords of the Regency, received him at his landing, and complimented him on his ſafe arrival. The King choſe to walk to his houſe in the Park, accompanied by moſt of the Nobility, and great numbers of the principal Gentry, through an infinite crowd of perſons of all conditions. Before he left his yatcht, he appointed the Earls of *Dorſet* and *Berkeley* to be Lords of his Bed-chamber, and knighted Mr. *William Sanderſon*, Captain of the *Peregrine*. After the King had undergone the fatigue of paſſing through the crowd, and of giving his hand to all, who approached him, he retired to his Bed-chamber, and ſent for ſeveral of the Nobility, ſuch as had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for his Succeſſion. It was obſerved, that the Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord *Trevor* were not of that number. The Earl of *Oxford* was not at *Greenwich* that evening, but was one of the earlieſt there the next morning; but had the misfortune to be undiſtinguiſhed among the crowd, and, with great difficulty, had at laſt the bare honour of kiſſing his Majeſty's hand, without exchanging a word with him. Nor

He ſets out for England.

(1) Theſe were, the Baron *de Kilmanſeck*, Maſter of the Horſe; Baron *Bernſdorf*, Firſt Miniſter of State; Baron *de Goritz*, Preſident of the Finances, and Miniſter of State; Monſieur *de Robethon*, Privy-Counſellor to the King; Count *Platen*, Great Chamberlain; Baron *de Rhede*, Great Chamberlain; the Marquiſs *de la Foret*, Chamberlain; Baron *Schutz* and his two Brothers, one Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the King, the other to the Prince; Monſieur *Reiche*, Privy-Counſellor, and Secretary to his Majeſty; Baron *de Hartoff*, Counſellor of War; Monſieur *Schraden*, Secretary of Ambaſſies; Monſieur *Hammerſtein*, Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber; Monſieur *Kempe*, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince; two Phyſicians, Dr. *Steigerthal* and Dr. *Chappuzeau*; two Surgeons, and two Valets *de Chambre*.

(2) The Marquiſs *de Chateauneuf*, Ambaſſador of *France*, had an audience, among other foreign Miniſters, to compliment the King on his Acceſſion; and the report was, that he uſed theſe, among other civil expreſſions, 'There are yet a few difficulties to be removed, to put the finiſhing hand to the treaties yet depending; but your Majeſty ſhall be the arbiter of the peace.' To which the King anſwered, 'I will be the guaranty of it.' The Duke *de Oſſuna*, and the Marquiſs *de Monteleone*, Plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, came from *Utrecht* to the *Hague*, to wait on the King, and had a private audience the 9th of *September*.

1714. Nor did the Earl eſcape ſuch reflections from the ſpectators, as his conduct had juſtly deſerved. On the other hand, the Duke of *Marlborough* appeared there, juſtly favoured by the King, and looked upon (though not yet declared) as Captain-General (1). The Dukes of *Shrewſbury*, *Somerſet*, *Bolton*, *Argyle*, *Montroſe*, *Rutland*, and *Montague*; the Marquiſs of *Dorcheſter*; the Earls of *Dorſet*, *Bridgewater*, *Sunderland*, *Carliſle*, *Berkeley*, *Nottingham*, *Portland*, *Orford*, *Wharton*, and *Cholmondeley*; the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*; the Lords *Oſſulſtone*, *Sommers*, and *Halifax*; the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*; General *Stanhope*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and many others, received particular marks of favour; and the Duke of *Argyle* was declared Groom of the Stole to his Royal Highneſs; Colonel *William Car* and Colonel *Tyrrel*, Grooms of the Bed-chamber; the Earl of *Hertford*, the Lord *Finch*, the Lord *Lumley*, and Colonel *Oughton*, Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to the Prince.

The King's entry. On the 20th of *September*, the King and Prince of *Wales* made their entry with great pomp and magnificence. There were in the King's coach the Prince, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, Captain of the Life-guard in waiting. Above two hundred coaches of the Nobility and Gentry, all with ſix horſes, preceded the King's. When he came to *St. Margaret's Hill* in *Southwark*, he was met by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, Sheriffs, and Officers of the City of *London*; in whoſe name Sir *Peter King*, Recorder, made a congratulatory ſpeech. The Lord-Mayor delivered the ſword to the King, who returned it to him, and he bore it in the proceſſion bare-headed. The Royal pomp continued till his arrival at his palace of *St. James's*, and was favoured by as fair a day as was ever known in that ſeaſon of the year.

The Court was extremely numerous the next day, when, beſides the *Britiſh* Nobility and Gentry, ſeveral foreign Miniſters made their appearance; particularly thoſe of *France* (2), *Poland*, *Pruſſia*, and *Sicily*, took that occaſion to congratulate his Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, and ſafe arrival in *England* (3). 1714.

Before we proceed to the events of this Reign, it will be proper to give a general idea of the ſtate of affairs in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. *Situation of affairs at King George's Accession.*

The animoſity between the ſeveral parties, which even at this day divide *England*, was, at King *George*'s Acceſſion, higher than ever. The Whigs, who had been in diſgrace the four laſt years of the Queen's Reign, were full of reſentment at the uſage they had received from the Tories, and hoped to have full ſatisfaction under the new Reign, which they looked upon as the end of their humiliation. The Tories, on their part, were extremely apprehenſive of a downfall, and this apprehenſion had engaged ſeveral of their Leaders in practices not only dangerous, but directly contrary to the meaſures, the Nation had taken with the two laſt Sovereigns and the Houſe of *Hanover*. To the views of theſe men were aſcribed the late peace with *France*, and the violence offered by the Queen to her Allies, to compel them to a reconciliation with that Crown, and to the ſacrifice of the fruits of their victories.

Moreover, the principles of the Revolution had been far from being univerſally embraced. Not only the Papiſts eſpouſed the abdicated family, but alſo great numbers of Churchmen; and it was much to be feared, that they would join with the Catholicks to dethrone a Prince, whom they looked upon as a Foreigner. The famous diſtinction of a King *de jure*, and a King *de facto*, was not yet forgot, nor the doctrine of paſſive obedience; and ſeveral refuſed to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

Scotland was generally diſſatisfied with the Union. They were apt to conſider themſelves as

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(1) The Duke of *Marlborough*, having been detained a fortnight at *Oſtend* by contrary winds, happened to land at *Dover*, the day the Queen died. He knew nothing of the Queen's death, no more than the Mayor and Jurats of *Dover*, by whom he was received in their formalities with the acclamations of the people, and with a diſcharge of a great number of guns from the plat-form, but none from the caſtle, which are uſed only in royal ſalutes. The reaſon of his coming at that time is not known for certain. He had been invited firſt by the Lord-Treaſurer *Harley*, and afterwards by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, and great promiſes were made him. The compliment went ſo far, that orders were ſaid to be ſent to the Commanders of the caſtles and forts on the coaſts of *Kent*, *Eſſex*, and *Suffolk*, to pay the ſame honours, by the firing of guns wherever he landed, as was done when he returned in triumph from his glorious campaigns. But it ſeems this ceremony was ſoon after countermanded by an expreſs. However, the Duke conſented to make a kind of public entry. About two hundred inhabitants of *Southwark*, with their Member at their head, reſolved to meet and attend him through the Burrough. He was likewiſe attended as he paſſed through the City with the like number on horſeback. His coach happened to break down at *Temple-bar*, and he was forced to go into another. He was cenſured by his enemies for this conduct, as if it was a ſort of inſult on the Queen, who was but juſt dead.

(2) *Ibberville* the *French* Envoy ſaid on this occaſion, 'That, as ſoon as his Majeſty's leiſure would permit, he would deſire an audience, to repeat to him the aſſurances, the Marquiſs *de Chateauneuf* had given his Majeſty at the *Hague*, on the part of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.'

(3) An accident happened this day, which interrupted a little the gay humour the Court was in. *Charles Aldworth*, Member of Parliament for *Windſor*, had imbibed, at *St. Germain's* in *France*, ſtrong prejudices againſt the *Hanover* Succeſſion, which, at his return to *England*, he made no ſcruple of publiſhing, and confirmed them by frequent drinking the Pretender's health. This drew upon him ſeveral quarrels, in which he met with ſome diſgraces; and, in the latter end of the Queen's Reign, he ſet ſo great value on that merit of his, that he thought himſelf not ſufficiently taken notice of, which made him a little intractable. He took liberties in railing at the old Miniſtry; and, to ingratiate himſelf with their Succeſſors, charged it as a crime in Colonel *Chudleigh* of the foot-guards, that he had drank the Duke of *Marlborough*'s health. Colonel *Chudleigh*, the Couſin of the other Colonel, meeting unexpectedly Mr. *Aldworth* in the Preſence-chamber at *St. James's*, expoſtulated with him about it; and, ſome By-ſtanders expreſſing their ſurprize, that men, who had publickly drank the Pretender's health, ſhould dare to appear in that place, Mr. *Aldworth* came to hard words with Colonel *Chudleigh*, and challenged him; upon which they both went out, and fought in *Mary-bone-Fields*, notwithſtanding Colonel *Biſſet*'s endeavours to prevent it. Mr. *Aldworth* was killed on the ſpot; and the King, being told of it, expreſſed his indignation at people's quarrelling in his Palace; but ſaid, that, as he came to maintain the laws, he would leave the matter wholly to their deciſion.

1714. as degraded to a province of *England*. They had always been pleaſed with the title of an independent Kingdom, heartily lamented the loſs of it, and as heartily wiſhed to recover it. That the *Scots* ſhould, at King *George*'s Acceſſion, be in theſe ſentiments, is no great wonder, ſince it requires ages to root out of the minds of a Nation ſuch ſort of impreſſions, however ill-grounded. Accordingly, the *Scots* began to ſhew their diſcontent ſoon after the Queen's death, of which there is the following account: The Regency having iſſued a proclamation for a reward of 100,000 *l.* for ſeizing the Pretender, they were informed that the Pretender's friends in *Scotland* deſigned an inſurrection; and that ſome of them had been ſeen to go in arms towards the *Highlands*; upon which they ordered a good number of half-pay Officers, eſpecially of thoſe belonging to the *Scots* regiments, to go thither immediately, that, in caſe of neceſſity, they might raiſe the militia of the country, under the orders of Major-General *Whetham*, who commanded in chief there. Though this precaution was neceſſary, yet the *Scots* Jacobites were ſo confounded, that they could do nothing conſiderable; ſo that the chief of them only held ſome conſultations, and retired to their lurking places. Some of the *Highlanders* appeared in a body near *Fort William* at *Inverlochy*, in the weſtern *Highlands*. But, the Governor ſending out a detachment againſt them, they marched off; ſo that they could do nothing at that time in *Scotland*, but only ſteal ſome cattle, and took an opportunity by night to proclaim the Pretender. The Government ordered them to be proſecuted; and, by way of prevention, the Duke of *Gordon* was confined by the Regency to the City of *Edinburgh*, on his parole; his ſon, the Marquiſs of *Huntley*, to his houſe in the North; and his ſon-in-law, the Lord *Drummond*, to his Caſtle of that name. The Duke of *Athol*, Lord Privy-Seal, who had cauſed the King to be proclaimed at *Perth*, was ordered to continue at his Caſtle of *Blair* in the *Highlands*, to preſerve the peace of the neighbourhood: And the Regency being informed, that the *Highlanders* had appointed huntings, when it is uſual for the *Clans* to attend their Chiefs, they forbad thoſe huntings, and ordered Sir *Donald Macdonald* of *Slait*, one of thoſe Chiefs, ſuſpected to be in the Pretender's intereſt, to be made priſoner, and ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The Lord *Drummond* was alſo ordered to be ſeized, but eſcaped to the *Highlands*, from whence he wrote to the Lords Juſtices, and offered bail for his good behaviour. The Earl of *Broadalbin*, who had ſufficiently declared himſelf for the Pretender, tho' he had abjured him when he ſate as one of the ſixteen *Scots* Peers, thought fit to retire to an inacceſſible Caſtle in a lake; upon which a detachment of foot was ordered to guard the avenues; and Captain *Campbel* of *Glendoroul*, who had a Commiſſion by the Earl of *Oxford*'s means, to raiſe an Independent Company in the *Highlands*, was taken at *Inverlochy*, and from thence ſent priſoner to *Edinburgh*. The late Lord-Treaſurer had, a little before, ſet up a new *Chamberlain*'s Court in *Scotland*, the old one having been long diſcontinued, becauſe arbitrary Princes had made it a grievance to the ſubject. The deſign of reviving it now was only for a cover to beſtow money upon ſuch, as were in the Court-meaſures.

Commotions in Scotland.

Accordingly, the Earl of *Mar*, who managed the affairs of *Scotland*, recommended his own brother-in-law, Sir *Hugh Paterſon* of *Banockburn*, and the Lord *Haddo*, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of *Aberdeen*, to be two of the Commiſſioners, to whom the Queen had granted a bill of 1000 *l.* each, payable by Mr. *Douglaſs*, Receiver-General of the land-tax. The Lord Viſcount *Kilſyth*, one of the ſixteen *Scots* Peers, and the Lord *Lyon*, King at Arms, two other relations to the Earl of *Mar*, had alſo grants for the like ſum. Soon after the Queen's death, Sir *Hugh Paterſon* demanded payment of his bill; but the Earl of *Ilay*, Lord Juſtice-General of *Scotland*, interpoſed, and acquainted the Regents, how unreaſonable a thing this was; and particularly that men, ſuſpected of diſaffection to his Majeſty's Government, ſhould have the public money diſtributed among them. Upon this the Lords Regents ordered the Duke of *Athol*, Lord Privy-Seal, to put an immediate ſtop to all grants, that were not paſſed before the Queen's death; which diſappointed thoſe Gentlemen of their money, and ſaved 4000 *l.* to the Government. 1714.

When the King was proclaimed at *Glaſgow*, forty or fifty unknown perſons, while the Magiſtrates were buſy in attending the proclamation, took an opportunity to pull down the Epiſcopal Meeting-Houſe there, where one Mr. *Cockburn* had ſet up the *Engliſh* Liturgy, by countenance of the late Government, more to diſguſt the Citizens, than in hopes of gaining Proſelytes. As ſoon as the Magiſtrates heard of it, they ſent to apprehend the actors, and to prevent the pulling down the Houſe; but they had done their work, and made their eſcape, before the Magiſtrates came thither; ſo that none of them were diſcovered or taken. The Jacobite party took occaſion from hence to reflect upon the Preſbyterians, as if they had perſecuted thoſe of the Church of *England*, and inſerted an account of it in the *Poſt-Boy*, with all the aggravating circumſtances, that their malice and invention could ſuggeſt. Complaint was likewiſe made of it to the Regency, who ordered the Lord Advocate of *Scotland* to inquire into it. There was found good reaſon to ſuſpect, that the thing was done on purpoſe by the diſaffected party, to raiſe a clamour; becauſe Mr. *Cockburn*, the day before, had retired with his family and effects to *Edinburgh*, though the Magiſtrates of *Glaſgow* had given him aſſurance of protection. This account being taken upon oath by the Magiſtrates, and ſent up to the Regency, put an end to that matter. Thus ſtood affairs in *Scotland*, at the time of King *George*'s Acceſſion.

As for *Ireland*, the chief thing to be dreaded there was the great number of Papiſts, who are ever ready to throw off the yoke of the *Engliſh*. A little more conduct in King *James* II, and a little more aſſiſtance from *France*, would have endangered that Kingdom. And, at the time of the Queen's death, Popery was in much the ſame ſituation.

Indeed there ſeemed to be no danger from any foreign power. *Holland* would not fail to fulfil all engagements: The King of himſelf was powerful: He had on foot a good number of troops, which, without obſtacle, could have been embarked in his own Dominions. But, after all, *Lewis* XIV. was ſtill alive: It could

1714. not be doubted, but that it was againſt his will that he had acknowledged the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and promiſed not to diſturb it. He was aſſuredly in the ſame ſentiments ſtill, and perhaps thought himſelf more obliged to keep his word with King *James*, on his death-bed, never to forſake his ſon, than the engagements, the neceſſity of a peace had forced him into. It may be, what he would not do directly, he might do indirectly; With money, may not troops, arms and ſhips ſoon be had? It will be ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory, that, without any aid, the *Engliſh* and *Scots* raiſed ſuch an inſurrection, as cauſed great diſturbances; and what would they have done, had they been aſſiſted! In vain would the King have depended on his own troops; they could not be brought over without the conſent of the Parliament, and the *Engliſh* are too jealous of their liberty, to ſuffer any foreign forces, and it is with ſome ſort of regret, that they bear even thoſe of the *States*.

Such was the ſituation of the *Britiſh* Dominions and of *Europe*, when King *George* came to the Throne; and therefore it is no wonder, that, upon his arrival in *England*, his firſt proceedings expreſſed a diſlike of the Tories and the late Miniſtry, and ſhewed his attachment to the Whigs. The perſons, he had named for the Regency, were a plain proof what the friends of the late Miniſtry were to expect. He had, even before his arrival, removed the Lord *Bolingbroke* (1), and appointed the Lord *Townſhend* Secretary of State in his room. The day after his landing at *Greenwich*, he ſent the new Secretary to acquaint the Duke of *Ormond*, that he had no longer occaſion for his ſervice as Captain-General, but would be glad to ſee him at Court.

Theſe changes were followed by many others: The Duke of *Marlborough* was made Captain-General of the land-forces, Colonel of the firſt regiment of Foot-guards, and Maſter of the Ordnance. The Lord *Cowper* was made Lord-Chancellor, the Earl of *Wharton* Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Sunderland* Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Duke of *Devonſhire* was appointed Steward of the Houſhold in the room of Earl *Paulet*, and Mr. *James Stanhope* Secretary of State in the room of Mr. *Bromley*, and the Duke of *Montroſe* in the room of the Earl of *Mar*. The Duke of *Somerſet* was made Maſter of the Horſe, the Duke of *St. Albans* Captain of the Band of Penſioners, and the Duke of *Argyle* Commander in Chief of the forces in *Scotland*. Mr. *William Pulteney* was made Secretary of War, and Mr. *Robert Walpole* Receiver and Pay-maſter-General of all the guards and garriſons, and all other forces of *Great-Britain*, and Pay-maſter to *Chelſea* Hoſpital, in the room of Mr. *How* and Mr. *Moore*. The Privy-Council was diſſolved, and a new one declared, of which the Earl of *Nottingham* was Preſident (2). Out of the Privy-Counſellors a Cabinet-Council was formed, conſiſting chiefly of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Sunderland*, the Lords *Hallifax*, *Townſhend*, *Sommers*, and General *Stanhope*. All theſe had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their profeſſed oppoſition to the late meaſures, and the peace. 1714.

The Governors of places were alſo moſt of them changed. General *Erle* was made Governor of *Portſmouth*. There were as many alterations in *Ireland* as in *England*. Before the King's arrival, the behaviour of Sir *Conſtantine Phipps* had been ſuch, that the Regency had removed him, as well as the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, from being Lords-Juſtices of that Kingdom, and in their room appointed the Archbiſhop of *Dublin* and the Earl of *Kildare*, for which they had the King's letter of approbation and thanks (3). *Alan Broderick* was made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and *William Whitſhed* Chief-Juſtice. The Privy-Council was alſo diſſolved, and another named, of which the Duke of *Ormond* was one (4).

All theſe changes were made before the Coronation, which was fixed to the 20th of *October*. The King is by ſome blamed, for not having joined to the great number of Whigs a few more of the Tories, which they ſuppoſe would have prevented the general diſcontent of that party. But it was very difficult for the King not to do as he did. The inclination which the Pretender had indiſcreetly aſſerted, the Queen had for him in the latter years of her life *, could be aſcribed only to thoſe who had the management of affairs. The Miniſtry, reſolutely bent to end the war, notwithſtanding the complaints of all the Allies (who placed their ſafety in the humbling of *France*) and particularly, notwithſtanding the repeated oppoſition of the Duke of *Hanover*, they could not but be ſenſible, that, if he one day became their Maſter,

* See p. 378.

(1) Shortly after the King's arrival, a meſſage having been ſent to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, in the country, for his coming to town, to be preſent at the taking off the Seals that had been put on his Office; he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, 'The ſame might as well be done by one of his Secretaries; but, if he could be ſo happy as to have the honour to kiſs the King's hand, he would fly to throw himſelf at his Majeſty's feet.'

(2) The reſt were: The Prince of *Wales*, Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, the Dukes of *Shrewſbury*, *Devonſhire*, *Somerſet*, *Bolton*, *Marlborough*, *Argyle*, *Montroſe*, *Roxburgh*, *Kent*, Marquiſs of *Lindſey* Lord Great-Chamberlain, the Earls of *Wharton* Privy-Seal, *Pembroke*, *Suffolk*, *Sunderland*, *Angleſea*, *Carliſle*, *Abington*, *Scarborough*, *Orford*, Viſcount *Townſhend*, Biſhop of *London*, the Lords *Sommers* and *Hallifax*, *Thomas Coke* Vice-Chamberlain, *James Stanhope* Secretary of State, Sir *Thomas Parker* Chief-Juſtice, *Thomas Erle* Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and *Robert Walpole* Pay-maſter General.

(3) On the 14th of *Sept.* the Regency had advice from *Dublin*, that, upon the removal of Sir *Conſtantine Phipps*, and the Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, from being Lords-Juſtices of *Ireland*, there was an univerſal joy among all the friends of his Majeſty's Succeſſion; and that ſome of the populace, who were filled with reſentment againſt Sir *Conſtantine*, went to his houſe, in order to inſult him; but he had beforehand retired to the Caſtle.

(4) Some time after the following creations were made in *Ireland:*

George Cholmondeley, Eſq; Baron *Newburgh*.
Alan Broderick, Eſq; Baron *Broderick*.
Sir *George St. George*, Baron *St. George*.
Sir *Arthur Cole*, Baron *Ranelagh*.
Sir *John Percival*, Baron *Percival*.
Richard Fitz-Patrick, Eſq; Baron *Geran*.
George Evans, Eſq; Baron *Carbery*.

1714. Maſter, he would not fail to ſacrifice them to his own, and the reſentment of the Allies, whoſe projects they had diſappointed, and whoſe hopes they had confounded. It was therefore natural to think, they had taken meaſures to prevent any danger from him. A thouſand circumſtances ſupported theſe conjectures: The dowry paid to King *James*'s Queen: The ſmall reward offered for taking the Pretender: The conniving at the liſting of men in his ſervice: The ſuffering the *Revolution* to be publickly talked and preached againſt, and doctrines to be vented, deſtructive of the principles on which it was built: The little care to have an eye to *Scotland*, to redreſs the grievances complained of by that Nation, and which were capable of driving them to extremities: *England* unprovided of troops, as well as *Scotland* and *Ireland*, whilſt under frivolous pretences ſeveral regiments were kept in *Flanders*: All this amounted to a ſort of demonſtration, that the Queen's death alone had prevented the defeating of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and the deſtroying all that had been done for above twenty years to ſecure and juſtify the excluſion of King *James* and his pretended Heir. Now can there be to a Prince attacked in ſo important a point, any room for pardon or diſſimulation?

Beſides, there was a kind of neceſſity to eſpouſe one of the two parties, who had by turns prevailed under King *William* and Queen *Anne*. By that means he would be freed from the continual trouble of managing and keeping the balance even between them, and perhaps from the danger of having both turn againſt him. The Whigs were really enemies of *France* and the Pretender, and could not be otherwiſe; they had conſtantly declared for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and though, in ſome of their proceedings, the ſpirit of party no leſs appeared than a true zeal, yet they might be depended upon. 1714. To the Whigs the Court of *Hanover* was indebted, for obliging the *French* King and the Duke of *Lorrain* not to ſuffer the Pretender in their Dominions, and for the advices of what was contriving againſt the intereſts of the Proteſtant Succeſſor. This being the caſe, there was no room to deliberate which party to chuſe. King *William*, accuſtomed from his youth to diſſimulation, might have deliberated, or ſeemed to have done ſo: But the Elector of *Hanover*, abſolute Maſter in his *German* Dominions, and conſequently unuſed to faction and party, was hardly capable of that diſſimulation, ſo requiſite in a Government like that of *England*.

Notwithſtanding all the changes and the diſgrace of ſo many perſons, no ill effects followed. Addreſſes from the Univerſities, the Counties, Cities, Burroughs and Corporations, expreſſed the public joy and ſatisfaction at the King's Acceſſion, though in a very different ſtile; for ſome inſinuated that the Proteſtant Succeſſion had not been in danger, whilſt others ſpoke of the late Miniſtry in very ſevere terms, and mentioned the utmoſt dread of their meaſures (1).

The King's declaration in Council. Sept. 22.

The firſt time the King was preſent at the Privy-Council, after he had taken the oath relating to the ſecurity of the Church of *Scotland*, he made the following declaration:

'Having, in my anſwers to addreſſes of both Houſes of Parliament, fully expreſſed my reſolution to defend the religious and civil rights of all my ſubjects, there remains very little for me to ſay upon this occaſion.

Yet having been willing to omit no opportunity of giving all poſſible aſſurances to a people, who have already deſerved ſo well of me; I take this occaſion alſo to expreſs to you my firm purpoſe, to do all that is in my power for

(1) The addreſs of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, after condoling the Queen's death, and congratulating the King's Acceſſion, proceeds as follows:

'It would be unpardonable folly and downright infatuation, if any of your Majeſty's Proteſtant ſubjects ſhould turn their eyes to a Popiſh Pretender, who can never reign over us but to the certain loſs of every thing, that ought to be dear to us, either as we are *Britons* or Proteſtants. But then your Majeſty's moſt loyal Univerſity muſt be utterly incapable of a thought, ſo deſtructive to our moſt holy Faith, ſo oppoſite to our happy Conſtitution both in Church and State, ſo full of ingratitude to God, and of injuſtice to your Majeſty, who, by the death of our late Sovereign, hath now alone the rightful and undoubted title to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms, which receives a new luſtre by your Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to it.

Out of a deep ſenſe of theſe things, and in obedience to the juſt and wholeſome laws of the Realm, and in a conſcientious regard to our repeated oaths, we moſt humbly preſume to aſſure your Majeſty, that as our own ſtudies and endeavours ſhall always be employed in the defence of your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon and Government, and your juſt and rightful title to our allegiance againſt the Pretender, and all other your Majeſty's enemies and oppoſers whatſoever; ſo ſhall it be likewiſe our eſpecial care, that all thoſe, who are educated amongſt us, be inſtructed in the ſame true principles of loyalty and duty to your Majeſty.'

The addreſs of the Univerſity of *Oxford* was in a different ſtile:

'The inexpreſſible loſs, we have ſuſtained by the death of our late Sovereign of bleſſed memory, would have been inſupportable, had not God, in his great goodneſs to this Nation, ſupplied it to us by your Majeſty's happy and quiet Acceſſion to the Throne. With the proſpect of this bleſſing we comforted ourſelves, as often as we apprehended that precious life to be in danger; for, knowing the ſincerity of our hearts, we never ſuſpected, that any perſons would be ſo regardleſs of their duty and of their intereſt, as not to ſupport, with the utmoſt zeal, that Succeſſion, to which they were bound by the moſt ſolemn oaths, and on which the preſervation of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, did next, under God, ſo manifeſtly depend. Our expectations, our wiſhes, and our prayers, have been anſwered by that unanimity, with which your ſubjects have recognized your Majeſty's undoubted right, that impatience they have expreſſed to ſee your Royal perſon in the actual poſſeſſion of your Throne, and themſelves happy under the influence of your Government.'

The addreſſes of *Orford* and *Glouceſter* were very remarkable. In the *Orford* addreſs was this paſſage:

'We hope, that the univerſal approbation, with which your Majeſty entered your Reign, will be an happy omen of unanimity among us: All the inſinuations, as if the Proteſtant Succeſſion was in danger, muſt now appear (as they were) groundleſs, and only a contrivance of deſigning men to divide us. We can now have no ſtrife, but who ſhall ſhew the greateſt zeal for your ſacred Majeſty, for our admirable Church and happy Conſtitution, in oppoſition to your Majeſty's enemies, to Popery and Schiſm, and to all Anti-monarchical and Republican principles.'

1714. for the ſupporting and maintaining the Churches of *England* and *Scotland*, as they are ſeverally by law eſtabliſhed; which I am of opinion may be effectually done, without the leaſt impairing the Toleration allowed by law to Proteſtant Diſſenters, ſo agreeable to Chriſtian charity, and ſo neceſſary to the trade and riches of this Kingdom. The good effects of making property ſecure are no where ſo clearly ſeen, and to ſo great a degree, as in this happy Kingdom; and I aſſure you, that there is not any among you ſhall more earneſtly endeavour the preſervation of it than myſelf.'

At the ſame time the Prince Royal was declared *Prince of Wales*, and took his ſeat at the upper end of the Board, at the King's right-hand. Soon after the Treaſury was put in Commiſſion, and alſo the Admiralty. The Commiſſioners of the Treaſury were the Lord *Halifax*, Sir *Richard Onſlow* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Sir *William St. Quintin*, *Edward Wortley Montague*, and *Paul Methuen*. Thoſe of the Admiralty were the Earl of *Orford*, Sir *George Byng*, *George Dodington*, Sir *John Jennings*, Sir *Charles Turner*, *Abraham Stanyan*, and *George Bailie*. *John Aiſlabie* was made Treaſurer of the Navy, and the Earl of *Cholmondeley* was appointed Treaſurer, *Hugh Boſcawen* Comptroller, and *Edmund Dunch* Maſter of the King's Houſhold. Dr. *Samuel Garth* was knighted, who had lately publiſhed a *Latin* Dedication, which he intended to prefix to an edition of *Lucretius* three years before; but it was not then thought ſeaſonable.

The Treaſury and Admiralty put in Commiſſion.

On the 9th of *October*, *N. S.* the two eldeſt Princeſſes of *Great-Britain*, *Anne* and *Amelia*, ſet out from *Hanover*, to go, by eaſy journies, to the *Hague*; the youngeſt Princeſs *Caroline* being left at *Hanover*, on account of a late indiſpoſition. Three days after, the Princeſs of *Wales* ſet out for *Holland*, attended by the Counteſs of *Pickleburgh*; and, on the 17th, arrived at the *Hague*, with the two eldeſt Princeſſes her Daughters. The next morning ſhe received the compliments of the *States-General*, by Deputies nominated for that purpoſe; and, the weather being fair, ſhe appeared in the afternoon in the *Voorhout*, attended by a very numerous train of coaches; and, in the evening, kept a drawing-room, at which all the Ladies and Perſons of diſtinction of that place were preſent. The next day ſhe received viſits from the *French* Ambaſſador, and other foreign Miniſters. The Earl of *Berkeley* and Sir *John Walter* of the Green Cloth were come thither five days before, having left the ſquadron of men of war at *Helvoet-Sluys*, with orders for the yatchts to come up to *Rotterdam*. The Princeſs being informed by the Earl, that the wind was eaſterly, on the 20th of *October*, *N. S.* ſhe went on board a yatcht of the *States* of *Holland*, accompanied by the Earl of *Albemarle*, and the reſt of the Deputies of that Province; by the Count of *Hanau*, and the Counteſs, her Siſter, Prince *William* of *Heſſe*, and the Prince of *Anhault*. The Earl of *Strafford* accompanied her alſo part of her way to *Rotterdam*, where being arrived, ſhe embarked on board the *Mary* yatcht, and with the two Princeſſes and their retinue, landed at *Margate*, *Octob.* 11, *O. S.* and the next evening arrived at *Rocheſter*. The Prince of *Wales*, having early that day received the news of her arrival, ſet out about ſeven o'clock in the morning, accompanied by the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Argyle*, and the Earl of *Bridgewater*, Lord-Chamberlain to their Royal Highneſſes. The Prince met the Princeſs beyond *Rocheſter*, where ſhe was attended by the Counteſſes of *Dorſet* and *Berkeley*, who had been named two of the Ladies of the Bed-chamber. Their Royal Highneſſes paſſed through the City of *London* in a chariot with ſix horſes, followed by another, in which were the two young Princeſſes, and came to *St. James's* on the 13th of *October* (1).

1714.

The day appointed for the Coronation drawing near, the King, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, advanced ſome of the Peers to higher titles, and created ſome new ones (2). Five days after, *Prorogu* Octob. *The Co* the nation, Oct. 2

In that of *Glouceſter* were theſe words:

'Her late Majeſty at laſt by a happy peace (which God continue to us and our children) ſecured your Majeſty's quiet Succeſſion, which ſhe had always at heart, and was careful of through her whole Reign. Your Majeſty ſucceeds in our hearts: No time, no accident, can make us otherwiſe than truly loyal. It is our principle to *obey* your Majeſty *without reſerve*, for we think you *accountable to none upon earth*: And the ſame principles will embolden us unanimouſly to *reſiſt* your Majeſty's enemies, and, with all that is dear to us, to defend your Majeſty's juſt title to the Crown you wear, againſt all perſons whatſoever. And theſe our inclinations and principles we owe to our ſteady adherence to the Eſtabliſhed Church of *England*, the glory of the Reformation, truly Ancient, truly Apoſtolical, for her ſubmiſſion and obedience to Kings and Governors, for her mild behaviour to thoſe, who have formerly torn out her very bowels. No Church upon earth can ſhew ſo antient a Charter, ſo unlimited Obedience, ſo univerſal Charity: No Church can boaſt ſo great a Defender. May your love to each other find no bounds. May it pleaſe your Majeſty, we here ſpeak the ſenſe of all your people, who are truly *loyal*, and are aſſured they are vaſtly more numerous than thoſe, who are but *occaſionally ſo*; and therefore doubt not to ſend your Majeſty Members of Parliament, who are not of thoſe, whoſe principles are to obey no longer than they are pleaſed.'

On the contrary, in the addreſs from *Nottingham*, preſented by their Member Mr. *Plumtree*, it is ſaid:

'With pleaſure we now look back upon our paſt dangers, with joy we ſee thoſe intrigues and ſtratagems diſappointed, which were ſo artfully contrived by ſome ill deſigning men to effect our ruin, and from that dreadful ſtorm which lately threatened us, and which, by divine Providence, and the wiſe conduct of your Majeſty, is blown over, we cannot but addreſs ourſelves to your ſacred Perſon, as our ſecond Great Deliverer, from a ſlaviſh yoke, and a Popiſh Impoſtor.'

In the addreſs from the County of *Hereford* is this paragraph:

'We are the more ſenſible of the ineſtimable bleſſing of your Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, becauſe we had very lately ſo much reaſon to apprehend, we were in danger of being deprived of it, by the deſigns of ambitious men, who, if God had not prevented them, to raiſe themſelves to power and riches, had ſacrificed their country to tyranny and ſuperſtition.'

(1) The Princeſs *Carolina*, who was left behind, did not come to *England* till the 24th of *May*.

(2) Letters patents, *Octob.* 15, paſſed the Great Seal, creating

James, Lord *Chandos*, Earl of *Caernarvon*.

Lewis, Lord *Rockingham*, Baron of *Throwley* in the County of *Kent*, Viſcount *Sondes* of *Lees Court*

1714. the Coronation was performed at *Weſtminſter* with great magnificence (1). There never was ſo great an appearance of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as on this occaſion, no leſs than ſeventeen Archbiſhops and Biſhops, though two Sees were then vacant; all the Dukes in or about *London*, except the Duke of *Buckingham*; ſeventy Earls and Viſcounts, and amongſt them the Earl of *Oxford* and Viſcount *Bolingbroke*; and as many Barons. The demonſtrations of joy throughout the Kingdom on the Coronation-day ſeemed to be general, and were in proportion as ſplendid as at *London*, ſome few places excepted, where the rabble ſhewed their hatred to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, by riots and outrages (2). The Univerſity of *Oxford* (who, the day before, had preſented to the King by Dr. *Gardiner*, their Vice-Chancellor, a book of verſes on the death of Queen *Anne*, and the Acceſſion of his Majeſty to the Throne) on the Coronation-day, conferred unanimouſly, in a full Convocation, the degree of Doctor of Civil Law on Sir *Conſtantine Phipps*, with all imaginable marks of honour and eſteem. 1714. Phipps *made Dr. of Laws at* Oxford.

The firſt, affair the King turned his thoughts to, was the execution of an article of the treaty of *The affair of* Dunkirk.

Court in the ſame County, and Earl of *Rockingham*.

Charles, Lord *Oſſulſton*, Earl of *Tankerville*.

Charles, Lord *Hallifax*, Viſcount *Sunbury* in the County of *Middleſex*, and Earl of *Hallifax*.

Heneage, Lord *Guernſey*, Earl of *Aylesford* in the County of *Kent*.

John, Lord *Harvey*, Earl of *Briſtol*.

Thomas, Lord *Pelham*, Viſcount *Houghton* in the County of *Nottingham*, and Earl of *Clare*.

Henry, Earl of *Thomond* in *Ireland*, Viſcount *Tadcaſter* in the County of *York*.

James, Viſcount *Caſtleton* in *Ireland*, Baron *Sanderſon* of *Sexby* in the County of *Lincoln*.

Bennet, Lord *Sherard* in *Ireland*, Baron of *Harborough* in the County of *Leiceſter*.

Gervaſe, Lord *Pierrepoint* in *Ireland*, Baron *Pierrepoint* of *Hanſlop* in the County of *Bucks*.

Henry Boyle, Baron of *Carleton* in the County of *York*.

Sir *Richard Temple*, Baron of *Cobham* in the County of *Kent*.

Henry, Lord *Paget*, Earl of *Uxbridge*.

The ſame day the King appointed Lieutenant-General *Cadogan* to be Colonel of the ſecond regiment of Foot-guards, in the room of General *Churchill*. The Dukes of *Bolton* and *Rutland*, and the Earls of *Dorſet* and *Hallifax*, were made Knights of the Garter. The Lord *Cobham* was appointed Envoy to the Court of *Vienna*, and the Earl of *Stair* Ambaſſador to the Court of *France*. The Dukes of *Richmond*, *Grafton*, and *Kent*, the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Dorſet*, *Mancheſter*, *Berkeley*, *Selkirk*, *Stair*, and *Orrery*, and the Lord *Carteret*, were appointed Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber; and Mr. *Howard*, Brigadier *Dormer*, Brigadier *Breton*, Colonel *Ker*, Colonel *Tyrrel*, Colonel *Fielding*, and Colonel *Cornwal*, Grooms of the Bed-chamber.

(1) The forms were much the ſame as in former Coronations; what was particular in this was as follows:

The proceſſion of the Officers, and then the Peers, from *Weſtminſter-Hall* to the Abbey-Church, being cloſed by two perſons repreſenting the Dukes of *Aquitain* and *Normandy*, the Lords, who bore the *Regalia*, came in turn. The Earl of *Salisbury*, with *St. Edward*'s ſtaff; the Lord Viſcount *Longueville*, with the ſpurs; the Earl of *Dorſet*, with the ſcepter and croſs; the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Pembroke*, and *Lincoln*, with the three ſwords. Then *Garter*'s Deputy, with his coronet between the Uſher of the Black-Rod, and the Lord-Mayor of *London*; then the Lord Great-Chamberlain ſingle; then the Prince of *Wales* in his robes of State of crimſon velvet furred with ermin; his coronet, with precious ſtones, and cap borne by the Earl of *Hertford* on a crimſon velvet-cuſhon, and wearing a cap of crimſon velvet turned up with ermin, by his Majeſty's permiſſion; his train ſupported by *Adolphus Oughton*, and another Groom of his Bed-chamber, aſſiſted by *Henry Killigrew*, Gentleman of his Royal Highneſs's Robes. Then the Earl of *Derby*, with the ſword of State, between the Duke of *Mountague*, Lord High-Conſtable for that day, and the Earl of *Suffolk* and *Bindon*, as Earl-Marſhal of *England*; the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord High-Steward on that occaſion, with the Crown, between the Duke of *Argyle*, bearing the ſcepter with the Dove, and the Duke of *Somerſet* with the orb; the Biſhop of *Salisbury* with the bible, and the Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* with the patten, and the Biſhop of *Bangor* with the chalice. Then the KING in his Royal robes of crimſon velvet, furred with ermin, and bordered with a rich broad gold lace, wearing the collar of the order of *St. George*, and on his head a cap of State of crimſon velvet, turned up with ermin, adorned with a circle of gold, enriched with diamonds, ſupported by the Biſhops of *Durham* and *Bath* and *Wells*, under a canopy borne by the Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*. The Litany was ſung by the Biſhops of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* and *Norwich*, and the Sermon preached by Dr. *William Talbot*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, Father to the late Lord Chancellor. The Biſhop obſerves in his Sermon, 'Queen *Anne* not only paſſed laws for the further eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, but by her Arms, and thoſe of her Allies, had, in human appearance, placed it almoſt out of danger, having, in eight campaigns, ſo glorious in the conduct, and ſo aſtoniſhing in the ſucceſs of them, as not to be paralleled in hiſtory, ſo far reduced the only power, that could interrupt it, that there was little more wanting to have compleated our ſecurity. But whether it was to correct us for ſome ſins, whereby we had provoked God to anger, or to chaſtiſe our confidence, which, it may be, we placed too much in the arm of fleſh; or to convince us, that his Providence, which alone began, ſhould alone have the glory of finiſhing this great work; he was pleaſed to ſuffer us to fall into a condition, from which nothing elſe could have relieved us. Our enemy, who had ſet up a Pretender to this Throne, raiſed from a ſtate of aſking Peace, to a condition of giving Peace and Princes too to *Europe*; our Allies, ſome divided from us, others miſerably disjointed; and we ourſelves not only unguarded, but wretchedly broken into parties and factions at home. The friends of the Pretender thought theſe circumſtances ſo encouraging, that they openly avowed his title in writing and diſcourſe, and his Agents as boldly inliſted ſoldiers to aſſert it with the ſword. And he muſt have been very ſanguine, who, in this view of things, could have thought, that the Pretender, whom our Queen's repeated inſtances could not remove from a ſituation, which her Parliament thought too near us, would not, upon her Majeſty's demiſe, have brought a foreign army to join his friends here, before the Proteſtant Heir, who was at a much greater diſtance, could have arrived, to have maintained his own juſt right, or defended his faithful ſubjects. But when that day was come, that was to put a period to that Royal life, on the continuance of which alone, this threatening danger ſeemed ſuſpended; then was God pleaſed to mix ſo much mercy with the ſtroke, as by his Providence to order it, that the unſettled poſture of affairs abroad would not permit the Pretender's foreign friends to ſend any forces to encourage an inſurrection; and the unreadineſs of his ſurprized abettors here would not permit them to appear in ſuch a manner, as to invite an invaſion; but our King was peaceably proclaimed, to the univerſal joy of his people.'

(2) Dr. *Sacheverel* was at that time at *Sutton*, near *Birmingham* in *Warwickſhire*, where he preached on

1714. of *Utrecht*, the demolition of *Dunkirk*; from whence the trade of *England* and *Holland* had been greatly incommoded during the late wars. Inſtead of executing this article, the *French* King had entirely evaded it; and therefore Mr. *Prior*, who was ſtill Reſident at *Paris*, was ordered to preſent a memorial to him, preſſing the performance of the 9th article of the treaty of *Utrecht* (1). The *French* King, who had uſed the diſtinction of the *letter* and *ſpirit* of treaties to juſtify his non-compliance with the treaty of Partition, adhered to the *letter* of this, and pretended he had fulfilled it in the utmoſt extent (2). His anſwer was not ſatisfactory; *Prior* was recalled, and the Earl of *Stair* ſent in his room, who proſecuted the affair with great vigour. The Court of *France* would not yield, and declared in expreſs terms, *Mardyke* was not *Dunkirk*, and that the treaty of *Utrecht* did not deprive the King of the natural right of a Sovereign, to make what works he ſhould judge proper for the preſervation of his ſubjects. The truth is, the Plenipotentiaries of *Great-Britain* had been too negligent in the affair. In ſtipulating the demolition of *Dunkirk*, it was doubtleſs their intention that another and better harbour ſhould not be made on that coaſt; but then it ſhould have been ſo expreſſed; otherwiſe, in ſuch articles all advantages will be taken by thoſe on whom they are impoſed. 1714.

The ſame fault had been committed in the treaty of Commerce with *Spain*. The advantages obtained in the body of the treaty were all explained away by the ſeparate articles, and the reſult was, that the *Britiſh* goods and merchandizes paid ſeven *per cent.* more than had been paid before. King *George* applied himſelf alſo to redreſs this grievance. *Spain*, in imitation of *France*, adhered to the letter of the treaty, and would not agree that the terms ſhould be explained according to the intentions of the Queen's Plenipotentiaries; and it was not till after much time and pains that this, and ſeveral other difficulties relating to the *Aſſiento* contract, were adjuſted. So true is it, that a good Negotiator is as rare and as uſeful as a great General.

The Barrier Treaty, which was negotiating at *Antwerp* between the Emperor and the *States-General*, and which was of great conſequence to the trade of *England*, drew alſo the attention of the new King. General *Cadogan*, intimate friend of the Duke of *Marlborough*, was ſent as Plenipotentiary.

In

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the *Sunday* before the Coronation; and above two hundred of the *Birmingham* people came ſo far to attend upon him, and the conſequence of it appeared a day or two after. Several of the principal inhabitants of *Birmingham* having reſolved in a ſuitable manner to expreſs their joy on the day of the Coronation, an entertainment was prepared for them at the *Caſtle-Tavern*. When the night came on, a tumultuous rabble got together, broke the windows of the houſe, and forced the company to remove: all the cry was *Sacheverel for ever*; *and down with the Whigs*. If any one in the ſtreet cried, *God bleſs King* George, he was in danger of his life. At *Briſtol* alſo the mob broke the windows of Mr. *Whiting*, the under Sheriff, who had offended them by proſecuting one guilty of perjury. They did the ſame at Mr. *Jeffreys*'s houſe; but fell in a ſtill more furious manner on Mr. *Stevens*'s, which they aſſaulted, entered, and plundered. One Mr. *Thomas*, who perſuaded them to withdraw, was murdered; and ſeveral Gentlemen inſulted, hurt, and abuſed. At *Chippenham* in *Wiltſhire*, the rabble armed with guns, piſtols, and clubs, marched with beat of drum, and abuſed the Juſtices, Gentlemen, and Freemen, who were ſhewing their loyalty in ſolemnizing the King's Coronation. The ſame kind of diſorders were committed at *Norwich* and *Reading*.

(1) The memorial was as follows:

The under-written Plenipotentiary, Miniſter of the King of *Great-Britain*, has orders from the King his Maſter to repreſent to your Majeſty, that, having heard the report of the commiſſaries and ingineers ſent to view the ſtate of the fortifications and port of *Dunkirk*, his Majeſty is very much ſurprized to hear, that notwithſtanding the inſtances and repreſentations made on the part of *Great-Britain*, to preſs the execution of the 9th article of the treaty of peace concluded at *Utrecht*, the ſaid port is ſo little filled up, that there can ſtill to this day as great ſhips as formerly paſs by the old canal, up to the hornwork of the town. So long as that canal remains, it cannot be denied, that there is ſtill at *Dunkirk* a port of one thouſand rods long, and conſequently able to receive many hundred ſhips. The words of the treaty are, *Portus compleatur* (that the haven ſhall be filled up) *Aggeres aut moles diruantur* (that the dykes which form the canal and the moles be deſtroyed.) We appeal even to your Majeſty's ingineers, if the haven be filled up, and if the dykes be deſtroyed? The King his Maſter is very much perſuaded, that your Majeſty, being fully informed of this fact, will give your ſtrict orders, that at laſt that ſhall be accompliſhed, which, according to the words of the treaty, ought to have been done above a year ago. The ſame Miniſter has orders to repreſent to your Majeſty, that the ſurprize of the King his Maſter has been ſtill greater, when he was told, that notwithſtanding the ſaid 9th article, which ſays expreſsly, *Ne dicta Munimenta, Portus, Moles, aut Aggeres denuò unquam reficiantur* (that the ſaid fortifications, port, or the dykes of *Dunkirk* ſhall never be rebuilt) that they are actually at work in making a new port, much larger than the old canal; which, as well as the old haven, goes up to the town of *Dunkirk*; and that the foundation of a ſluice much greater than the former, which ſerved to clean the old haven, is laid.

It cannot be imagined, that your Majeſty will make uſe of the word *Dicta*, which is in that article, to maintain, that, ſince the ſame canal is not reſtored, the ſame materials are not made uſe of, and the ſame baſtions and courtains are not rebuilt, that your Majeſty is at liberty to raiſe new works, and to make a new port better than the former. The *Bona Fides*, which ought to reign in all treaties, and which will be religiouſly obſerved by the King my Maſter, will not admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition.

When ſhips can go into *Dunkirk* by the old canal, which is in the North, or by the new, which is on the Weſt, *Dunkirk* will, in the ſame manner, be a port, and be equally incommodious and dangerous to the commerce of *Great-Britain*.

In either of theſe two caſes the treaty will be equally violated. The King of *Great-Britain* is reſolved, on his ſide, religiouſly to obſerve the treaty of *Utrecht*, and to maintain with your Majeſty an amity ſo ſincere, that he deſires, above all things, to prevent all incidents, that may diſturb that good intelligence. And, as the hopes of ſeeing the intire execution of that 9th article has been to *Great-Britain* the principal motive for accepting the peace of *Utrecht*, he has ordered the under-written Miniſter to make the moſt preſſing inſtances with your Majeſty, that you will pleaſe to give order for the filling up the ſaid canals, *&c.*

(2) His anſwer was as follows:

Purſuant to the 9th article of the treaty of peace concluded at *Utrecht*, the harbour of *Dunkirk*, between the town and the citadel, is intirely filled up. Nevertheleſs, men are ſtill at work, carrying into it the earth, that is produced by the demoliſhing of the Cavaliers of the citadel.

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In the mean time, the behaviour of the Jacobite and High-Church party occaſioned the publiſhing a proclamation for ſuppreſſing of riots and tumults. Seditious libels were with great induſtry diſperſed, jealouſies infuſed into weak minds, and the groundleſs clamour of the danger of the Church revived (1). In *November*, the Dukes of *Marlborough*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Argyle*, the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Sunderland*, the Lord *Townſhend*, the Marquiſs *de Monteleone* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, the Count *de Noſtiz*, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, received, by the mail from *France*, copies of a paper, printed in *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Latin*, ſigned at the top *James R*, and dated at *Plombieres* the 29th of *Auguſt*, 1714, *N. S.* being a kind of manifeſto or declaration of the Pretender, aſſerting his claim to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. He ſays, 'The Revolution ruined the *Engliſh* Monarchy, laid the foundation of a Republican Government, and devolved the Sovereign power on the People.' He obſerves 'That, when he found the treaty of peace was upon the point of being concluded, without any regard to him, he publiſhed, in *April* 1712, his proteſtation againſt it.' He then gives the reaſon of his ſitting ſtill for ſome time paſt, in theſe remarkable words: 'Yet, contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the Princeſs our Siſter (of whoſe good intentions towards us, we could not for ſome time paſt well doubt: And this was the reaſon we then ſat ſtill, expecting the good effects thereof; which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death) we found, that 1714. See p. 379.

The words *Portus compleatur* can never be applied to the old canal, which is very different from the harbour; neither, to be ſure, would the King ever have engaged intirely to deſtroy a canal of a thouſand toiſes in length.

That would have been a work immoderately great, for the only time, men could have been employed therein, would have been at low water.

On the other hand, it would have been altogether needleſs, for the ſea will ſoon carry away what remains of the dykes, that were made.

Theſe dykes and jettes ſink daily, and are waſhed away by the ſea. But it having been lately demanded, on the part of the King of *Great-Britain*, that, to the end they might be carried off the ſooner, the King would cauſe four coupures or outlets to be made therein, his Majeſty gave orders accordingly; and, by means of this new work, the old canal will be ſo choaked up in a few days, that it will be level with the ſtrand, and no ſhipping will be able to enter it. Nay, they will not be able to go up thither, even at high water, but as they do at all other places along the coaſt, quite from *Newport* to *Calais*.

The King has ſeveral times complained of the dilatorineſs on the part of *England*, in point of executing the 9th article of the peace of *Utrecht*. It ought not therefore to be charged upon his Majeſty. This is notorious.

It is well known too, that the fortifications of *Dunkirk* are demoliſhed; and that the harbour is ſo filled up, that it would be impoſſible for the King to make it good again, did not his Majeſty deſign (as he fully does) punctually to perform the treaty.

He has already ſeveral times anſwered the complaints, which for ſome time paſt he has received, about the work he was forced to make, to hinder a great tract of land from being laid under water, which the ruining of the ſluices of *Dunkirk* would have effected. However, he is willing to repeat once more the reaſons he has given for that proceeding.

The waters of the canals of *Furnes*, *La Moere*, *Wynoxberg*, and *Bourbourg*, were diſcharged by the ſluices of *Dunkirk*. This outlet was neceſſary to keep the caſtellanies of *Bourbourg*, *Wynoxberg*, and even ſome part of that of *Furnes*, from being overflowed, which, without it, they muſt infallibly have been. But the King, having promiſed utterly to deſtroy the ſluices of *Dunkirk*, gave his orders for executing the treaty; and, in the mean while, cauſed a repreſentation to be made to the Queen of *Great-Britain*, of the inconveniencies, that would enſue upon this rigorous performance; deſiring, at the ſame time, that ſhe would ſuffer one of the three ſluices, which were to be deſtroyed, to ſtand as it did.

This was denied by that Princeſs. So it became neceſſary to find out ſome other method for diſcharging the water of thoſe four canals.

The *Engliſh* Commiſſaries and Engineers were witneſſes of the ſeveral projects, that were formed for that purpoſe. They were full well acquainted with the deſign of the canal of *Mardyke*, and were of opinion, it was impoſſible to be executed. It is true, it was a very expenſive one; and the King would gladly have ſaved that money, had it pleaſed the Queen of *Great-Britain* to leave one of the ſluices of *Dunkirk* ſtanding, only to diſcharge the waters from the country. But, upon her refuſal, it was abſolutely neceſſary to open this canal, to receive the waters of the four other canals.

Theſe four old canals are navigable, and are together forty-eight toiſes broad; and conſequently the new canal muſt needs have a ſufficient breadth to receive all theſe waters, and diſcharge them into the ſea.

The ſluice alſo muſt neceſſarily be proportionable to the breadth of the canal, and to the quantity of waters it retains; for the point is, to hinder the tides getting into the country, and to keep in the waters of the four old canals at high tides.

The ſeaſon preſſed the finiſhing of that work; and, if the ſame had not been carried on with great diligence, what would not men have apprehended from the diſorder, which the autumn-rains might occaſion?

Theſe are the motives, which obliged the King to cauſe the new canal of *Mardyke* to be opened, and to haſten the accompliſhment of that work. His Majeſty has no deſign, no intention to make a new harbour at *Mardyke*, to build a place there. He has already declared, and once more repeats it, that he is only willing to ſave a country, which would be laid under water, if this was not diſcharged into the ſea.

For the reſt, the King has given good proofs of his *Bona Fides* in the execution of the treaties. His Majeſty has given particular marks thereof to the King of *Great-Britain*. He ſees, with pleaſure, the aſſurances which that Prince renews to him, that he will religiouſly obſerve the treaty of *Utrecht*, and maintain a ſincere friendſhip with him.

In caſe of thoſe happy diſpoſitions, all incidents, capable of diſturbing this good underſtanding, may be eaſily avoided.

The King does not doubt but it will be perfect, when all ſuſpicions on both ſides ſhall be ſincerely cleared up, and all ſuppoſitions baniſhed. It is for this end that his Majeſty is pleaſed to repeat the reaſons contained in this memorial, and that he again orders the Sieur *d'Ibberville*, his Envoy Extraordinary, to give an account thereof to the King of *Great-Britain*. The 2d of *November*, 1714.

(1) Some of theſe libels were, *Stand faſt to the Church*; *Where are our Biſhops now? The Religion of King* George. *No Presbyterian Government. The State-Gameſter*: Or, *The Church of* England's *ſorrowful Lamentation. Æſop in Mourning. The Duke of* Ormond's *Vindication. The Lord* Bolingbroke's *Vindication. No Lord Protector*: Or, *The Duke of* Marlborough's *Deſign defeated*. The Hawkers that cried theſe libels, and ſung ſeditious ballads, were, by Sir *William Humphreys* Lord-Mayor of *London*, taken up and ſent to the Houſe of Correction, for which he had the King's approbation, in a letter from Lord *Townſhend*, Secretary of State.

1714. that our people, instead of taking this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour and true interest of their Country, by doing us and themselves justice, had immediately proclaimed for their King a foreign Prince, to our prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and incontestable laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of Settlement can never abrogate (1).' The persons, who received this declaration, thought it their duty to deliver it into the hands of the Secretaries of State; upon which the Marquis *de Lamberti*, the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Minister, was forbid the Court, because such a thing could not be done at *Plombieres* without the countenance of his Master; and the following message was delivered to him by the Lord *Townshend*: 'That it was inconsistent with his Majesty's honour and dignity, as well as interest, to admit to audience the Minister of a Prince, who, at that very juncture, gave shelter and protection to a Pretender, and an open enemy to his Dominions.' The Marquis transmitted this message to the Duke of *Lorrain*, left *London*, and went to *Oxford*, to wait his Master's answer. This gave just cause of suspicion, that the Pretender and his Friends had formed a party in that University to advance his interest, as it afterwards appeared. The Marquis having received the Duke of *Lorrain*'s answer, dated at *Nancy*, *December* the 6th, 1714, *N. S.* communicated it to the Lord *Townshend*. It was to this effect:

'I believe, Sir, you no ways doubt of my being extremely surprized to hear by the Courier, which came from you, that, when you applied to my Lord *Townshend* to obtain an audience, that Minister made answer, that, since the Chevalier *de St. George* remained still in my Dominions, the King thought fit to forbid you the Court: In case his Majesty should continue in this disagreeable resolution with respect to me, I must submit to his pleasure, and you have nothing else to do, but to return hither as soon as you are able. However, you are first to apply to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and to the King's Ministers, desiring them to lay before his Majesty the unfortunate situation I am in, if, after having been so ready to let the King know the part I take in his Accession to the Crown of *England*, and after having been one of the first to make my compliments, and show my zeal on this occasion, all *Europe* should be acquainted, that his Majesty had some reason to be dissatisfied with me. That I cannot conceive, whence this should proceed, since, as to the Chevalier *de St. George*, the world knows, by what means he came into this Country: That every one is informed of the situation of my territories, which are surrounded and cut through on all sides by *France*: That it is known how I had no share in his coming into my Country: That I neither invited him to come thither, nor could I force him to go away: That lately, upon the death of Queen *Anne*, I knew nothing of his leaving *Bar*, till twelve hours after he was gone from thence; and I knew nothing of his return to *Bar*, till after he was come back, as a traveller, that goes backwards and forwards in an open country, and intermixed with other territories as mine is: As to the manifesto or declaration dated at *Plombieres*, which the Chevalier *de St. George* had got printed, I knew nothing more of it, than that he gave me one after it had been published; but that really I am much concerned to hear from you, that it has been reported, that the same manifestoes have been spread abroad by you, or those of your retinue. I own to you, that I am extremely concerned at this, and that in some sort it seems to be a design to make me uneasy, to give out, that either

(1) *Matthew Tindal*, Dr. of Laws, published at *London*, 1715, in 8*vo*, *Remarks* on this *Declaration*, of both which it will be proper to give the following abstract:

The Pretender maintains, *That the Revolution ruined the* English *Monarchy, laid the foundation of a Republican Government, and devolved the Sovereign power on the People; and that we are exposed to arbitrary power, and become a prey to Foreigners.* This the Pretender, out of his hereditary courage and goodness, would have prevented, and therefore says, *We parted from our ordinary residence, to put ourselves at the head of such of our loyal subjects, as were disposed to defend us and themselves from all foreign Invasion.*

In answer to this, the Author of the *Remarks* observes, that the *European* Monarchies, founded on the *Gothic* Constitutions, were all at first *Elective*.

The Pretender, after having put the Nation in mind how he invaded *Scotland*, and boasted, that the miscarriage of that expedition could not be imputed to him, says, 'That, when he found the treaty of peace was upon the point of being concluded, without any regard to him, he published, *April* 1712, his protestation against it.'

Though the Princes of *Europe* have so often rejected all his pretensions, yet he thinks to cajole them, by saying, 'We hope, that all Christian Princes and Potentates, who are now in peace together, will reflect on the dangerous example here given them, and the formidable effects they are threatened with from such an united force, as that of *England* and *Hanover*; and that they will seriously consider, whether the exorbitant power, that now accrues to the House of *Brunswick*, be consistent with the balance of power they have been fighting for all this last war; and therefore we call on them for their assistance for the recovery of our Dominions, which their interest, as well as honour, engages them to grant us, as far as they are able.' Can any thing be more impolitic, than for this Popish Pretender, in the same declaration, in which he expects, that the Protestants of *Great-Britain* should rely on his word for the preservation of their Religion, to call on all Christian Princes to have no regard to their most solemn engagements, but to violate their faith, by breaking that peace, which they have so lately concluded? And nothing can be more ridiculous than his supposing, that *France*, as well as the rest of *Europe*, are in such immediate danger, by the exorbitant power of the House of *Brunswick*, that they are obliged, if they will preserve themselves, to fall upon it with their united forces. The Pretender, even while he is persuading the people of *Great-Britain* to take up arms against the King, cannot forbear telling them, that, by the Union of *England* and *Hanover*, they have got that balance of power, which all *Europe* has been so long fighting for; and representing their taking up arms as a most desperate attempt, by reason of that most exorbitant power, which, he says, is now in the House of *Brunswick*; and, as if he had a mind wholly to intimidate them, he affirms, that the Elector is a powerful Prince, *supported by a good army of his own people, besides the assistance, which a neighbouring State* (and he might have added the King of *Prussia*) *is obliged to grant him upon demand; and many thousand of Aliens refuged in* England *these thirty years past, who, having their dependence wholly upon him, will be ready to stand by him upon all occasions.*

The Pretender labours to draw his *loving subjects*, as

1714. either I or my ſervants meddled in ſuch an affair.

Theſe are the reaſons, which I have to offer, and which I would have you deſire thoſe Gentlemen to lay before the King, in hopes they will convince his Majeſty of my moſt reſpectful adherence to him, and that his Majeſty will be pleaſed to admit you to an audience.

But if, contrary to my expectation, the King will not grant you an audience, you are to come away, having deſired the Miniſters to let the King know the concern I am under; and that I hope his Majeſty will pleaſe to accept of my good intentions, and the early care I took to ſhew him the inviolable zeal I have for him.'

When the Marquiſs communicated this letter to the King's Miniſters, he, at the ſame time, expreſſed his Maſter's 'deep concern at this unlucky affair, which obſtructed the friendſhip and good underſtanding he had ſo early ſought with his *Britannic* Majeſty, for whom he ever entertained the higheſt eſteem and veneration.' And he likewiſe expreſſed his own particular concern, and the great mortification it was to him, not to be admitted to a Court, which he had ſo great a deſire to be made known to. He was anſwered, 'That it was not out of any prejudice to his perſon, nor even to the perſon of his Maſter, for whom the King had a great eſteem. But that, as affairs ſtood at preſent, though his excuſes were, in ſome meaſure, allowable, yet his Majeſty was the beſt judge of what was conſiſtent with his own honour and dignity; and, as his Majeſty was likewiſe ſenſible of the Duke's readineſs to ſeek and cultivate a friendſhip with his Majeſty, ſo the King wiſhed, that the cauſes, which obſtructed the ſame at preſent, might be ſpeedily removed.' The Marquiſs finding by this anſwer, that his Majeſty inſiſted on the removal of the Pretender from the Dominions of *Lorrain*, before he would admit him to an audience, took his leave of the Lord *Townſhend*, and, on the 13th of *December*, ſet out on his return home. In anſwer to that part of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s letter, wherein he alledges, 'That his territories are ſurrounded and cut through on all ſides by *France*; and that he neither invited the Chevalier *de St. George* thither, nor could force him to go away;' a paper tranſmitted hither by Mr. *Prior*, and delivered to him by the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, was ſaid to be produced to the Marquiſs, whereby his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty declared, 'That he neither did, nor would in any manner concern himſelf with the Chevalier *de St. George*;' which declaration was directly contrary to the Duke of *Lorrain*'s allegation. 1714.

When the Pretender's declaration came firſt into *England*, and was publiſhed in the foreign prints, the Jacobites and Tories inſiſted upon its being a contrivance of the Whigs, to reflect on the memory of the Queen, and to fix an odium upon the High-Church party, becauſe in that declaration he ſaid, *That for ſome time paſt he could not well doubt of his Siſter's good intentions towards him.* But they were much confounded by the Duke of *Lorrain*'s letter, which owned the declaration to be genuine, and that the Pretender himſelf had given him one of them.

About the latter end of *November*, the King advanced the ſalaries of the Chief-Juſtice of the *King's-Bench*, and of the Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*, to the ſame ſum, as was allowed the Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, being 2000 *l.* a year,

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he calls them, into a civil war, by ſhewing them the miſchief of ſuch wars; and therefore ſays, *What can our ſubjects expect but endleſs wars and diviſions, from ſubverting ſo ſacred and fundamental a Conſtitution as that of hereditary right? Which has ſtill prevailed againſt all uſurpations, how ſucceſsful, and how long time ſoever continued; the Government finding ſtill no reſt, till it returned again to its true center.* But if what he calls *ſucceſsful uſurpations* have continued for a long time, and we may add, a much longer than his hereditary right, How can that be the true center of Government? Eſpecially, if, of the nineteen ſucceſſive Kings ſince the Conqueſt, thirteen of them did not come to the Crown by proximity of blood; and there have been more of thoſe few, that did ſo ſucceed, depoſed, than of the many, who did not, who were all of them not only looked on to have a competent authority during their lives, but their proceedings (upon the validity of which moſt of the titles to our eſtates depend) have been eſteemed good in all ages.

He threatens us with other Popiſh Pretenders, and ſays, *How can our ſubjects be ignorant of the juſt pretence of ſo many other Princes, that are before the Houſe of* Hanover, *whoſe right, after us, will be as undoubted as our own; who want neither will nor power to aſſert it in their turns; and to intail a perpetual war upon our Kingdoms, with a civil war in our own bowels, which their diviſions will make unavoidable?* The late Miniſtry muſt have reduced the Nation to a low condition indeed, if they dare not ſtand by their own Settlement of the Crown, leſt it offend the Popiſh Houſe of *Savoy*, or any other Popiſh Pretender. But have not all theſe Popiſh Pretenders owned the right and title, not only of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, but of his Majeſty, and conſequently acknowledged, that the Parliament has a right to diſpoſe of the Crown?

The Pretender ſays, *We ſhall not think ourſelves anſwerable before God and Man for the pernicious conſequences, which this new uſurpation of our Crowns may draw on our Subjects and all Chriſtendom.* Which is in effect ſaying, We have regard to nothing but our own private intereſt; and, for the ſake of that, we care not what pernicious conſequences we draw on theſe Nations and all Chriſtendom. If it be lawful, after the Succeſſion of four Kings or Queens, on pretence of a former indefeaſable title, to diſturb the peace of a Kingdom; it muſt be lawful (ſince no time can deſtroy ſuch a title) after the Succeſſion of four thouſand; and then what Kingdom can promiſe itſelf the leaſt peace or quiet?

Though the Pretender threatens a fatal war, yet he would have thoſe, whom he calls his *loving ſubjects*, think, he has an unſpeakable kindneſs for them; and therefore tells them, *It is not our intereſt alone we are concerned for; our natural and unalterable love for our People is ſuch, that as we could not ſee without grief their blood and treaſure laviſhed in the laſt war, in oppoſition to our undoubted right; ſo we cannot now with leſs ſorrow ſee them expoſed to be ſubjected to an arbitrary power, and become a prey to Foroigners.* If indeed he had *a natural and unalterable love* for theſe Nations, he would, ſince he ſlipped the opportunity of making uſe of the *good intentions of the Princeſs his Siſter*, rather quit his pretenſions, than diſturb the peace, and involve them in endleſs wars: Or, if he had any ſenſe of honour, he would never endeavour to impoſe upon them by notorious falſhoods: And what can be more ſo, than this part of his declaration, which, though dated before the King came over, or had done any one act of Government, yet moſt maliciouſly charges him with deſigning to inſlave the people, and make them become a prey to Foreigners, who, by the laws, of which

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1714. a year, and the ſalaries of the other nine Judges to 1500 *l.* a year (1).

Addreſſes to diſſolve the Union.

About this time addreſſes were ſet on foot in *Scotland*, for diſſolving the Union; and it was alſo propoſed, that none ſhould be elected Members of Parliament there, but ſuch as would promiſe to uſe their endeavours for that purpoſe. Many well-meaning people ſeemed at firſt inclinable to fall in with thoſe meaſures; but when they found, that the Jacobites were the moſt zealous in puſhing this affair, in order to raiſe confuſion and diſcord betwixt the two Nations, they refuſed to concur, and referred their grievances by the Union to be conſidered, when the Nation ſhould be better ſettled. But there was a quite different ſpirit among the High-Church party in *England*, who excited riots and tumults in many parts of the Kingdom, to which they had been encouraged by the Pretender's declaration. To prevent theſe diſorders, a proclamation was publiſhed on the 6th of *December*. 1714.

Religious diſputes were at this time alſo at a great height. Dr. *Samuel Clarke* having, before the Queen's death, publiſhed his Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity, the Lower-Houſe of Convocation had complained of his book, as containing aſſertions contrary to the Catholic Faith. This complaint being laid before the Biſhops, they deſired an extract to be made of ſuch paſſages, as gave greateſt offence, and were moſt liable to cenſure. Accordingly, the Lower-Houſe made an extract, and, having ſent it up to the Biſhops, Dr. *Clarke*, whilſt it was under conſideration, wrote a reply to it, which was preſented to ſome of the Biſhops, but was not laid before the Houſe. After this, there appeared in almoſt the whole Upper-Houſe a great diſpoſition to prevent diſſenſions and diviſions, by coming to a temper in this matter, and Dr. *Clarke*

Diſputes about the Trinity. Complaint againſt Dr. Clarke. June 2.

June 25.

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our King has ſhewn himſelf a moſt religious obſerver, are excluded from all places of truſt and profit?

Did not the Pretender, bred up in the polities of *France*, think every one, that could inſlave a nation, would certainly do it, he would not talk at this rate, nor think to terrify us by ſaying, *The Elector is a powerful Prince, and abſolute in his own country, where he has never met with the leaſt contradiction from his own ſubjects.* It is ſo far true, the Elector never met with the leaſt contradiction from his ſubjects; but then it is as true, he never required any thing of them, but what was for their good; and ſubjects will never think a Prince's power too great, when he is always contriving how to employ it moſt for their ſervice; and thinks his greateſt happineſs conſiſts in making them happy.

The Pretender ſays, *The Elector is a foreigner, ignorant of our laws, cuſtoms, manners, and language*; but for himſelf, *We are the only born* Engliſhman *left of the Royal Family.* Though the Pretender was born in *England*, yet, ſince he was carried into *France* in his cradle, this could not qualify him to underſtand our laws, cuſtoms, and manners; and he, who ſeems to underſtand nothing but the ridiculous trumperies of the *Romiſh* Church, muſt be an utter ſtranger to the laws and cuſtoms of the Nation; nor can he have a notion of any Conſtitution, but one as arbitrary as that of *France*. Merely being born in a country cannot create in a man the leaſt kindneſs for it: The place indeed, where one is bred (uſually the ſame where he is born) and the perſons, with whom he is bred, generally prejudice a man in their favour; and conſequently the Pretender ought to be accounted by the people of *Great-Britain* as much a *Frenchman*, as if he had been born there: And 'tis all grimace and *French* banter to talk of his natural and unalterable love for the *Engliſh*.

Though he would have it thought, that King *George*'s being a foreigner renders him unfit to govern this Nation; yet he will not allow it to be any manner of objection to himſelf, or any other Pretender of the Popiſh line.

Was not King *James* II. born and bred among us, and under the greateſt obligations to the Church of *England*, and bound by the moſt ſolemn engagements to preſerve our laws and religion? And yet that did not hinder him, as ſoon as he got into the Throne, from attempting the ſubverſion of both. And did not we owe the preſervation of both to a foreigner?

Was not the Pretender, though born here, educated among the enemies of our country and religion? Who, from the firſt moment he was capable of underſtanding any thing, could hear nothing from thoſe diſappointed perſons about him, but reviling the *Engliſh* nation. And has not this early averſion been daily improved by the *French*, who bear an hereditary hatred to the *Engliſh*? And can it be thought that the *Italian* Princeſs, who calls herſelf his mother, as well as the Prieſts and Jeſuits (to whoſe intereſt he is intirely devoted) have not uſed all arts to create in him a mortal averſion to thoſe they call heretics and rebels?

Add to this, that his moroſe, ſullen, and revengeful temper makes him apt to receive the worſt impreſſions: So that nature, education, religion (not to mention want of underſtanding) have rendered him, of all mankind, the moſt unfit, notwithſtanding his being born here, to govern Proteſtants and Free-born *Britons*.

Could we ſuppoſe the Pretender, though a Papiſt, no perſecutor of Proteſtants, and with his *French* education no hater of the *Engliſh*; yet, as he muſt be wholly in the power of thoſe foreign popiſh forces, with which he deſigns to invade the Dominions of ſo powerful a King; ſo he could not hinder them, if they got the better, from treating the people with the utmoſt cruelty. All Churchmen then, whether high or low, would, as at the *Iriſh* maſſacre, be involved in one common ruin. Then all that the Nation is worth could not ſatisfy the demands of *France*, for what they had expended in behalf of the abdicated Family. 'In a word, *concludes the Author of the* Remarks, ſince there is no ſcene of cruelty, that even the reading of the Popiſh maſſacres can ſuggeſt, but what the Proteſtants of theſe Nations had reaſon to apprehend, if faithleſs and blood-thirſty men had prevailed; ought we not, every day of our lives, to pour out our thanks to the Father of all mercies, for having ſo wonderfully brought about this great deliverance; and to take the utmoſt care to avoid all ſuch diviſions, as may encourage any more attempts from this Popiſh Pretender? Which nothing can more effectually hinder, than the chuſing ſuch men to repreſent us in the next Parliament, who no ways abetted the execrable deſigns of the late Miniſtry, but are truly and heartily in the intereſt of their King and Country. This, and this only, can put us upon a happy and laſting eſtabliſhment.'

(1) Sir *Peter King*, Recorder of *London*, was appointed Chief-Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, in the room of the Lord *Trevor*; and *Samuel Dodd* was made Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*; Sir *James Montague*, a Baron of that Court, in the room of Serjeant *Baniſter*; Serjeant *Prat*, a Judge of the *King's-Bench*, in the room of Sir *Thomas Powis*; *Nicholas Lechmere*, Sollicitor-General, in the room of Sir *Robert Raymond*; *Spencer Cowper*, Attorney-General; and *John Forteſcue-Aland*, Sollicitor-General to his Royal Highneſs. About the ſame time it was made public, that the Ducheſs of *Bolton*, the Ducheſs of St. *Alban*'s, the Ducheſs of *Mountague*, the Counteſs of *Dorſet*, the Counteſs of *Berkeley*, and the Lady *Cowper*, were made Ladies of the Bed-Chamber to the Princeſs of *Wales*; and Mrs. *Selwyn*, Mrs. *Pollexfen*, Mrs. *Howard*, and Mrs. *Clayton*, Bed-chamber women to her Royal Highneſs.

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Clarke was prevailed upon to lay before them a paper, in order to put an end to the affair (1). Dr. *Clarke* being apprehenſive, that, if his paper ſhould be publiſhed ſeparately without a true account of the proceeding and following circumſtances, it might be liable to be miſunderſtood in ſeveral particulars, cauſed, three days after, an explanation to be delivered to the Biſhop of *London* (2). The ſame day, the Upper-Houſe came to a reſolution to enter the paper and explanation in the acts of the Houſe, to communicate the ſame to the Lower-Houſe, and to proceed no farther upon the extract. But the Lower-Houſe were of a different opinion, and reſolved, that the paper was no recantation of his heretical aſſertions, nor did give ſuch ſatisfaction for the great ſcandal occaſioned by his writings, as ought to put a ſtop to any further examination. 1714.

Thus ſtood the affair at the Queen's death, and, the diſputes about the Trinity increaſing, on the 11th of *December* were publiſhed *directions to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, for the preſerving unity in the Church, and the purity of the Chriſtian Faith, concerning the Holy Trinity; and alſo for preſerving the peace and quiet of the State.*

Theſe directions were:

I. That no Preacher whatſoever, in his Sermon or Lecture, do preſume to deliver any other doctrine concerning the bleſſed Trinity, than what is contained in the holy Scriptures, and is agreeable to the three Creeds, and the thirty-nine Articles of Religion.

II. That, in the explication of this doctrine, they carefully avoid all new terms, and confine themſelves to ſuch ways of expreſſion, as have been commonly uſed in the Church.

III. That care be taken, in this matter, eſpecially to obſerve the fifty-third Canon of this Church, which forbids public oppoſition between Preachers, becauſe (as that Canon expreſſes it) there groweth thereby much offence and diſquietneſs unto the people: And that, above all things, they abſtain from bitter invectives and ſcurrilous language againſt all perſons whatſoever.

IV. That none of the Clergy, in their Sermons and Lectures, preſume to intermeddle in any affairs of State or Government, or the Conſtitution of the Realm, ſave only on ſuch ſpecial feaſts and faſts, as are or ſhall be appointed by public authority; and then no farther than the occaſion of ſuch days ſhall ſtrictly require. Provided always, that nothing in this direction ſhall be underſtood to diſcharge any perſon from preaching in defence of the Regal Supremacy eſtabliſhed by law, as often, and in ſuch manner, as the firſt Canon of the Church doth require.

V. That

It was generally reported and believed, that *Robert Price*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, would be laid aſide upon the demiſe of the Queen, he having always ſhewn an indifference with reſpect to the Proteſtant Succeſſion: But he was continued, and it was thought he owed his continuance to his readineſs to go down to *Briſtol*, with Sir *Littleton Powis* and *Robert Tracy*, two other Judges, and to try thoſe, who had been guilty of the riot there, on the day of the King's Coronation. The cry of theſe rioters was *Sacheverel* and *Ormond*: *Damn all foreign Governments.* On the 27th of *November*, ſeven of the chief rioters were brought to their trials for aſſaulting and plundering Mr. *Stephens*'s houſe, and murdering Mr. *Thomas*. During the trials Mr. *Hart*, a Tobacco-Merchant, who had been made a Juſtice of the Peace by the laſt Miniſtry, behaved himſelf with ſuch inſolence, that he was ordered to quit the Bench. Another reflected ſo ſcandalouſly upon the Grand-Jury, that he was ordered to the bar, and bound over to anſwer for his offence. Six of the priſoners were found guilty of the riot; and one of them, upon whom Mr. *Stephens*'s wearing apparel had been found, was convicted of Felony and Burglary to the value of ten pence only. All the criminals convicted of the riot were fined each twenty nobles only, to be impriſoned three months, and give ſecurity for twelve months for their good behaviour. As the proofs againſt them were plain, a houſe being plundered, and a man murdered by them, it was thought ſurprizing, that not one of them ſuffered capitally for theſe crimes. The Grand Jury for the City and County of *Briſtol* drew up an addreſs to the King, in which they 'returned their unfeigned thanks for his great goodneſs in ſending a ſpecial commiſſion to that City, not only to protect his good ſubjects, but to prevent for the future ſuch riotous aſſemblies, which for theſe four laſt years that before happy place had been expoſed to. And they were ſorry to ſay, that theſe aſſemblies had been encouraged and abetted by ſome of their own Fellow-Citizens, who had from time to time notoriouſly eſpouſed their cauſe, and, as far as in them lay, had ſcreened them from juſtice.'

(1) The paper was as follows:

1. My opinion is, that the Son of God was eternally begotten by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit was likewiſe eternally derived from the Father, by or through the Son, according to the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father.

2. Before my book, intituled, *The Scripture Doctrine*, &c. was publiſhed, I did indeed preach two or three ſermons upon this ſubject; but, ſince the book was publiſhed, I have never preached upon this ſubject: And (becauſe I think it not fair to propoſe particular opinions, where there is not liberty of anſwering) I am willing to promiſe (as indeed I intended) not to preach any more upon this ſubject.

3. I do not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. But if I ſhall fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, upon this ſubject, contrary to the doctrine of the Church of *England*, I do hereby willingly ſubmit myſelf to any ſuch cenſure, as my ſuperiors ſhall think fit to paſs upon me.

4. And whereas it has been confidently reported, That the *Athanaſian Creed*, and the third and fourth petitions in the *Litany*, have been omitted in my church by my direction, I do hereby declare, that the third and fourth petitions in the *Litany* have never been omitted at all, as far as I know; and that the *Athanaſian Creed* was never omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but at early prayers only, for brevity ſake, at the diſcretion of the Curate, and not by my appointment.

5. As to my private converſation, I am not conſcious to myſelf, that I have given any juſt occaſion for thoſe reports which have been ſpread concerning me, with relation to this controverſy.

I am ſorry that what I ſincerely intended for the honour and glory of God, and ſo to explain this great myſtery, as to avoid the hereſies in both extreams, ſhould have given any offence to this ſynod, and particularly to my Lords the Biſhops. I hope my behaviour for the time to come, with relation hereunto, will be ſuch, as to prevent any future complaints againſt me.

(2) The explanation was thus:

Whereas the paper laid before your Lordſhips, on *Friday* laſt, was, through haſte and want of time, not drawn up with ſufficient exactneſs; ſome things therein being

1714. V. That the foregoing directions be alſo obſerved by thoſe, who write any thing concerning the ſaid ſubjects.

VI. Whereas alſo we are credibly informed, that it is the manner of ſome in every Dioceſe, before their Sermon, either to uſe a Collect and the Lord's Prayer, or the Lord's Prayer only (which the fifty-fifth Canon preſcribes as the concluſion of the Prayer, and not the whole Prayer) or at leaſt to leave out our titles, by the ſaid Canon required to be declared and recognized: We do further direct, that you require your Clergy, in their Prayer before Sermon, that they do keep ſtrictly to the form in the ſaid Canon contained, or to the full effect thereof.

VII. And whereas we alſo underſtand, that divers perſons, who are not of the Clergy, have of late preſumed, not only to talk and to diſpute againſt the Chriſtian Faith concerning the bleſſed Trinity, but alſo to write and publiſh books and pamphlets againſt the ſame, and induſtriouſly ſpread them through the Kingdom, contrary to the known laws in that behalf made and enacted, and particularly to one act of Parliament made in the ninth year of King *William* the Third, intitled, *An act for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy and profaneneſs*; we taking all the matters abovementioned into our Royal and ſerious conſideration, and being deſirous to do what in us lies, to put a ſtop to theſe diſorders, do ſtrictly charge and command you, together with all other means ſuitable to your holy profeſſion, to make uſe of your authority according to law, for the ſuppreſſing and reſtraining of all ſuch exorbitant practices. And, for your aſſiſtance, we will give charge to our Judges, and all other Civil Officers, to do their duty herein, in executing the ſaid act, and all other laws, againſt all ſuch perſons as ſhall, by theſe means, give occaſion of ſcandal, diſcord, and diſturbance in our Church and Kingdom.

1714-15. *The Parliament diſſolved, and a new one called.*

On the 5th of *January*, a proclamation was publiſhed for diſſolving the Parliament, and, on the 15th, another was iſſued for calling a new one, in the following terms:

'It having pleaſed Almighty God, by moſt remarkable ſteps of his Providence, to bring us ſafe to the Crown of this Kingdom, notwithſtanding the deſigns of evil men, who ſhewed themſelves diſaffected to our Succeſſion, and who have ſince, with the utmoſt degree of malice, miſrepreſented our firm reſolutions and uniform endeavours to preſerve and defend our moſt excellent Conſtitution both in Church and State, and attempted, by many falſe ſuggeſtions, to render us ſuſpected to our people; we cannot omit, on this occaſion of firſt ſummoning our Parliament of *Great-Britain*, in juſtice to ourſelves, and that the miſcarriages of others may not be imputed to us, at a time, when falſe impreſſions may do the greateſt and irrecoverable hurt, before they can be cleared up, to ſignify to our whole Kingdom, that we were very much concerned, at our Acceſſion to the Crown, to find the public affairs of our Kingdom under the greateſt difficulties, as well in reſpect of our trade, and interruption of our navigation, as of the great debts of our Nation, which, we were ſurprized to obſerve, had been very much increaſed ſince the concluſion of the laſt war. We do not therefore doubt, that, if the enſuing elections ſhould be made by our loving ſubjects with that ſafety and freedom, which by law they are intitled to, and we are firmly reſolved to maintain to them, they will ſend up to Parliament the fitteſt perſons to redreſs the preſent diſorders, and to provide for the peace and happineſs of our Kingdom, and the eaſe of our people for the future; and therein will have a particular regard to ſuch as ſhewed a firmneſs to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, when it was in danger.'

The late Miniſtry foreſeeing, they ſhould be called to an account for their conduct, had frequent conſultations how to avoid the ſtorm; and ſoon after a traiterous libel was publiſhed, under the title of, *Engliſh advice to the freeholders of* Great-Britain. Nothing could be more full of malice and falſhood againſt the King's perſon and family; as well as againſt the Whigs in general, and the preſent Miniſtry; and it was artfully contrived to raiſe diſcontents among the people againſt the Government, and to poſſeſs them with an opinion, that the Church was in danger by his Majeſty's Adminiſtration. It was carefully diſperſed through the Country, and great numbers of them were intercepted in the City

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being not ſo fully expreſſed as they might have been; and others expreſſed in ſuch a manner as may be liable to be miſunderſtood, as not explaining with ſufficient clearneſs and diſtinctneſs my whole thoughts to your Lordſhips upon the ſubject therein contained: And whereas, if my preſent meaning in any part of it, ſhould now be miſunderſtood, I may hereafter be thought not to have fully and ſincerely opened myſelf to your Lordſhips; I do humbly and with all ſubmiſſion beg leave to take this immediate opportunity of repreſenting to your Lordſhips, that I think myſelf indiſpenſably obliged, in conſcience, to lay before your Lordſhips the following explanations of the aforeſaid paper, *viz.*

That whereas I declared in that paper my opinion to be, that 'the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit, *&c.*' I did not mean thereby to retract any thing I had written; but to declare that the opinion ſet forth at large in the book intituled, *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*, and in the Defences of it, is, that *the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehenſible power and will*, &c. Which words, (*the eternal incomprehenſible power and will of the Father*) I deſire may be ſo underſtood, as to ſignify that God the Father alone is, and is to be honoured as being, ἀναίτιος and πανάιτιος, the original of all, himſelf without original.

And whereas I declared I did not 'intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity: But if I ſhould fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, *&c.*' I deſire it may be ſo underſtood, as not to preclude myſelf in point of conſcience from a liberty of making any inoffenſive corrections in my former books, if they ſhall come to another edition: Or from vindicating myſelf from any miſrepreſentations or aſperſions, which may poſſibly hereafter be caſt upon me on the occaſion of this controverſy; but only to ſignify, that I have no preſent intention of writing any new book; and that, if hereafter I ſhall at any time write any thing which your Lordſhips ſhall judge worthy of cenſure, I ſhall readily ſubmit to ſuch cenſure.

(1) They

BRITISH MUSEUM

Gibson pinxit

In the Poſſeſſion of M.rs Clarke.

Impensis J. & P. Knapton Londini

City of *Exeter* (1). Upon which the Government iſſued out a proclamation, promiſing a reward of one thouſand pounds for the diſcovery of the Author of the libel, and five hundred pounds for the diſcovery of the Printer: But to no purpoſe (2).

The ſame day, the miſmanagement of the late Miniſtry, with regard to *Chelſea College*, was made public by order of the Privy-Council; upon which, the Government of that Hoſpital was changed, and Brigadier *Stanwick* appointed Governor (3).

The Earl of *Strafford* being returned to *England*, an order of Council was iſſued, that the Lord *Townſhend* and Mr. *Stanhope*, Secretaries of State, ſhould go to him, and demand the original inſtructions and orders, and all letters he had received from the late Miniſtry, or any foreign Prince or Miniſter, and copies of all inſtructions, of which he had not the originals; and alſo of all letters writ by him to any perſon whatſoever, relating to his Negotiations, from the time of his firſt being at the *Hague*. The Earl delivered them two trunks, which, he ſaid, contained what they deſired; and orders were ſent to ſeal up his papers, that were on ſhip-board, or at the Cuſtom-Houſe.

On the 20th of *January*, the day appointed for a public Thankſgiving for the King's peaceable Acceſſion to the Throne, his Majeſty and their Royal Highneſſes went to *St. Paul's*, where an elegant Sermon was preached by Dr. *Richard Willis* Biſhop of *Gloceſter*.

Mr. *Prior*, who had been deep in the meaſures of the late Miniſtry, was now ordered home, the Earl of *Stair* being arrived at *Paris*, where he had ſeveral Conferences with the Marquiſs *de Torcy*, and preſented memorials about the canal and intended port at *Mardyke*, and ſignified to the Court of *France*, that he had orders not to take any character upon him, till he had a clear and poſitive anſwer to the memorials.

The elections for the new Parliament were now carrying on with great warmth by both parties, but with moſt ſucceſs on the ſide of the Whigs. The Electors in ſome Counties and Cities drew up inſtructions for their Repreſentatives, the moſt remarkable of which were thoſe of the City of *London*, wherein was this paſſage: 'We deſire and expect, that you will inquire by whoſe counſel it was, that, after God had bleſſed the arms of her late Majeſty, and her Allies, with a train of unparalleled ſucceſſes, ſhe was prevailed upon, contrary to the Grand Alliance, and her repeated promiſes from the Throne to both Houſes, to ſend to, or receive managers from *France*, to treat ſeparately of a peace, without the knowledge and conſent of our Allies.' 1714-15.

Elections in Scotland.

In *Scotland* the Tories publiſhed a circular letter, to diſſuade the *Scotch* Lords from voting for the Whigs, or, as they pretended, for the ſixteen Peers, of whom the Duke of *Argyle* had brought a liſt from *England*. But this letter made little impreſſion, and the following Peers were elected, the Dukes of *Roxburgh* and *Montroſe*; the Marquiſſes of *Tweedale*, *Lothian*, and *Annandale*; the Earls of *Sutherland*, *Rothes*, *Buchan*, *Loudon*, *Orkney*, *Stair*, *Bute*, *Deloraine* and *Ilay*; and the Lords *Roſs* and *Belhaven*. All theſe Lords were diſtinguiſhed by their attachment to the Revolution, and had contributed to the Union to the utmoſt of their power. The Marquiſs of *Annandale*, of the antient family of *Johnſtoun*, had openly declared for King *William*, though, ſhortly after indeed, he declared for King *James*. But he repented of that ſtep, and for his faithful ſervices was employed in places of truſt. The Marquiſs of *Lothian* was a great promoter of the Revolution. He had in the reign of King *James* II. married a daughter of the Earl of *Argyle*, beheaded by that Prince, purely out of a principle of honour, and to ſhew his regard for a family unjuſtly perſecuted, a certain proof that he would not favour the deſigns of the Pretender. The Earl of *Sutherland*, known at the time of the Revolution by the name of the Lord *Strathnaver*, was conſtantly attached to King *William*, and had followed him in all his Campaigns in *Flanders*, at the head of a Regiment. He had appeared very zealous for the privileges of the *Scots*; and did not think the Union detrimental thereto. The Earl of *Stair* was already employed by the new Government as well

The ſixteen Peers.

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(1) They were directed to Sir *John Coriton*, Sir *Nicholas Morrice*, *Jonathan Elford*, *Philip Aſhleigh*, *Francis Seabell*, *John Williams*, Eſquires; Mr. *Granville Piper*, Mr. *Welchman*, Mr. *William Cary*, Mr. *Prowſe*, Mr. *Philips*, Mr. *Tonkin*, Mr. *Cannock Kendall*, in *Cornwall*, and to the Rev. Mr. *Shute*, the Reverend Mr. *Hughes*, the Reverend Mr. *Collyer*, and the Reverend Mr. *Bedford*, in the ſame County, and to the Mayor of *Weſtloe*.

(2) This libel was ſuppoſed to be penned by Biſhop *Atterbury*. The ſubſtance of it may be reduced to theſe five heads:

I. A declamation againſt the pretended arts and indirect practices of the Government, in order to procure a Whig Houſe of Commons to be elected.

II. Preſſing motives to the Tories, to whom the Author gives the title of the *Church*, to exert themſelves at this critical juncture to get Churchmen choſen into the enſuing Parliament.

III. Articles of impeachment, or a large charge againſt the Whigs, for intended criminal deſigns againſt the Conſtitution in Church and State; ſuch as aboliſhing Epiſcopacy; repealing the limitations in the act of Settlement, and act for Triennial Parliaments; renewing the war; ſetting up a ſtanding army; and inſlaving the Nation.

IV. Great ſophiſtry and declamation to prove, that the Church was in danger.

V. Invectives againſt the Duke of *Marlborough* and his family; calumnies againſt the Miniſtry, and all the Nobility and Gentry in the King's intereſt; with treaſonable reflections on his Majeſty and the Royal Family.

This libel was anſwered in a pamphlet, intitled, *Treaſon detected*; and another, called, *A Reply to a traiterous libel*, intitled, *Engliſh Advice*, &c.

(3) A new Commiſſion paſſed the Great Seal, appointing Commiſſioners for the Government of that Hoſpital the Lord-Preſident of the Privy-Council, the Captain-General of his Majeſty's forces, the firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, the two principal Secretaries of State for the time being, Lieutenant-General *Earle*, Lieutenant-General *Lumley*, the Secretary of War, the Comptroller of the Army, and the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the ſaid Hoſpital for the time being.

1714-15. well as the Dukes of *Montroſe* and *Roxburgh*, and their attachment to it was not doubted. The only one that ſeemed exceptionable in the liſt was the Lord *Belhaven*. No man had ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Union, and, had his advice been followed, it would never have taken place. But, finding at length all oppoſition in vain, he gave way to the torrent. There was one thing capable of making amends for all his non-compliances, and that was his ſingly oppoſing, in the preſence of the Duke of *York*, the Act of Succeſſion paſſed by a majority of voices in favour of that Prince. He was alſo a good Speaker, which will be always a great recommendation.

The elections for the Houſe of Commons were made with almoſt equal ſucceſs, and the Whigs had the majority. Thus all ſeemed quiet in *Scotland*, though a ſtorm was then gathering there, which broke out in leſs than a year. The deſign was conducted more regularly than in *England*, and was better concealed. It was begun with endeavours for a remonſtrance againſt the Union; and the advice of the moſt famous Lawyers was asked upon it, who declared the Act of Union contained ſeveral nullities, and to be very defective. The oppoſite party, to prevent a remonſtrance ſo diſagreeable to the Court, were forced to conſent there ſhould be no addreſs of congratulation: And that, preſented by the Kirk, had ſuffered great debates about the manner, in which King *William* was mentioned, and had paſſed with much difficulty. The *Highlanders* were ſilent, and declared not themſelves. It was only known, that they were making proviſion of powder and ball (1).

The Parliament meets. Pr. H. C.

On the 17th of *March*, the Parliament of *Great-Britain* met at *Weſtminſter*; and, the Commons proceeding to the choice of a Speaker, the Earl of *Hertford*, ſon to the Duke of *Somerſet*, ſaid, 'That, according to his Majeſty's pleaſure, they were immediately to proceed to the choice of a Speaker: That, in order thereto, they ought, in the firſt place, to conſider, that ſcarce any Parliament ever met in a more critical juncture than this, when matters of the higheſt importance were like to be laid before the Houſe: That therefore they ought to fix their choice upon a perſon of known parts and abilities; and that, in his opinion, none was ever better qualified for ſo great an office than Mr. *Spencer Compton*.' He was ſeconded by the Lord *Finch*, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of *Nottingham*, who inlarged on Mr. *Compton*'s abilities; upon which Mr. *Compton* ſtood up, and modeſtly excuſed himſelf; but, his excuſes not being admitted, he was led to the Chair by the Earl of *Hertford* and Lord *Finch*. The King approved him on the 21ſt of *March*, and then declared from the Throne, he had ordered the Lord-Chancellor to ſhew the cauſes of calling this Parliament. Accordingly, the Lord-Chancellor read to both Houſes the following ſpeech, delivered into his hands by the King:

Mr. Compton choſen Speaker.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"THIS being the firſt opportunity, that I have had of meeting my people in Parliament, ſince it pleaſed Almighty God of his good Providence to call me to the Throne of my Anceſtors, I moſt gladly make uſe of it, to thank my faithful and loving ſubjects for that zeal and firmneſs, that hath been ſhewn in defence of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, againſt all the open and ſecret practices, that have been uſed to defeat it: And I ſhall never forget the obligations I have to thoſe, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves upon this occaſion.

"It were to be wiſhed, that the unparalleled ſucceſſes of a war, which was ſo wiſely and chearfully ſupported by this Nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a ſuitable concluſion. But it is with concern I muſt tell you, that ſome conditions, even of this peace, eſſential to the ſecurity and trade of *Great-Britain*, are not yet duly executed; and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious, until we ſhall have formed defenſive Alliances to guaranty the preſent treaties.

"The Pretender, who ſtill reſides in *Lorrain*, threatens to diſturb us, and boaſts of the aſſiſtance, which he ſtill expects here to repair his former diſappointments.

"A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable. This, if not retrieved, muſt deſtroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

"The public debts are very great, and ſurpriſingly increaſed, even ſince the fatal ceſſation of arms. My firſt care was to prevent a further increaſe of thoſe debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ſhips, which had been kept in pay, when there was no occaſion for continuing ſuch an expence.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I rely upon you for ſuch Supplies, as the preſent circumſtances of our affairs require for this year's ſervice, and for the ſupport of the public faith. The eſtimates ſhall be laid before you, that you may conſider of them; and what you ſhall judge neceſſary for your ſafety, I ſhall think ſufficient for mine.

"I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the ſupport of the credit of the Nation, than a ſtrict obſervance of all Parliamentary engagements.

"The branches of the revenue, formerly granted for the ſupport of the civil Government, are ſo far incumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds, which remain and have been granted to me, will fall much ſhort of what was at firſt deſigned, for maintaining the honour and dignity of the Crown.

"And

(1) The King having given orders for a new Commiſſion of *Chamberlainry*, as they call it in *Scotland*, the following perſons were appointed to be of it: The Marquiſs of *Tweedale*, Lord Preſident; the Earls of *Sutherland*, *Buchan*, *Marchmont*, *Bute*, and *Deloraine*; Mr. *Charles Areskine*, Mr. *Kennedy*, and Mr. *Hadden*. Some time after *Charles Warrender*, of *Lochend*, Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, was created a Baronet.

1714-15. " And ſince it is my happineſs (as I am con-
" fident you think it yours) to ſee a Prince
" of *Wales*, who may, in due time, ſucceed me
" on the Throne, and to ſee him bleſſed with
" many children, the beſt and moſt valuable
" pledges of our care and concern for your
" poſterity; this muſt occaſion an expence, to
" which the Nation has not of many years
" been accuſtomed, but ſuch, as ſurely no man
" will grudge; and therefore I do not doubt,
" but you will think of it with that affection,
" which I have reaſon to hope from you.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The eyes of all *Europe* are upon you,
" waiting the iſſue of this firſt Seſſion. Let
" no unhappy diviſions of parties here at home
" divert you from purſuing the common inte-
" reſt of your Country. Let no wicked inſinua-
" tions diſquiet the minds of my ſubjects. The
" eſtabliſhed Conſtitution in Church and State
" ſhall be the rule of my Government; the
" happineſs, eaſe, and proſperity of my people
" ſhall be the chief care of my life. Thoſe,
" who aſſiſt me in carrying on theſe meaſures,
" I ſhall always eſteem my beſt friends; and I
" doubt not but that I ſhall be able, with your
" aſſiſtance, to diſappoint the deſigns of thoſe,
" who would deprive me of that bleſſing, which
" I moſt value, the affection of my people."

Lords addreſs. The addreſſes of the two Houſes were agreeable to the King's ſpeech. The Lords thanked him for his very affectionate expreſſions towards his people, for his aſſurances, that the eſtabliſhed Conſtitution in Church and State ſhould be the rule of his Government, and for his juſt concern for their not having obtained all the advantages promiſed by ſo ſucceſsful a war; they expreſſed their wonder, that the Pretender ſhould be yet permitted to reſide ſo near his Dominions; and owning themſelves ſenſible, that trade in its moſt valuable branches was rendered impracticable, they added:

'Theſe and other difficulties your Majeſty hath met with on your Acceſſion to the Crown (and which we muſt obſerve, in juſtice to your wiſdom and foreſight, would have been prevented, had your opinion been followed) we muſt confeſs, are very great and diſcouraging. However, we do not doubt, but that your Majeſty, aſſiſted by this Parliament, zealous for your Government, and the ſafety and honour of their Country, may be able to take ſuch further meaſures, as will ſecure what is due to us by treaties, eaſe our debts, preſerve the public credit, reſtore our trade, extinguiſh the very hopes of the Pretender, and recover the reputation of this Kingdom in foreign parts; the loſs of which, we hope to convince the world by our actions, is by no means to be imputed to the Nation in general.'

When the addreſs was read, there aroſe a great debate in the Houſe, chiefly about the laſt expreſſions in the foregoing paragraph. The Lord *Trevor*, the Lord *Bolingbroke*, the Duke of *Bucks*, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Angleſey*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Briſtol*, and ſome other Peers, excepted againſt that clauſe, alledging, among other things, 'That it was injurious to the late Queen's memory, and claſhed with that part of his Majeſty's ſpeech, which recommended to both Houſes the avoiding *the unhappy diviſions of parties*: And that it was unjuſt to condemn perſons, without firſt hearing them.' The Lord *Bolingbroke* in particular was very warm on the ſubject, and moved, that the words *recover*, &c. might be ſoftened into *maintain the reputation of this Kingdom*; and that the reſt of the paragraph might be left out. The Earl of *Strafford* likewiſe excepted againſt the clauſe, becauſe it would expoſe the honour of the Nation abroad, which he was ſure had ſuffered no diminution during his Negotiations. Theſe and other arguments, urged on that ſide, were anſwered by the Marquiſs of *Wharton*, the Lord-Chancellor, the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Aylesford*, the Duke of *Devonſhire*, and other Peers. The Lord Chancellor particularly confuted the objections raiſed by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, ſaying, 'That the addreſs did not condemn any particular perſons, but only the peace in general, becauſe they felt the ill conſequences of it. That they, who adviſed and made ſuch a peace, deſerved indeed to be cenſured; but that, the words in the addreſs being general, no private perſon was affected by them: And that the alteration of the word *recover* into that of *maintain* would ſignify no more towards the *juſtification* of the *guilty*, than the word *recover* towards the *condemnation* of *the innocent*.' After this debate, the addreſs was approved and preſented by the Lords in a body to the King.

The Commons addreſs. The Commons in their addreſs, after having thanked the King for his aſſurances, and expreſſed their ſenſe of the reproach brought upon the Nation by the unſuitable concluſion of the war, added: 'We are under aſtoniſhment to find, that any conditions of the late peace, eſſential to the ſecurity and trade of *Great-Britain*, ſhould not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form ſuch Alliances, as might have rendered that peace not precarious. And as no care ſhall be wanting in your loyal Commons to inquire into theſe fatal miſcarriages; ſo we intirely rely on your Majeſty's wiſdom, to enter into ſuch Alliances, as you ſhall judge neceſſary to preſerve the peace of *Europe*; and we faithfully promiſe to inable your Majeſty to make good all ſuch engagements.

It is with juſt reſentment we obſerve, that the Pretender ſtill reſides in *Lorrain*; and that he has the preſumption, by declarations from thence, to ſtir up your Majeſty's ſubjects to Rebellion. But that, which raiſes the utmoſt indignation of your Commons, is, that it appears therein, that his hopes were built upon the meaſures, that had been taken for ſome time paſt in *Great-Britain*. It ſhall be our buſineſs to trace out thoſe meaſures, whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the Authors of them to condign puniſhment. Then, taking notice of the ill ſituation of trade, they concluded with aſſuring, that they would inable his Majeſty to ſupport the dignity of the Crown, and make an honourable proviſion for the Royal Family.'

Debate in the Houſe of Commons about their addreſs. When this addreſs was reported to the Houſe, it occaſioned a warm debate, like that in the Houſe of Lords on the ſame occaſion. Mr. *Bromley*, Sir *William Wyndham*, General *Roſs*, Mr. *Ceſar*, Mr. *Ward*, Sir *William Whitelocke*, Mr. *Hungerford*, Mr. *Shippen*, and ſome others, raiſed ſeveral objections to it, which were anſwered

1714-15. ſwered by Mr. *Robert Walpole*, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, and Mr. *Pulteney*. General *Roſs* inſiſted, 'That the condemning the Peace, and cenſuring the late Miniſters, was a reflection on the late Queen, whoſe act the Peace was; and that the reflecting on the late Queen could not be agreeable to his preſent Majeſty.' He was anſwered by Mr. *Walpole* and Mr. *Stanhope*, 'That nothing was further from their intentions than to aſperſe the late Queen: That they rather deſigned to vindicate her memory, by expoſing and puniſhing thoſe evil Counſellors, who had deluded her into pernicious meaſures; whereas the oppoſite party endeavoured to ſcreen and juſtify thoſe Counſellors, by throwing on the memory of her late Majeſty all the odium of their evil counſels.' As to what was objected, that the cenſuring the late Miniſters without a hearing, and condemning the Peace without examining into particulars, was unjuſt and unprecedented, it was anſwered, 'That they muſt diſtinguiſh between cenſuring Miniſters, and condemning the peace in general, and condemning particular perſons. That they might, in equity and juſtice, do the firſt, becauſe the whole Nation is ſenſible, that their honour and true intereſt were given up by the late peace. That, in due time, they would call them to an account, who made and adviſed ſuch a peace; but God forbid they ſhould ever condemn any perſon unheard.' On this occaſion Mr. *Stanhope* took notice of a report induſtriouſly ſpread about, 'That the preſent Miniſters never deſigned to call the late Managers to an account, but only to cenſure them in general terms. But he aſſured the Houſe, that notwithſtanding all the endeavours, which had been uſed to prevent a diſcovery of the late miſmanagements, by conveying away ſeveral papers from the Secretaries Offices; yet the Government had ſufficient evidence left, to prove the late Miniſtry the moſt corrupt, that ever ſet at the Helm. That thoſe matters would ſoon be laid before the Houſe; and that it would appear, that a certain *Engliſh* General had acted in concert with, if not received orders from Marſhal *de Villars*.' Sir *William Wyndham* endeavoured to prove, that the peace had been very beneficial to this Kingdom, and offered to produce a liſt of goods, by which it appeared, that the cuſtoms had increaſed near 100,000 *l. per annum*. But he was anſwered by Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, who readily owned, that Sir *William* might indeed produce a liſt of vaſt imports from *France*; but defied him to ſhew, that our exports thither, particularly of our woollen manufactures, had increaſed ſince the peace. He added, that imports, being only our conſumption, rather prove our loſs than our gain; and that the Nation gets only by exports, which keep up our manufactures, employ our poor, and bring in returns of money. Sir *William Wyndham* made no reply; but Sir *William Whitelocke* having ſuggeſted, that the Whigs deſigned to involve the Nation in a new war, and lay ſix ſhillings in the pound, he was anſwered by Mr. *Walpole*, that none in the preſent Miniſtry were for a war, if the ſame could any ways be avoided; and that he doubted not but two ſhillings in the pound would be ſufficient towards this year's ſervice.

After theſe and ſome other ſpeeches, the addreſs was carried by a majority of two hundred and forty-four votes againſt a hundred and thirty-eight. 1715.

The conduct of the Earl of *Oxford* and the Lord *Bolingbroke*, the two chiefs of the late Miniſtry, was at this time very remarkable. The Earl skulked about ſometimes in town, and ſometimes in the country; affecting to appear very unconcerned, profeſſing his innocence, and boaſting what great things he had done for ſecuring the *Hanover* Succeſſion. The other affected to act a more open part, appeared every where, and ſpoke in Parliament with ſuch boldneſs, as if he had not the leaſt ſenſe of guilt, or dread of puniſhment. This was ſaid to be owing to the advice of the Lord *Trevor*, who repreſented to him, 'how much their cauſe would ſuffer, if he, whoſe chief intereſt it was to ſupport it to the laſt, ſhould meanly throw it up, by abſenting himſelf. He aſſured him, no hold could be taken of his perſon till he was impeached; which he could not be, till the papers relating to the part of the Adminiſtration, in which he was concerned, were examined.' However, it was obſerved, that the Earl of *Oxford* ſold out all the ſtock he had in his own name in the *South-Sea* Company; and the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s heart began to fail him, as ſoon as he heard, that Mr. *Prior* was landed at *Dover*, and had promiſed to reveal all he knew; which however he did not make good, though he was favourably received by the King, to whom he was introduced by the Earl of *Dorſet*; and, the ſame day, was entertained at dinner by the Lord *Townſhend*, together with the Duke of *Roxburgh*, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, and the Lord *Lumley*. That evening the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who had the night before appeared at the Play-houſe in *Drury-Lane*, and beſpoke another play for the next night, and ſubſcribed to a new Opera, that was to be acted ſome time after, went off to *Dover* in diſguiſe, as a ſervant to *La Vigne*, one of the *French* King's Meſſengers; and there *William Morgan*, who had been a Captain in Major-General *Holt*'s regiment of Marines, hired a veſſel, and carried him over to *Calais*, where the Governor attended him in a coach, and carried him to his houſe, as appeared by *Morgan*'s examination. The next day after it was publickly known, that he was gone to *France*, there was handed about in writing, and afterwards in print, the following letter, ſaid to be writ by him:

The Miniſters of the Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke. Annal.

Mar. 27.

The Lord Bolingbroke flies in a diſguiſe.

'*My Lord*, *Dover*, *March* 27.

'I left the town ſo abruptly, that I had not time to take leave of you, or any of my friends. You will excuſe me, when you know, that I had certain and repeated informations from ſome, who are in the ſecret of affairs, that a reſolution was taken by thoſe, who have power to execute it, to purſue me to the ſcaffold. My blood was to have been the cement of a new Alliance; nor could my innocence be any ſecurity, after it had been once demanded from abroad, and reſolved on at home, that it was neceſſary to cut me off. Had there been the leaſt reaſon to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard, by the two Houſes of Parliament, I ſhould not have declined the ſtricteſt examination. I challenge the moſt inveterate of my enemies to produce any one inſtance

ſtance of criminal correſpondence, or the leaſt corruption in any part of the Adminiſtation, in which I was concerned. If my zeal for the honour and dignity of my Royal Miſtreſs, and the true intereſt of my Country, has any where tranſported me to let ſlip a warm or unguarded expreſſion, I hope the moſt favourable interpretation will be put upon it. It is a comfort, that will remain with me in all misfortunes, that I ſerved her Majeſty faithfully and dutifully, in that eſpecially, which ſhe had moſt at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expenſive war; and that I have always been too much an *Engliſhman*, to ſacrifice the intereſt of my Country to any foreign Ally whatſoever. And it is for this crime only, that I am now driven from thence.

You will hear more at large from me ſhortly.

Yours, &c.'

Some maintained this letter to be ſuppoſititious, but the generality of the Tories owned it to be true. And it plainly appeared afterwards that he had juſt reaſons to leave the Kingdom.

Notwithſtanding all the demonſtrations of the ill conduct of the late Miniſtry, many of their friends ventured to juſtify them; of which the addreſs from the Corporation of *Wigan*, in *Lancaſhire*, preſented by Sir *Roger Bradſhaigh*, was a remarkable inſtance; in which, after ſtiling the peace of *Utrecht a general, ſolid, and beneficial peace for the people*, they proceed thus: 'We take this opportunity to return our thanks for your Majeſty's gracious aſſurance of protecting the Epiſcopal Church of *England*. This, with your being in full communion with that Church, muſt make you dear to all the members thereof. We cannot but pleaſe ourſelves with the hopes, that, by the eſtabliſhment of your family amongſt us, the favourable conjuncture (which has been ſo long wiſhed for) is now come, to extend the Epiſcopal Government to the Reformed Churches abroad; which, as we believe, is the only foundation poſſible to unite the Chriſtian World upon (if ever it muſt be ſo happy) ſo it muſt render you, above all things, glorious to the whole Reformation, by being the happy inſtrument of ſo univerſal a benefit.'

About this time died Dr. *Gilbert Burnet*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, in the 72d year of his age. He was taken ill of a violent cold, which ſoon turned to a pleuretic fever. He was attended by his friend and relation Dr. *Cheyne*. But the diſtemper growing to a height, which ſeemed to baffle all remedies, the aſſiſtance of Sir *Hans Sloane* and Dr. *Mead* was called for, who quickly found his caſe deſperate. He bore the notice of the danger his life was in, with that calm reſignation which had always ſupported him under the ſevereſt trials. As he preſerved his ſenſes to the laſt, he employed the remnant of life in acts of devotion, and in giving the beſt advice to his family; of whom he took leave, in a manner, that ſhewed the utmoſt tenderneſs, accompanied with the firmeſt conſtancy of mind. And whilſt he was ſo little ſenſible of the terrors of death, as to embrace its approach with joy; he could not but expreſs a concern, for the grief he ſaw it cauſed in others (1). He was ſucceeded by Dr. *Talbot*, Biſhop of *Oxford*, whoſe ſucceſſor was Dr. *John Potter*, Regius Profeſſor, the preſent Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. 1715. *Death of Biſhop Burnet, Mar. 17.*

What precaution ſoever had been taken, about a third part of the Commons were Tories. This appeared as ſoon as the Parliament met. Sir *William Whitelocke*, Member for the Univerſity of *Oxford*, upon a motion in the Houſe of Commons, to take into conſideration the King's proclamation of the 15th of *January*, for calling a new Parliament, made exceptions to the proclamation as unprecedented and unwarrantable; and was called upon by ſome Members to explain himſelf; upon which he made an excuſe for what he had ſaid. Notwithſtanding this, Sir *William Wyndham* roſe up and ſaid, that the proclamation was not only *unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous conſequence to the very being of Parliaments*. He was called upon to juſtify his charge, which he declined, but ſaid, 'That, as he thought ſome expreſſions in the proclamation of dangerous conſequence, ſo he believed every Member was free to ſpeak his thoughts.' He was anſwered by Lord *Finch*, 'That no doubt every Member had that liberty, freedom of ſpeech being one of their *The King's proclamation objected againſt*, Apr. 6. Pr. H. C.

(1) His character was thus drawn by the Marquiſs of *Hallifax*:

'Dr. *Burnet* is like all men, who are above the ordinary level, ſeldom ſpoke of in a mean, he muſt either be railed at or admired; he has a ſwiftneſs of imagination, that no other man comes up to; and as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing, without having too much, he cannot at all times ſo hold in his thoughts, but that at ſome time they may run away with him; as it is hard for a veſſel, that is brim-full, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter, that he ever carries about him, may throw out more, than an unkind critic would allow of. His firſt thoughts may ſometimes require more digeſtion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furniſhes too faſt for him. His friends love him too well, to ſee ſmall faults; or, if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of ſtraying from the ſtrict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of cenſure. He produces ſo faſt, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deſerves an excuſe; he may in ſome things require grains of allowance, which thoſe only can deny him, who are unknown or unjuſt to him. He is not quicker in diſcerning other men's faults, than he is in forgiving them; ſo ready, or rather glad to acknowledge his own, that from blemiſhes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adverſaries have had no other effect, than the ſetting his good-nature in ſo much a better light; ſince his anger never yet went farther than to pity them. That heat, which in moſt other men raiſes ſharpneſs and ſatire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compaſſion for thoſe in want and miſery. As dull men have quick eyes, in diſcerning the ſmaller faults of thoſe, that nature has made ſuperior to them, they do not miſs one blot he makes; and, being beholden only to their barrenneſs for their diſcretion, they fall upon the errors, which ariſe out of his abundance; and by a miſtake, into which their malice betrays them, they think that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams, that are in their own. His quickneſs makes writing ſo eaſy a thing to him, that his ſpirits are neither waſted nor ſoured by it: The ſoil is not forced, every thing grows, and brings forth without pangs; which diſtinguiſhes as much what he does, from that which ſmells of the lamp, as a good palate will diſcern between

1715. their eſſential privileges. But that the Houſe, at the ſame time, had both liberty and power to cenſure and puniſh ſuch Members, as tranſgreſs the rules of decency, treſpaſs upon the reſpect due to the Crown, and ſo abuſe the privilege of the Houſe within doors, as to render it contemptible without.' Sir *William* being again called upon to explain himſelf, and ſtill refuſing, ſome Members cried, *The Tower, the Tower.* But Mr. *Robert Walpole* ſpoke to this effect: 'Mr. Speaker, I am not for gratifying the deſire, which the Member, who occaſions this debate, ſhews, of being ſent to the *Tower.* It would make him too conſiderable. But as he is one, who ſets up for a warm champion of the late Miniſtry, and was in all their ſecrets, I would have him be in the Houſe, when we come to inquire into the conduct of his friends, both that he may have an opportunity to defend them, and be a witneſs of the fairneſs, with which we ſhall proceed againſt thoſe Gentlemen; and that it may not be ſaid, that we take advantage againſt them.' After ſeveral other ſpeeches, which prolonged this debate above four hours, a motion was made, and the queſtion propoſed, 'That Sir *William Wyndham*, having reflected upon his Majeſty's proclamation, and having refuſed to juſtify his charge, altho' often called upon ſo to do, is guilty of a great indignity to his Majeſty, and of a breach of the privilege of this Houſe.' This motion occaſioned a freſh debate. The Houſe ſtill inſiſted, that Sir *William* ſhould juſtify his charge; and he as obſtinately declined to do it, ſaying, 'He was ready to undergo whatever a majority would inflict upon him.' At laſt, the queſtion being put, that he ſhould withdraw, it was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and eight voices againſt one hundred and twenty-nine: Whereupon he withdrew, as did all the hundred and twenty-nine Members, who had been for the negative. Then the Houſe unanimouſly reſolved, That Sir *William* ſhould be reprimanded by the Speaker. This was done by the Speaker in the following manner:

'Sir *William Wyndham*,

I am to acquaint you, that the Houſe has come to this reſolution, that you be reprimanded in your place by me.

You have preſumed to reflect on his Majeſty's proclamation, and made an unwarrantable uſe of the freedom of ſpeech granted by his Majeſty.

This Houſe has made their moderation appear, and ſhewn their lenity, by laying the mildeſt cenſure your offence was capable of. I am ordered to reprimand you, and do reprimand you accordingly.'

To which Sir *William* replied:

SIR,

'I return you my thanks for what you have done by the duty of your office in ſo candid and ſo Gentleman-like a manner. As I am a member of this Houſe, I very well know I muſt acquieſce in the determination of this Houſe. But I am not conſcious of any indignity to his Majeſty, or any breach of the privilege of this Houſe; and therefore I have no thanks to give thoſe Gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, have brought this cenſure upon me (1).'

Three days after the Commons entered upon what they ſaid in their addreſs of thanks ſhould be their buſineſs, the inquiry into the conduct of the late Miniſtry. General *Stanhope* preſented to the Houſe, in fourteen volumes, all the papers relating to the late Negotiations of peace and commerce, and to the ceſſation of arms, telling them, 'That nothing had been omitted, that might either anſwer the deſire they had expreſſed of being thoroughly informed of what had paſſed in thoſe important Negotiations, or ſatisfy the whole world, that the preſent Miniſtry acted with the utmoſt fairneſs and candour, and deſigned to take no manner of advantage over the late Managers in the intended inquiries. That indeed the papers now laid before the Houſe were only copies; but that the originals would be produced, if occaſion required: Concluding, that, thoſe papers being too many and too voluminous to be peruſed and examined by all the Members, he therefore moved, that they might be referred to a ſelect Committee of twenty perſons, who ſhould digeſt the ſubſtance of them under proper heads, and report the ſame, with their obſervations, to the Houſe.'

The Earl of *Oxford* being come to town the night before, his brother Mr. *Edward Harly*, a Member of the Houſe, ſaid, 'That it was eaſy to ſee, that one of his neareſt relations was principally aimed at in theſe intended inquiries; but he might aſſure the Houſe, that the ſaid perſon, notwithſtanding the various reports, which had been ſpread concerning him, would neither fly his country, nor conceal himſelf, but be forth-coming whenever he ſhould be called upon to juſtify his conduct. That he hoped he would be able, upon the ſevereſt trial, to make his innocence appear to all the world; but, if he ſhould be ſo unhappy, as to have been guilty of the crimes, that were laid to his charge, he would think all his blood too ſmall a ſatisfaction to attone for them.' No body oppoſed Mr. *Stanhope*'s motion; only Mr. *Harley* excepted againſt the number of twenty, and

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between fruit, which comes from a rich mould, and that which taſtes of the uncleanly pains, that have been beſtowed upon it. He makes many enemies, by ſetting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt not only of ſplendor, but of all unneceſſary plenty, his degrading himſelf into the loweſt and moſt painful duties of his calling; are ſuch unprelatical qualities, that, let him be never ſo orthodox in other things, in theſe he muſt be a Diſſenter. Virtues of ſuch a ſtamp are ſo many hereſies, in the opinion of thoſe Divines, who have ſoftened the primitive injunctions, ſo as to make them ſuit better with the preſent frailty of mankind. No wonder then, if they are angry, ſince it is in their own defence, or that from a principle of ſelf-preſervation they ſhould endeavour to ſuppreſs a man, whoſe parts are a ſhame, and whoſe life is a ſcandal to them.'

(1) The Tories took advantage of this moderation, and ſome of their Writers ſecretly diſperſed, not many days after, a libel intitled, *The honour and partiality of the Houſe of Commons, ſet forth in the caſe of Sir* William Wyndham; containing bitter invectives againſt the well-affected. *Annals.*

BRITISH MUSEUM

G. Kneller pinxit. *In the Poſſeſsion of Robert Coke Esqr.* Impensis I. & P. Knapton Londini 1744.

15. and moved, that one more might be added; which being readily agreed to, it was reſolved, That the books and papers ſhould be referred to a Committee of Secrecy, the number to be twenty-one, who were choſen by ballot (1).

The Committee of Secrecy met that evening, and choſe Mr. *Robert Walpole* for their Chairman. But, he being the next day taken ill, the Committee choſe Mr. *Stanhope* to ſupply his place; and, for diſpatch, ſubdivided themſelves into three Committees, to each of which a certain number of books and papers were allotted. They made ſuch diſpatch, that their report was ready in two months.

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On the 11th of *April* the Earl of *Oxford* went to the Parliament, and took his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers.

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About this time the Earl of *Peterborough* ſuddenly returned from his late travels to *Italy* and *France*, having met with Lord *Bolingbroke* on the road between *Paris* and *Calais*; but it was ſaid, he did not ſpeak to him. The next day after his arrival, the Earl appeared at *St. James*'s, but, whatever was the occaſion, two days after the Lord *Townſhend* ſignified to him an order forbidding him the Court.

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On the 12th of *April* the Marquiſs of *Wharton*, Lord Privy-Seal, died at his Houſe in *Dover-Street*, after an indiſpoſition of twelve days, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age. His name will be ever endeared to the friends of liberty, and to all who have a true concern for the Proteſtant intereſt. Could the ſervices, which he performed for this Nation and the preſent Royal Family be duly enumerated, they would appear beyond the beſt skill and abilities of any ſingle man. King *Charles* II. admitted him to great familiarities, and had him for a companion in many of his debauches, with a deſign to make him wholly his own. With regard to private vices, the ſucceſs was notorious; but, in what related to the Public and Court, he abſolutely diſappointed the King. He ſaw and heard the deſigns of a Prince, to whoſe indolence and luxury the Nation was obliged for its preſervation. This gave him a juſt contempt for ſuch a Governor, and an abhorrence of all his views. King *William* was duly ſenſible of his ſervices before and at the Revolution. In that Reign he attained to no higher a ſtation than being Comptroller of the Houſhold; which muſt be aſcribed to the unhappy influence of thoſe, who hated him, and his Royal Maſter. He received however the utmoſt proofs of confidence and reſpect, and had the King's moſt intimate deſigns communicated to him. His probity and good affection in what concerned the Government was ſo well aſſured, that it gave him great and conſtant intereſt. Many important meaſures were aſcribed to his ſecret advice. His great vigour and happy addreſs in ſerving the good cauſe, which he had ever in view, cannot fully be deſcribed. His labours were infinite with men of all ranks, and on all proper occaſions. He knew how to accommodate himſelf to every temper and inclination. What to others would have been great pain and trouble, afforded him great pleaſure and ſatisfaction. The merit of his conduct in the Country, at Court, and in the Senate, was equally admirable. His enemies, who were only ſo on the account of his public zeal and uſefulneſs, have greatly aggravated his immoralities, and loaded him with crimes, from which he was wholly free. But, did he not learn the rudiments of vice under their favourite King *Charles*? Have not the private lives of moſt of their Leaders been equally faulty? Are they excuſable for pretending to the name and noiſe of Religion? Lord *Wharton*'s defects oblige us the more to admire his excellencies. In a life ſpent in a libertine manner, uſeful knowledge and learning were neglected. But an infinite fund of good ſenſe and great natural abilities ſupplied whatever was wanting. On every emergency he diſcovered what was proper, and was never at a loſs how to act. There was not only a readineſs, and propriety in his ſpeeches, but they were weighty and important. Nothing can be imagined more excellent than his ſkill and ſagacity in the management of a debate. In theſe public appearances he was greatly aſſiſted, by never engaging in the ſupport of what he did not believe to have truth and juſtice on its ſide. He lived to ſee the ſucceſs of a cauſe, for which he had laboured with zeal and integrity. But his enjoyment of the bleſſing of the Succeſſion was very ſhort. A misfortune in his family is ſuppoſed to have produced the fatal effect. His ſon poſſeſſed ſome of his parts and abilities; but his very different uſe and application of them are well known. 1715.

On the 22d of *April* was the famous eclipſe of the ſun, to obſerve which the Chevalier *Louville* and Monſieur *de Montmaur*, two *French* Mathematicians, came from *Paris*, by the direction of the Royal Academy of Sciences, and were civilly entertained by the Members of the Royal Society, with whom they joined in making their obſervations. *The great eclipſe.*

The day following, being the Anniverſary of the late Queen's Coronation, great diſorders were committed in the City of *London*, by the lower ſort of people; as was likewiſe done on the 29th of *April*, being the Duke of *Ormond*'s birth-day.

The General Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland* met on the 4th of *May*, the Earl of *Rothes*, Lord High-Admiral of that Kingdom, being the King's Commiſſioner; and the moſt remarkable of their acts was the confirming the ſuſpenſion of two Miniſters, Mr. *James Maitland* of *Innerkethie*, and Mr. *John Maitland* of *Fergus*, his brother, who had been ſuſpended by the *Two Miniſters in Scotland ſuſpended.* Annals. Hiſt. Reg. Pol. St.

(1) The Committee conſiſted of the following Members:

Sir *Richard Onſlow*,
Robert, Walpole,
Spencer Cowper,
James Stanhope,
Hugh Boſcawen,
William Pulteney,
Nicholas Lechmere,
Daniel Lord *Finch*,
John Aiſlaiby,
Thomas Vernon,
Algernoon Earl of *Hertford*,
Edward Wortley Mountague,
Sir *David Dalrymple*,
George Baillie,
Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*,
Thomas Erle,
Richard Hampden,
Sir *Robert Marſham*,
Alexander Denton,
Thomas Pitt, Senr.
Thomas Lord *Coringſby*.

1715. the Synod of *Aberdeen*, for not obſerving the 20th of *January*, the thankſgiving-day for his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crowns, and not praying for King *George* by name. Theſe Miniſters refuſing to anſwer any queſtions for removing the ſuſpicion, which they lay under, of diſaffection to the King, the Aſſembly, by another vote, depoſed them from the office of the Miniſtry, and appointed their Churches to be declared vacant.

The Aſſembly had a difficult part to act in this nice juncture; for ſeveral of the Preſbyterians had given injunctions to their Deputies, to move for an addreſs to the King, that he would be pleaſed to uſe his endeavours, that the Church of *Scotland* might be delivered from the hardſhips brought upon her in the late Reign by the unlimited Toleration granted to the Epiſcopal Preachers, and the act for reſtoring Lay Patronages, which were both contrary to the treaty of Union. They had alſo ſome difficulty to avoid Remonſtrances againſt the Union's being continued. But they managed their affairs with ſo much prudence, as to prevent any heats about thoſe matters in the Aſſembly, and uſed their endeavours with ſucceſs to keep the honeſt part of the Nation from puſhing thoſe things, ſo that they were willing to refer the redreſs of thoſe grievances to a more proper ſeaſon, when the King and the Parliament might do it without interrupting the great affairs, which then lay before them. Thus the General Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland* ended quietly, and another was appointed to meet the firſt *Thurſday* of *May*, 1716, according to cuſtom. This was a great mortification to the Jacobite party in both Nations, who flattered themſelves with creating diviſions in the Church of *Scotland*, by thoſe popular topics; but the Presbyterians refuſed to give into their meaſures.

Debate about the Civil Liſt, May 13. Pr. H. C.

The Committee of the Houſe taking the Civil Liſt into conſideration, ſeveral papers relating to former eſtabliſhments were read; and then the queſtion was offered, 'That it appears to this Committee, that the ſum of 700,000 *l. per Aun.* was ſettled upon King *William* during his life, for the ſupport of his Houſhold, and other his neceſſary occaſions; and at the time of his demiſe, after the deduction of 3700 *l.* a week, which was applied to the public uſes, was the produce of the Civil Liſt Revenues, that were continued and ſettled upon Queen *Anne*, during her life.' Thoſe, who propoſed this queſtion, had two things principally in view; to vindicate the preſent Miniſtry from the aſperſions caſt upon them, and induſtriouſly ſpread about, by the emiſſaries of the late Managers, that the Whigs deſigned to give the King a larger revenue than his Predeceſſors had enjoyed: And to make good the branches of the Civil Liſt Revenue, which had been alienated or abridged; ſo that the whole neat produce might amount to 700,000 *l. per Ann.* The leading men among the Tories being ſenſible of the firſt, and pretending to be ignorant of the conſequence of this preliminary queſtion, inſiſted a long while, 'That it was inſnaring. That what had been done by former Parliaments, ought not to be a ſtanding rule for the ſubſequent: That, ſuppoſing the Parliament had given King *William* a revenue of 700,000 *l. per Ann.* for the Civil Liſt, they ought to conſider, that he was to pay out of it 50,000 *l. per Ann.* to the late Queen, then Princeſs of *Denmark*; 15 or 20,000 *l. per Ann.* for the late Duke of *Gloceſter*; and 40,000 *l.* for the dowry of King *James*'s Queen. That, after the late Queen's Acceſſion to the Throne, the Parliament taking notice, that the produce of the Civil Liſt Revenues exceeded what they had been given for, the ſum of 3700 *l. per* week (that is, 192,400 *l. per Annum*) was taken out of them, and applied to other uſes; notwithſtanding which deduction, the late Queen had honourably maintained her Family, and ſupported the dignity of the Crown: However, if the preſent revenues of the Civil Liſt were not ſufficient, they were ready to conſent to an addition.' It was anſwered, 'That the queſtion before them was founded upon facts, which, if denied, they were ready to prove by the records of the Houſe.' But Sir *William Wyndham* ſtill urging, that the queſtion was inſnaring, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* anſwered, 'That he would be very plain with them, and own, that, as it was notorious, that great endeavours had been uſed to alienate the affection of the people from the King and his Government, by falſe ſuggeſtions, that they deſigned to plunge the Nation into extraordinary expences, they thought it highly neceſſary to clear his Majeſty and his Miniſters from that malicious aſperſion.' To this Lord *Guernſey* replied, 'That the diſaffection of the people, if any, did not proceed from his Majeſty, but from the hardſhips his Miniſters put on the Tory party.' To this it was returned, 'That, as ſoon as it would be made known to the world, how the late Miniſtry had uſed, not only the Whigs, but the whole Nation, nothing, that could be done againſt them, would then be thought a hardſhip; but, however, that neither that noble Member, nor any of his Family, had reaſon to complain of hardſhips.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the Tories endeavoured to drop the queſtion, by moving, that the Speaker might reſume the Chair; which being rejected, the queſtion was carried in the affirmative, and a motion made that 700,000 *l.* clear ſhould be granted yearly for the Civil Liſt. The queſtion, being put upon this motion, occaſioned another great debate. Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, Mr. *Bromley*, Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr. *Cæſar*, Mr. *Hungerford*, and ſome other leading Tories, did not at firſt directly oppoſe the queſtion, but inſinuated, 'That, before they came to that reſolution, it would be proper, that a particular of the King's expence ſhould be laid before the Houſe.' Mr. *Walpole*, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and others, having exploded that propoſal, as altogether inconſiſtent with the King's honour, to have all the private expences of his Family and Houſhold looked into, as if he had need of a Guardian; the Tories then moved, that the ſum of 600,000 *l. per annum* be given to his Majeſty, and 100,000 *l. per annum* ſettled on the Prince of *Wales*. The Court-party perceiving, that the propoſal of giving the Prince of *Wales* a ſeparate revenue was only a deſign to divide the Royal Family, by leſſening the dependance of the next Heir, oppoſed it; and, the queſtion being put on that motion, it was carried in the negative by a great majority. The Tories having loſt theſe two points, ſome of that party more openly oppoſed the main queſtion. Among the reſt,

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715. Sir *William Wyndham* ſaid, 'He had the honour to ſerve her late Majeſty, and had the opportunity to look both into her revenue and her expence; and he could aſſure the Houſe, that about 500,000 *l. per annum* was ſufficient for the ſupport of her Family and Civil Liſt; tho' ſhe reſerved about 50,000 *l.* a year for the late King *James*'s Conſort.' The Court-party were glad of this confeſſion, and Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* deſired the Committee to take notice of what that Gentleman had advanced, becauſe it would ſerve to confirm ſome matters, which the Committee of Secrecy had found in the papers, that were laid before them. The queſtion being put, it was carried without dividing, that 700,000 *l.* a year clear ſhould be granted for the Civil Liſt during the King's life.

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18. after, upon a motion for an addreſs againſt penſions. The leading Tories and others exclaimed againſt the penſions given by the Crown to ſeveral perſons of quality (ſome of whom they named) who had no occaſion for them. Mr. *Robert Walpole* urged, 'That they ought not to ſtint the King's beneficence, nor debar him from the exerciſe of the moſt glorious branch of his prerogative, which is to beſtow his favours on ſuch, as diſtinguiſh themſelves in his ſervice.' He was ſeconded by Mr. *Hampden*, who obſerved, That all the penſions, about which ſo much noiſe was made, did not amount to above 25,000 *l*, and then moved, *That the Chairman ſhould leave the Chair*; which, being put to the vote, paſſed in the affirmative by three voices only, a hundred and ninety-one againſt a hundred and eighty-eight.

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d. L. On the 30th of *May*, the Houſe of Peers, in a Grand Committee, conſidered of the *bill for regulating the land-forces*; when there aroſe a great debate about a clauſe, for confining the ſeveral regiments to thoſe parts of his Majeſty's Dominions, for which they were allotted; for inſtance, the twelve thouſand men, that were on the *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhment, to *Ireland*. The Duke of *Bucks*, the Lord *Trevor*, the Lord *North* and *Grey*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſome others of that party, ſpoke for the clauſe. But the Duke of *Marlborough* and ſome other Lords ſhewed the fatal conſequences, with which it might be attended, in caſe of an invaſion from abroad, or an inſurection at home, by a number of enemies, foreign or domeſtic, ſuperior to the number of forces actually on the ſpot, where either of them ſhould happen. It was further urged, 'That his Majeſty having truſted his Perſon and Family intirely in the hands of the Nation, and at the opening of this Seſſion told the Parliament, *That what they ſhould judge neceſſary for their ſafety, he ſhould think ſufficient for his own*; the leaſt, they could do for him, was to leave to his wiſdom and diſcretion the diſpoſal of the few troops, that were kept on foot.' Some Tory Lords moved, that the foreign Officers might be excluded from that number: But the Duke of *Marlborough* ſpoke in their favour, and argued, 'That to exclude Officers, who, like the *French* Refugees, had, for above five and twenty years, ſerved *England* with diſtinguiſhed zeal and untainted fidelity, would be a piece of injuſtice unprecedented in the moſt barbarous Nations.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the queſtion was put, whether the clauſe ſhould be inſerted; and it was carried in the negative by eighty-one voices againſt thirty-five. The next day, the Lords read the bill the third time, which, with ſome amendments, was approved, and ſent down to the Commons (1). 1715.

Affairs at ſea, particularly in the Baltic.

See Intereſt of *Great-Britain* ſteadily purſued.

On the 18th of *May*, Sir *John Norris*, with a ſquadron of twenty men of war, and a fleet of Merchant-ſhips under his convoy, ſailed from the *Nore* to the *Baltic*, in order to protect the trade of his Majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe ſeas. The violent proceedings of the King of *Sweden* in rejecting the treaty of Neutrality concerted by *England* and *Holland*, and other Members of the Grand Alliance, for preſerving the remains of his army under General *Craſſau*, and for the ſecurity of his *German* Dominions, and in cauſing the ſhips of all Nations whatſoever, without diſtinction, trading to the *Baltic*, to be ſeized and confiſcated, even ſome years before King *George*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, obliged, at laſt, the King and the *States-General*, after having made proper inſtances for redreſs to no purpoſe, to uſe their fleets for the protection of their ſubjects in their navigation and commerce to thoſe parts. The *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters had jointly, or ſeparately, made theſe inſtances in the moſt earneſt manner, by variety of memorials delivered yearly to the King or Senate of *Sweden*, ſo long as from the year 1710, without being able to obtain the leaſt ſatisfaction. The laſt memorial of Mr. *Jackſon*, the *Engliſh* Reſident at the Court of *Sweden*, before the *Engliſh* ſquadron was ſent, was preſented to the Senate at *Stockholm*, *January* 14, 1714-15, complaining, that the loſs of the *Engliſh* Merchants from the *Swediſh* cruiſers amounted to 65,449 *l.* ſterling. The *Swediſh* Regency returned an anſwer on the 8th of *February*, *N. S.* by which they referred him to the King of *Sweden* himſelf, who was then at *Stralſund*. In ſhort, tho' the *Dutch* as well as the *Britiſh* Miniſters made repeated complaints of thoſe ſeizures, the King of *Sweden* was ſo far from regarding them, that he iſſued out new orders to his men of war and privateers, to ſeize and confiſcate all ſhips, that traded with any place conquered by his enemies; and theſe orders were ſo very ſtrict, and clogged with ſuch terms on all Merchant-ſhips, as in a manner rendered the trade of the *Baltic* impracticable, without a ſufficient force to convoy the Merchant-ſhips, that traded thither (2).

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(1) About this time, there was a petition preſented to the Lords by Mrs. *Mary Forreſter*, Maid of Honour to the late Queen, and now to the Princeſs of *Wales*, ſetting forth, that about thirteen years ago, when ſhe was but twelve years of age, ſhe had been married to Sir *George Downing*, then about fifteen. That, Sir *George* going then to travel, he did, upon his return, ſhew his diſlike to the match, which had prevented their cohabitation: And therefore they prayed, that they might be ſeparated, and at liberty to marry again. Several of the Lords, and particularly the Biſhops ſpoke againſt allowing a Divorce; and, the matter being put off till the third of *May*, it was, upon debate, carried by fifty againſt forty-eight, to reject the petition, the Biſhops being againſt the Divorce, leſt it ſhould weaken the obligations of marriage.

(2) After *Steinbock* and his army (See *p.* 309.) were taken priſoners, Count *Welling* concluded a treaty with the

1715. *Death and character of the Earl of* Hallifax.

On the 19th of *May* died *Charles* Earl of *Hallifax*. He was deſcended from a younger branch of the *Mancheſter* family, and came into the world without any advantages of fortune. But uſeful parts, and ſeveral lucky opportunities of producing them, ſoon gave him a figure in life. He had the reputation of a fine taſte, and of being maſter of polite literature. His projects and his poetry have been aſcribed to others, who ſubmiſſively beſtowed on him their thoughts and labours. It is not worth contraverting, whether he was the Author or the Adopter of ſchemes for the ſervice of the Government; ſince his merit, in the proper application of them, is undeniable. Recoining the money, and *Exchequer* bills, delivered the Nation from diſtreſſes, which ſeemed to be attended with unavoidable ruin. Many, who envied a young man the natural reputation of ſuch performances, and many others, who were enemies to the Government, incumbered him with all imaginable difficulties.

His ſkill as a Speaker and Manager muſt be unqueſtionable, which inabled him to execute ſuch great deſigns. But, when his and the Nation's enemies, aided by the perverſeneſs of the times, had gained the aſcendant, his vigour and ſpirit totally failed; and he implored in abject terms their mercy, whoſe rage and inſolence were confirmed by his applications.

When the Staff was taken from the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, he was placed at the head of the Treaſury, and had the garter, and an addition of title, but not the ſatisfaction, which might naturally have been expected from ſo many happy events. Not finding himſelf poſſeſſed of the fulneſs of power, and the poſt of High Treaſurer, which he imagined to be his due, he entered into meaſures with the authors of the fatal ceſſation of arms, and the deſtructive peace. And though it would have confirmed the diſguſts of our Allies, and been the higheſt indignity to the King's affectionate and ſincere friends, had he ſucceeded, yet he purſued his deſigns of removing thoſe, who had been fellow-labourers and fellow-ſufferers with him. The perpetual enmity of his new friends to King *William*, who had raiſed him from the loweſt to the higheſt ſtation in life, the ignominy of an impeachment, and the cenſures and reproaches, with which they had purſued him for many years, were all forgotten. Such are the effects of boundleſs pride and ambition! But a violent diſtemper ſpeedily put an end to his life, and all his devices. 1715.

He left behind him the fame of being an encourager of men of parts and learning; and is ſaid to have ſhewn himſelf ſuch in an agreeable and liberal manner. His performances in poetry have had their full praiſe. A poetical turn infected his proſe. Far from finding the purity and ſtrength of Lord *Sommers*'s compoſitions, we have in many of his a perpetual affectation of figurative ornaments.

The Commiſſioners, appointed for building the fifty new Churches, preſented an addreſs to the King, wherein they ſet forth, that, ſeveral Chapels and Churches being almoſt ready, they found themſelves under a difficulty how to proceed for want of a due maintenance for the Miniſters, without which no Biſhop could regularly conſecrate a Church, nor any Patron be effectually treated with. The King told them he ſhould readily comply with their deſire, being reſolved to embrace all opportunities of encouraging a work in which the honour of the Church of *England* was ſo much concerned. *Addreſs about the fifty new Churches.* May 17.

This anſwer is one, among many other inſtances of the King's care for the Church of *England*, though the danger of it under his Adminiſtration was made a principal topic to excite the people to rebel, and to raiſe mobs and tumults almoſt on every public day; for the prevention of which, the Juſtices of the Peace of *Weſtminſter* and *Middleſex* publiſhed an excellent order, but with ſo little effect, that, on the King's Birth-Day, the mob inſulted the Citizens, who ſhewed their joy by bonfires, and illuminations. The care of the Magiſtrates in both *London* and *Order of the Juſtices against riots.* May 28.

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the Adminiſtrator of *Holſtein-Gottorp*, by which it was agreed, that the towns of *Stetin* and *Wiſmar* ſhould be ſequeſtered into the hands of the King of *Pruſſia*, and the Adminiſtrator to ſecure them as well as the reſt of the *Swediſh Pomerania*, from the Northern Allies, the *Poles* and *Muſcovites*. Count *Meyerfeldt*, Governor of *Pomerania*, refuſing to comply with this treaty, the Northern Allies marched into *Swediſh Pomerania*, took the Iſland of *Rugen*, and forced *Stetin* to capitulate; upon this *Meyerfeldt* accepted the ſequeſtration, which the King of *Pruſſia* was prevailed upon to take upon himſelf. As the *Muſcovites* and *Poles* demanded the expences of the Siege of *Stetin*, the King of *Pruſſia* paid them for the King of *Sweden* 400,000 Rixdollars. The King of *Sweden*, after his return from *Turkey*, refuſed to comply with the treaty of Sequeſtration, and inſiſted, that *Stetin* ſhould be forthwith reſtored to him without the repayment of the 400,000 Rixdollars, nor would he depart from his deſign of invading *Poland* and *Saxony*, but was reſolved (as he ſaid himſelf) to chaſtiſe his falſe friends as well as his open enemies. This was in effect a declaration of war againſt all who would not aſſiſt him in procuring a reſtitution of what he had loſt, or would not enter into a war againſt the *States*, then engaged in war againſt *Sweden*. King *George*, having certain information that the King of *Sweden* would not fail, upon the firſt opportunity, to invade his Electorate of *Brunſwick*, reſolved to act in concert with the Kings of *Denmark* and *Pruſſia*, for ſecuring the peace of the Empire, and oppoſe the deſigns of the *Swedes*. To this end a treaty was concluded between the Kings of *Great-Britain* and *Denmark*, by the third article of which it was agreed, that the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden* ſhould be made over to his *Britannick* Majeſty, his Heirs and Poſterity, for ever, with this proviſo, that he ſhould, the moment he took poſſeſſion of them, declare war againſt *Sweden*. This treaty was ratified and exchanged the 17th of *July*, 1715, and the Dutchies were delivered up the 15th of *October* following, on which day a declaration of war was publiſhed by King *George*, in his *German* Dominions. Preſently after 6000 *Hanoverians* marched into *Pomerania* to join the *Danes* and *Pruſſians*, who, after having taken the Iſles of *Rugen* and *Uledon*, were then attacking *Wiſmar* and *Stralſund*. The King of *Sweden* was himſelf at *Stralſund*, and, finding it impoſſible to hinder the town from being taken, embarked on board a veſſel, and arrived at *Schonen* on the 26th of *December*, after having been almoſt ſixteen years abſent from his antient dominions. Upon his arrival, he aſſembled what troops he could, in order to paſs the *Sound* over the ice, and attack *Copenhagen*, but was diſappointed by a ſudden thaw. Notwithſtanding the earneſt intreaties of his Siſter and the Senate of *Sweden*, he declined going to *Stockholm*, and remained at *Carelſcroon*, in order to haſten his fleet, and relieve *Wiſmar*. Thus ſtood affairs in *Sweden*, at the King's return out of *Turkey*.

(1) The

15. and *Weſtminſter*, and the orders that had been given the Horſe-guards, kept them in ſome awe on that day. But the next, being the Anniverſary of the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II, they made greater illuminations, and more bonfires, than were ſeen the day before, eſpecially in the City of *London*, where they broke the windows of ſuch houſes, as were not illuminated, and amongſt them thoſe of the Lord-Mayor. They inſulted four Life-guards, who were patrolling, and obliged them to cry out, as they did. *High Church and* Ormond. In *Smithfield* they burnt a print of King *William*. This riot being unexpected, there was not force enough at hand to ſuppreſs it immediately; but, at laſt, ſome Citizens and Conſtables diſperſed them, when they came to *Cheapſide*, and about thirty of the mutineers were ſecured and committed to priſon. The ſame evening one *Bournois*, a *French* or *Iriſh* School-maſter, was by Sir *Charles Peers* ſent to *Newgate*, for High-Treaſon, having proclaimed in the ſtreet, that King *George* had no right to the Crown. He was afterwards tried for it, and whipped through the City, according to ſentence; and, his conſtitution being deſtroyed by the venereal diſeaſe, he died in a few days after. It appeared, he was a Popiſh Prieſt, and taught *French* for a colour.

During theſe commotions the following accident happened, which was made uſe of to increaſe the popular ferment. On the King's Birth Day, new cloathing was delivered to the firſt Regiment of Foot-guards; but, ſo particularly coarſe were the ſhirts, that the ſoldiers were much offended at it. There being a great number of *Iriſh* Papiſts, and other diſaffected perſons, then in the Guards, their diſcontent was eaſily improved by the enemies of the Government; ſo that ſome of the ſoldiers had the inſolence to throw their ſhirts into the King's and Duke of *Marlborough*'s Gardens at *St. James*'s; as a detachment marched from *Whitehall*, through the City, to relieve the guard in the *Tower*, the ſoldiers pulled out their ſhirts, and ſhewed them to all Shopkeepers and Paſſengers, crying out, *Theſe are the Hanover ſhirts*, &c. The Court being informed of what had paſſed, and foreſeeing the conſequences, orders were immediately ſent to the guard at *Whiteball*, to burn thoſe new ſhirts; which was done that very evening (1). 1715.

About the middle of *May*, there was an intercepted letter returned from *Ireland*, written by Captain *Wight*, a reformed Officer of *Windſor*'s regiment, to his friend in that Country, and, by a miſtake, carried to a perſon of the ſame name, in which were theſe expreſſions: 'The Duke of *Ormond* has got the better of all his enemies; and I hope we ſhall be able, in a little time, to ſend *George* home to his country again.' A warrant was iſſued from the Secretary's Office for apprehending Captain *Wight*, who abſconding, a reward of 50 *l.* was offered by the Government to any, who ſhould diſcover him. Not many days after, Mr. *George Jeffreys* was ſeized at *Dublin*, upon his arrival there from *England*; and, being examined before the Lords Juſtices, a packet was found about him, directed to Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, Dean of *St. Patrick*'s. This packet *Jeffreys* owned he had received from the Duke of *Ormond*'s Chaplain; and, ſeveral treaſonable papers being found in it, they were tranſmitted to *England*. *Jeffreys* was obliged to give bail for his appearance; of which Dr. *Swift* having notice, and that ſearch was made after him, he thought fit to abſcond.

Wight's letter. Annals.

A packet ſeized, directed to Dr. Swift.

The bill for regulating the forces having been ſent down to the Commons by the Lords, the amendments made to it were, after a debate, agreed to. Mr. *Shippen*, formerly a Commiſſioner of public accounts, having, on this occaſion, reflected on the Miniſtry, as if they deſigned to ſet up a *Standing Army*, and inſinuated, as if, after all the clamour, that had been raiſed, their *Secret Committee* would end in ſmoke; Mr. *Boſcawen*, the late Lord *Falmouth*, replied, 'That he could not forbear taking notice of the inſolence of a ſet of men, who, having committed the blackeſt crimes, had yet the aſſurance to dare the juſtice of the Nation: But he hoped thoſe crimes would not long remain unpuniſhed. That the *Committee of Secrecy* were ready to make their Report, and had directed their Chairman to move the Houſe, that a day might be appointed for receiving it; and, in the mean time, he might venture to aſſure the Houſe, that they had found ſufficient matter to impeach of High-Treaſon ſeveral Lords, and ſome Commons.' Mr. *Robert Walpole* likewiſe ſaid,

Shippen's ſpeech on the bill for regulating the forces, Pr. H. C.

anſwered by Mr. Boſcawen.

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(1) The Duke of *Marlborough*'s enemies laying hold of this occaſion to reflect on him, as if he were to bear the blame of the injuſtice done to the ſoldiers of his regiment, the following advertiſement was made public in the news-papers: 'His Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* being informed, that the Undertakers for the firſt regiment of Foot-guards had delivered to the ſeveral Companies their cloathing, no way anſwerable to the pattern agreed for; his Grace, therefore, ordered the ſaid cloathing to be viſited, who finding the ſoldiers very much abuſed in their ſhirting, his Grace immediately directed the ſhirts to be burnt, as well to puniſh as to deter ſuch Undertakers from committing the like abuſes for the future; which was done accordingly, and the reſt of the cloathing has been compared with the pattern, that the ſoldiers may have juſtice done in all the other particulars. In the mean time, his Grace ordered two ſhirts to be made of good linnen cloth for each ſoldier, in lieu of one, as likewiſe new waiſtcoats, inſtead of the waiſtcoats made by the Undertakers of their old coats, and the old cloathing to remain to each ſoldier's own uſe.' And when the Duke reviewed the firſt regiment of Guards, on the 2d of *June*, he made them a ſpeech, expreſſing his concern for their juſt complaints, and his being intirely innocent of the grievance: Adding, 'I have had the honour to ſerve with you a great many campaigns, and believe you will do me the juſtice to tell the world, that I never willingly wronged any of you; and, if I can be ſerviceable to any of you, you may very readily command it, and ſhall be glad of an opportunity for that purpoſe. I hope I ſhall now leave you good ſubjects to the beſt of Kings, and every way intirely ſatisfied.' Upon which, the ſoldiers, with great acclamation, expreſſed their ſatisfaction.

Mr. *William Churchill*, the Contractor for the cloathing, laid the blame upon Mr. *Brooksbank*, the Woollen-draper, who threw it on Mr. *Heron* the Linnen-draper, by whom an advertiſement was alſo publiſhed in his own defence.

1715. said, 'That he wanted words to expreſs the villany of the laſt Frenchified Miniſtry;' and Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* added, 'He wondered, that men, who were guilty of ſuch enormous crimes, had ſtill the audaciouſneſs to appear in public.

Debate about the Conſpirators againſt King William. Pr. H. L.

The ſame day there was a debate in the Houſe of Lords about a Bill for continuing the impriſonment of the Conſpirators againſt the life of the late King *William* (1). A petition having been offered in their behalf, the Lord *North* and *Grey* moved, that a day might be appointed to conſider of it; and was ſeconded by the Lord *Trevor*. They were oppoſed by the Lord *Townſhend*, who ſaid, he wondered any Members of that Auguſt Aſſembly would ſpeak in favour of ſuch execrable wretches, who deſigned to have imbrued their hands in the blood of their Sovereign; and moved, that their petition be rejected. The Lord *Delawar* repreſented, 'That, after the death of King *William*, the Parliament left to the diſcretion of the late Queen either the continuing in priſon, or inlarging of theſe criminals. That no body doubted her late Majeſty's being a Princeſs of great clemency; but, at the ſame time, ſhe had ſuch a reſpect for the memory of King *William*, ſuch a regard to the ſafety of crowned heads, and ſuch an abhorrence for the crimes, with which theſe priſoners ſtood charged, that ſhe did not think fit to releaſe them from their confinement. That all theſe reaſons and conſiderations were now inforced by the open diſaffection, which ſome people ſhewed to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government; and that they ought to be ſo tender of the preſervation of ſo precious a life as his Majeſty's, that, in his opinion, it were neceſſary to make the act in queſtion abſolute, and not leave the confinement of the criminals to his Majeſty's diſcretion, leſt his natural clemency ſhould make him overlook his own ſecurity. 'He concluded with ſeconding the Lord *Townſhend*'s motion for rejecting the petition, which was carried without dividing.

The Report of the Committee of Secrecy. Pr. H. C.

The *Committee of Secrecy* having finiſhed their *Report* which was drawn up with indefatigable pains by Mr. *Walpole*, that Gentleman, as Chairman, on the 9th of *June*, acquainted the Houſe, 'That he had a *Report* to preſent, according to their order, but was commanded by the Committee to make a motion before he read it. That there were in the *Report* matters of the higheſt importance. That, although the Committee had power to ſend for perſons, papers, and records, they did not think fit to make uſe thereof, believing it to be neceſſary, in order to bring offenders to juſtice, that ſome perſons ſhould be ſecure, before it is poſſible they ſhould know what they are to be examined to; and leſt they ſhould have notice, from what ſhould be read, to make their eſcape. He was commanded, according to former precedents, to move, that a warrant may be iſſued by Mr. Speaker to apprehend certain perſons, who ſhould be named to him by the Chairman of the Committee; and that no Members may be permitted to go out of the Houſe.' The warrant being ordered, and the doors locked, ſeveral perſons were named to the Speaker by Mr. *Walpole*; particularly Mr. *Matthew Prior* and Mr. *Thomas Harley*, who were taken into cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms. Then Mr. *Walpole* read the *Report*, which laſted from one o'clock till about ſix in the afternoon, when, a motion being made by the friends of the late Miniſtry, that the further conſideration of it ſhould be adjourned till the next morning, it was carried in the negative by two hundred and eighty-two voices againſt one hundred and ſeventy-one; and ordered, that the *Report* be now read: Upon which, the Clerk of the Houſe having read till half an hour paſt eight, the further conſideration of it was adjourned to the next day. The *Report* conſiſted of,

Motion for apprehending ſuch perſons as ſhould be named by the Chairman.

1. The clandeſtine Negotiations with Monſieur *Meſnager*, which produced two ſets of Preliminary Articles; the one private and ſpecial for *Great-Britain* only; the other general for all the Allies.

2. The extraordinary meaſures purſued to form the Congreſs at *Utrecht*.

3. The Trifling, and amuſements of the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, by the connivance of the *Britiſh* Miniſters.

4. The Negotiations about the renunciation of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy.

5. The fatal Suſpenſion of Arms.

6. The ſeizure of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, in order to diſtreſs the Allies, and favour the *French*.

7. The Duke of *Ormond*'s acting in concert with the *French* General.

8. The Lord *Bolingbroke*'s journey to *France*, to negotiate a ſeparate peace.

9. Mr. *Prior*'s and the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s Negotiations in *France*.

10. The precipitate concluſion of the peace at *Utrecht*.

The Committee alſo offered to the Houſe what they found material in the papers referred to them concerning the *Catalans* and the Pretender, and a letter from the Earl of *Oxford* to the Queen, with *an account of public affairs from* Auguſt *the* 8*th*, 1710, *to* June *the* 9*th*, 1714; and they concluded with taking notice of ſeveral glaring inconſiſtencies, which are obvious by comparing the late Queen's declarations with the meaſures, which her Miniſters preſumed to take in carrying on thoſe important Negotiations.

The reading of this *Report* by the Clerk of the Houſe of Commons took up the remainder of that day, and all the next, till about four in the afternoon, when Sir *Thomas Hanmer* moved, That the conſideration of it be adjourned till *Monday* ſe'nnight, and was ſeconded by the leading men among the Tories, who moved alſo, That the *Report* ſhould be printed, in order to be peruſed by all the Members of the Houſe. Upon which Mr. *Walpole* ſaid, 'He could not but wonder, that thoſe Gentlemen, who had ſhewed ſo great impatience to have the *Report* laid before the Houſe, ſhould now preſs for adjourning the conſideration of it. As for the *Committee of Secrecy*, as they had not yet

(1) Theſe were *Blackburn*, *Caſſils*, *Bernardi*, *Meldrum*, and *Chambers*, committed in 1696 for conſpiring againſt King *William*. Several acts had paſſed from time to time for continuing their impriſonment, but all of them expired at the Queen's death.

715. yet gone through all the branches of their inquiry, they could have wiſhed, that ſome longer time had been allowed them to peruſe and digeſt ſeveral important papers. In order to that, they would have deferred, three weeks or a month, the laying their *Report* before the Houſe, but, that ſome Gentlemen having reflected on the pretended ſlowneſs of the Committee, ſince the *Report* was now before them, they muſt e'en go through with it.' Mr. *Stanhope* added, 'That, for his own part, he would readily agree to give thoſe Gentlemen all the time they could deſire to conſider of the *Report*; but that, ſince themſelves had precipitated this affair, he was of opinion, they ought to proſecute it with vigour, leſt, by ſtopping on a ſudden, they ſhould fortify the notion, which the friends of the late Miniſtry had, with great induſtry, propagated among the people, *that the* Report *of the* Committee of Secrecy *would vaniſh into ſmoke*; the rather, becauſe theſe malicious inſinuations had raiſed the ſpirits and inſolence of the diſaffected, and were the principal cauſe of the preſent ferment among the giddy multitude. That he agreed with the Member, who had moved the printing of the *Report*, that not only the Houſe, but the whole world might be convinced of the fairneſs and impartiality of their proceedings. But that the crimes of ſome perſons named in the *Report* were ſo obvious to every body, that they ought, in his opinion, immediately to proceed to the impeaching of them.' The Tories ſtill endeavoured to put it off, and ſome propoſed the adjourning of the debate till that day ſe'nnight; and others would have been contented to defer it for three days only. But the Whigs were firm againſt all delays; and, the queſtion being put about ſeven o'clock in the evening, on the motion made by Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, it was carried in the negative by two hundred and eighty againſt one hundred and ſixty. This point being gained, Mr. *Walpole* ſaid, 'That he made no queſtion, that, after the *Report* had been twice read, the whole Houſe was fully convinced, that *Henry* Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* was guilty of *High-Treaſon, and other High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*. That therefore he impeached him of thoſe crimes. But, if any Member had any thing to ſay in his behalf, he doubted not but the Houſe was ready to hear him.' After a ſilence of ſome minutes, Mr. *Hungerford* roſe up and ſaid, 'That, in his opinion, nothing was mentioned in the *Report* in relation to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, that amounted to High-Treaſon.' And General *Roſs* added, 'He wondered no body ſpoke in favour of my Lord *Bolingbroke:* That, for his own part, he had nothing to ſay at preſent, but reſerved to himſelf to ſpeak in a proper time.' The reſolution for the impeachment then paſſed; and, candles being brought in, according to order, the Lord *Coningsby* ſtood up, and ſaid, 'The worthy Chairman of this Committee has impeached the *Hand*, but I impeach the *Head:* He has impeached the *Clerk*, and I the *Juſtice:* He has impeached the *Scholar*, and I the *Maſter*. 'I impeach *Robert* Earl of *Oxford* and Earl *Mortimer* of High-Treaſon, and other High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.' Mr. Auditor *Harley*, Brother to the Earl, made a long ſpeech, wherein he endeavoured to juſtify his Brother, as having done nothing but by the immediate commands of the late Queen; urging, that the peace was a good one, and approved as ſuch by two Parliaments; concluding, that the facts mentioned in the *Report*, and which were charged on the Earl, could not be conſtrued to amount to High-Treaſon, but only, in ſtrict rigour, to Miſdemeanors.' He was ſupported by Mr. Auditor *Foley*, the Earl's Brother-in-law, who complained of the hardſhip put upon that Nobleman, in charging him with High-Treaſon, before they had examined the *Report*. But what was yet more favourable for the Earl, was ſpoke by Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, one of the *Committee of Secrecy*, who ſaid, 'That as to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, they had more than ſufficient evidence to convict him of High-Treaſon. But, as to the Earl of *Oxford*, he doubted whether they had either ſufficient matter or evidence to impeach him of Treaſon.' But another Member of the *Committee of Secrecy* having aſſured the Houſe, That, beſides what had appeared before them, and was mentioned in the *Report*, they had other evidence, *viva voce*, it was likewiſe reſolved to impeach him without a diviſion. After which the further conſideration of the *Report* was adjourned to that day ſe'nnight; and the *Report* with the *Appendix* were ordered to be printed, and copies to be ſent to the Sheriffs and returning Officers of every City and Burrough.

1715.

The next morning the Earl of *Oxford* went to the Houſe of Peers, and at firſt appeared undiſturbed; but, finding that moſt Members avoided ſitting near him, and that even Earl *Powlet* was ſhy of exchanging a few words with him, he retired out of the Houſe.

Prior *and* Harley *examined.*

It was moved by Mr. *Walpole*, from the Committee, that the perſons taken into cuſtody ſhould be examined in the moſt ſolemn manner. Accordingly, Mr. *Prior* and Mr. *Harley* were ordered to be examined by ſuch of the Committee as were Juſtices of the Peace for *Middleſex*; and, two days after, Mr. *Walpole* told the Houſe, that, during a long examination, there appeared matters of ſuch importance, that he was directed to move the Houſe for Mr. *Prior*'s being cloſely confined, and no perſon ſuffered to come to him; which was agreed to.

This order occaſioned various reports: Some affirmed, that the Earl of *Oxford*, or ſome of his friends, had been in cloſe conference with Mr. *Prior*, and ſo effectually tampered with him, that he was more reſerved in anſwering queſtions than he had been before. However that be, it is certain, Mr. *Prior* did prevaricate.

Behaviour of the Duke of Ormond.

After theſe impeachments, that of the Duke of *Ormond* became the principal ſubject of diſcourſe. The High-Church party made his name the ſignal for their tumults, threatening the Government and Parliament too, if they proceeded againſt him. His zeal for the Church was their chief topic to excite the mobs to appear for him; and his noble birth, and the ſervices of his anceſtors, and of himſelf in *Flanders* during King *William*'s Reign, were inſiſted upon. Nor was his generoſity, or rather profuſe way of living, omitted, to prepoſſeſs the people in his favour; but all ſignified nothing; for though the King, at his firſt arrival, ſhewed more lenity and reſpect to him, than his conduct deſerved, and ſeemed willing to paſs by his miſcarriages, while General, as far as poſſible, the behaviour of the Duke and his Friends was ſuch, as made it impracticable; for inſtead of diſcouraging the mobs,

1715. mobs, who were taught to cry out, *An Ormond*, in oppoſition to King *George*, he plainly countenanced them, and took a great deal of pride to be the idol of the rabble. He affected to have people of Quality appear at his levee, and frequent his houſe; and, inſtead of behaving himſelf ſubmiſſively, had the vanity to juſtify his conduct in a printed piece, which in reality expoſed him more to cenſure. About the middle of *June*, the following advertiſement was diſperſed with great induſtry: 'On *Tueſday*, the 7th of this month, her Grace the Ducheſs of *Ormond*, in her return from *Richmond*, was ſtopped in her coach by three perſons, well mounted, and well armed, in diſguiſe, who inquired, if the Duke was in the coach, and ſeemed to have a deſign upon his life, if he had been there. It has been obſerved, that many perſons, armed and diſguiſed in like manner, have been watching by day and by night upon that road, on each ſide of the water, and it is not to be doubted, with a deſign to aſſaſſinate him.'

This being evidently calculated to excite the fury of the populace againſt the Duke's ſuppoſed enemies, the reſt of his conduct could not but alarm the Government, and perhaps provoked the Houſe of Commons to proceed againſt him ſooner, and with more vigour, than they would otherwiſe have done. On the 21ſt of *June*, the day appointed for the further conſideration of the *Report*, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* ſtood up, and ſaid, 'He wiſhed he were not obliged to break ſilence on that occaſion; but, as a Member of the *Secret Committee*, and of that great Aſſembly, which ought to do the Nation juſtice, he thought it his duty to impeach *James* Duke of *Ormond* of High-Treaſon, and other High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.' He was ſeconded by Mr. *Baſcawen*, but Mr. *Archibald Hutchinſon*, one of the Commiſſioners of Trade, made a long ſpeech in behalf of the Duke, wherein he ſet forth his noble birth and qualifications, and the great ſervices, which both he and his anceſtors had performed to the Crown and Nation; urged, that in the whole courſe of his late conduct he had but obeyed the late Queen's commands; and concluded, that, if all, that was alledged againſt him in the *Report*, could be made out, it would, in the rigour of the law, amount to no more than High Miſdemeanors. This ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the Houſe; and Mr. *Hutchinſon* was ſeconded by General *Lumley*, who ſaid, among other things, 'That the Duke of *Ormond* had, on all occaſions, given ſignal proofs both of his affection and love for his Country, and of his perſonal bravery and courage, particularly at the battle of *Landen*, where he was wounded and taken priſoner; and that the late King *William* was extremely ſatisfied with his gallant behaviour. That he had generouſly expended the beſt part of his eſtate in the wars, living in a moſt noble and ſplendid manner, for the honour of his Country. That therefore, in conſideration both of his great ſervices, and his illuſtrious relations, if he had of late been ſo unfortunate, as to fail in any part of his conduct, they ought not to proceed againſt him with the utmoſt rigour of the law; the rather, becauſe he ever meant well, and was drawn into ill meaſures by crafty Miniſters.' Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* ſpoke likewiſe in his favour: He ſaid, 'That, if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be ſhewn to that noble, generous, and courageous Peer, who, for many years, had exerted thoſe great accompliſhments for the good and honour of his Country. That, if of late he had the misfortune to deviate from his former conduct, the blame ought not, in juſtice and equity, to be laid to him, but to them principally, who, abuſing his affection, loyalty, and zeal for the ſervice of his Royal Miſtreſs, had drawn him into pernicious counſels. That therefore, as the ſtatute of 25 *Edw.* III, on which the charge of High-Treaſon againſt him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by ſubſequent acts, the Houſe ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act againſt the Duke, but only impeach him of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.' Sir *Joſeph* added, in the courſe of this debate, 'That ſome perſons endeavoured to aggravate the Duke of *Ormond*'s faults, by charging upon him the riots and tumults, which the populace committed daily in many places: But that he durſt aver, that he did no ways countenance thoſe diſorders; and if the diſaffected made uſe of his name, unknown to him, he ought not to ſuffer for it.' General *Roſs* laid great ſtreſs upon Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*'s opinion, and ſaid all he could in his commendation, and the Duke's defence. Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr. *Onſlow*, Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Hungerford*, and ſome other Members of both parties, ſpoke alſo on the ſame ſide. But Mr. *Lyddal*, Mr. *Hampden*, and Mr. *Thompſon*, Recorder of *London*, ſtrongly ſupported Mr. *Stanhope*'s motion; anſwered all that had been ſaid in the Duke's favour; and, among other things, repreſented, 'That his Grace ever affected popularity: That he could not be ignorant of the tumults and riots, of which his name was the ſignal; and that ſince he did not publickly diſown them, who made uſe of his name, his ſilence was a tacit approbation of their proceedings, and ſeemed to ſummon the people to a general inſurrection.' Sir *Edward Northey*, Attorney-General, did not diſown, but that in the *Report* of the *Committee of Secrecy* there were ſome matters, on which an impeachment of High-Treaſon might be grounded againſt the Duke of *Ormond*; but did not think it proper to explain himſelf further on that occaſion. Mr. *Lechmere*, Sollicitor-General, ſpoke plainer, and mentioned a caſe parallel to the Duke's, which had been adjudged Treaſon. The debate laſted till about half an hour after ten, when the queſtion was put, and reſolved by a majority of two hundred and thirty-four voices againſt one hundred and eighty-ſeven, 'That this Houſe will impeach *James* Duke of *Ormond* of High-Treaſon, and other High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.'

He is impeached. Pr. H. C.

It was the general opinion, that the raſh unadviſed behaviour of the Duke's pretended friends, of whom Biſhop *Atterbury* was chief, greatly promoted this vote. It was ſaid upon very good grounds, that a relation of the Duke's had prevailed upon him at that time to write a ſubmiſſive letter to the King, deſiring a favourable interpretation of his former actions, and imploring his Majeſty's clemency; which had ſo good an effect, that he was to have been privately admitted to the King in his cloſet, to confirm what he had written. But, before the time came, Biſhop *Atterbury* had been with him, and the conſequence was, that he left

715. *England* abruptly, and never returned to it more.

Earl Strafford impeached, 22 H. C.

The Commons reſuming the conſideration of the *Report*, Mr. *Aiſlaby* took notice 'of the general concern, that had appeared the day before in the Houſe, for the noble perſon, who was impeached, becauſe they were perſuaded, it was rather through weakneſs than malice, that he had followed pernicious counſels. But that, in his opinion, few, if any, would ſpeak in favour of another Lord, whom he was to impeach. That the perſon he meant was *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, one of the Plenipotentiaries of *Great-Britain* at the Congreſs at *Utrecht*, whoſe conduct had been vaſtly different from that of his Collegue, the preſent Biſhop of *London*. That this good and pious Prelate ſeemed to have been put at the head of that Negotiation, only to palliate the iniquity of it under the ſacredneſs of his character; but was little more than a cypher in the abſence of the Earl of *Strafford*. That the Biſhop, not being in the ſecret, had acted with reſerve and caution, and would do nothing without the Queen's ſpecial commands; whereas the Earl of *Strafford* not only was forward to *venture and undertake any thing* (as he expreſſes himſelf in one of his letters) to be the tool of a Frenchified Miniſtry, but in many inſtances had gone beyond his inſtructions, and adviſed the moſt pernicious meaſures. That, having impartially weighed the different conduct of theſe two Miniſters, he was glad, that nothing could be charged upon the Biſhop, which gave them an opportunity to convince the world, *that the Church is not in danger*; but moved, that Thomas *Earl of* Strafford *be impeached of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors*. Mr. *Aiſlaby* inlarged upon this charge, which he reduced to three principal heads, '1. The Earl of *Strafford*'s adviſing the fatal Suſpenſion of Arms; which was ſoon after attended with ſeveral misfortunes, that befel the Allies, and at laſt forced them to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the terms of an unſafe diſhonourable peace. 2. Adviſing the ſeizing of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, in order to diſtreſs the Allies, and favour the enemy. And, 3. The inſolence and contempt, with which he had treated the moſt ſerene Houſe of *Hanover*, and their Generals and Miniſters.' Mr. *Baillie* of *Jerviſwood* having ſeconded Mr. *Aiſlaby*, Sir *William Wyndham* endeavoured to juſtify the Earl of *Strafford*, as to the firſt head, by ſaying, 1715. 'That the peace, which was but the ſequel and neceſſary conſequence of the Suſpenſion of Arms, had been approved as ſuch by two ſucceſſive Parliaments, and declared *advantageous, ſafe, and honourable*.' Mr. *Shippen*, Mr. *Ward*, and Mr. *Snell* ſpoke alſo in favour of the Earl of *Strafford*, as did likewiſe Mr. *Hungerford*, who, among other things, ſaid, 'That, though the Biſhop of *London* had an equal ſhare with the Earl of *Strafford* in the Negotiation of peace, he was, it ſeems, to have the benefit of the Clergy.' General *Roſs* having likewiſe ſaid ſomething to excuſe the ſuſpenſion of arms, General *Cadogan* anſwered him, and ſhewed, 'That, conſidering the ſituation of both armies, the Confederates loſt the faireſt opportunity they ever had in *Flanders* to deſtroy the enemy's army, and to penetrate into the very heart of *France*.' But added, 'That nothing leſs could be expected from a Princeſs and a Miniſtry, who had intirely delivered themſelves into the hands of *France*.' Sir *James Campbel* ſpoke alſo againſt the Earl of *Strafford*; but the Member, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt in this debate, was Sir *James Dalrymple*, who, with great clearneſs and ſolidity, ſummed up what had been ſaid on both ſides; and having illuſtrated the preſent caſe by parallel inſtances, and proper obſervations, ſhewed, that, both by the civil and ſtatute laws, the Earl of *Strafford* was, at leaſt, guilty of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors. Upon this the queſtion was put, and, by two hundred and ſixty-eight againſt a hundred, it was reſolved, 'That *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* be impeached of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.'

Articles of impeachment againſt the Earl of Oxford. Pr. H. C.

The articles of impeachment againſt the Earl of *Oxford* being prepared by the *Committee of Secrecy*, they were read, on the 8th of *July*, before the Houſe of Commons, and the firſt ten were upon the queſtion ſeverally agreed to (1). The eleventh article, which was voted High-Treaſon, was to this effect:

Whereas the *States-General* were, in *September* or *October* 1712, in poſſeſſion of *Tournay* and the *French* King had (during the private, ſeparate, and traiterous Negotiation between the Earl of *Oxford* and others, and the Miniſters of *France*) ſignified his conſent that *Tournay* ſhould remain to the *States* as part of their Barrier: And whereas the Queen, in her inſtructions of *Dec.* 23, 1711, to her

(1) The ſubſtance of the articles was: 1. He had entered into a Negotiation with *France* without the Allies, and agreed it ſhould be kept ſecret. 2. He had adviſed the Queen to permit the coming of *Meſnager*, treated with him, and aſſumed, without authority, the Royal power. 3. He had prepared Preliminaries ſigned by *Meſnager*, and ſent them to *Holland*, when a private treaty was by his advice concluded with *France*. 4. He had not regarded the repreſentations of *Buis*, the *Dutch* Miniſter, but declared the Queen had made no ſuch treaty, nor would do ſo without the conſent of the *States*. 5. He had ordered the Biſhop of *London* to inſiſt upon *Spain*, though, by the Preliminaries, the Duke of *Anjou* was acknowledged as King, and though he had perſuaded the Queen not to inſiſt upon the reſtitution of *Spain*. 6. He had not procured ſatisfaction for the Allies, but acted in concert with *France*. 7. He had adviſed the Queen to accept the Duke of *Anjou*'s renunciation, though *Torci* had declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of *France*. 8. He had with others adviſed, that the Duke of *Ormond* ſhould be ordered to ingage in no battle or ſiege to the ruin of the affairs of the Allies, and afterwards ſent an order to the Biſhop of *London*, to declare, that the Queen looked upon herſelf to be then under no obligations whatſoever to the *States*. 9. He had adviſed that the Duke of *Ormond*, with all the troops in the Queen's pay, ſhould ſeparate themſelves from the army of the Allies, and not to pay the arrears due to thoſe that refuſed. 10. He had adviſed the fatal Suſpenſion of Arms, and the ſending of Lord *Bolingbroke* to *France* to ſettle the terms. 11. He had treacherouſly adviſed the enemy how to gain *Tournay*. 12. He had adviſed and aſſiſted in giving up *Spain* and the *Weſt-Indies* to the Duke of *Anjou*. 13. He had treacherouſly adviſed the 9th article of the treaty of Commerce with *France*, and the giving to the *French* the liberty of fiſhing, and drying fiſh on *Newfoundland*. 14. He had taken *Sicily* from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and given it the Duke of *Savoy*, without any application from the Duke. 15. He had cauſed the Queen to make ſeveral ſpeeches and declarations to the Parliament,

1715. her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, had expreſsly directed them to inſiſt with thoſe of *France*, that, towards forming a ſufficient Barrier, *Tournay* ſhall remain to the *States*, and did afterwards declare herſelf conformably thereto, in her ſpeech to both Houſes on the 6th of *June* 1712: And whereas for ſeveral years before, and till the months of *September* and *October*, in 1711, there was open war between the late Queen and the *French* King, the Earl of *Oxford*, then High-Treaſurer, did, during the war, falſely, maliciouſly, wickedly, and traiterouſly aſſiſt and adhere to the *French* King, and did counſel and adviſe him in what manner *Tournay* might be gained from the *States*, contrary to his allegiance, and the laws of the Realm.

Debate on the 11th article.

A great debate aroſe upon the queſtion, Whether this article was High-Treaſon? Sir *Robert Raymond*, formerly Solliciter-General, Mr. *Bromley*, Sir *William Wyndham*, the Auditors *Harley* and *Foley*, Mr. *Ward*, and Mr. *Hungerford* (who had already ſpoke in favour of the Earl of *Oxford*) maintained the negative, and were ſtrongly ſupported by Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*. Sir *Joſeph* ſaid, among other things: 'That it was ever his principle to do juſtice to every body from the higheſt to the loweſt, being perſuaded, that it was the duty of an honeſt man never to act by a ſpirit of party. That he hoped he might pretend to have ſome knowledge of the laws of the Kingdom; and as, in the *Committee of Secrecy*, he had taken the liberty to differ from his Collegues, he would not ſcruple to declare now to the whole Houſe, that, in his judgment, the charge in queſtion did not amount to High-Treaſon.' Moſt of the other Members of the *Committee of Secrecy* were offended at this ſpeech, which both revealed and cenſured their proceedings; and Mr. *Walpole* anſwered with ſome warmth, 'That there were both in and out of the *Committee of Secrecy* ſeveral perſons, who did not in the leaſt yield to the Member, that ſpoke laſt, in point of honeſty; and who, without derogating from his merit, were ſuperior to him in the knowledge of the laws; but who, at the ſame time, were ſatisfied, that the charge ſpecified in the eleventh article amounted to Treaſon.' Mr. *Walpole* was ſeconded by Mr. *Stanhope*, the Lord *Coningsby*, General *Cadogan*, Mr. *Boſcawen*, and Mr. *Aiſlaiby*: And, the article being amended, was agreed to by a majority of two hundred and forty-ſeven votes againſt one hundred and twenty-ſeven. Mr. Auditor *Harley* endeavoured to juſtify his Brother, firſt, by urging, that he ever acted by the late Queen's poſitive commands; to prove which he offered to produce two letters from her: And, ſecondly, the neceſſity of making a peace; and he having upon this occaſion advanced, that the *Dutch* prolonged the war, and that their Deputies in the army had often prevented the giving the enemy a deciſive blow; General *Cadogan* anſwered him with great force, and ſhewed, 'that the *Dutch* were more concerned than any Prince or State in the Grand Alliance to put an end to the war; and undertook to prove, that there had not been any campaign in *Flanders*, except that, in which the Duke of *Ormond* commanded, that was not marked and famous to all poſterity for ſome ſignal and glorious event, to the advantage of the common cauſe.' The reſt of the articles being agreed to, the Lord *Coningsby*, attended by moſt of the Members who voted for the impeachment, went up to the Lords, and at the Bar of the Houſe impeached the Earl of *Oxford* of High-Treaſon, *&c.* The Commons, at the end of the articles, prayed and demanded, that he might be ſequeſtered from Parliament, and committed to ſafe cuſtody. 1715.

As ſoon as Lord *Coningſby* and the Members were withdrawn, a Tory Lord moved for adjourning the conſideration of the articles, and was ſeconded by ſeveral of the Peers of that party, particularly by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who urged, 'That this accuſation was of ſo extraordinary a nature, and ſo very important, both in itſelf and its conſequences, that the Houſe ought to proceed on it with the utmoſt caution and deliberation.' But he was anſwered by the Duke of *Argyle*, who, among other things, ſaid, 'It was well known, that the Prelate, who ſpoke laſt, had of late ſtudied Politics more than Divinity, and was thoroughly acquainted with the ſubject-matter of the articles, that lay before them; and therefore he did not doubt, but his Lordſhip was now as ready to ſpeak to them, as he could ever be, if he had more time to conſider of them.' After a debate of about an hour and a half, the articles were voted to be read by a majority of eighty-ſix againſt fifty-four; which being done, a motion was made for conſulting the Judges, whether the charge amounted to High-Treaſon. The Lords *Trevor* and *Harcourt*, the Dukes of *Shrewſbury* and *Leeds*, Earl *Powlet*, the Lord *North* and *Grey*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſome other Peers of the ſame ſide, were for conſulting the Judges; but the Lord-Chancellor, the Dukes of *Argyle* and *Montroſe*, the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Sunderland*, *Dorſet*, and *Ilay*; the Lord Viſcount *Townſhend*, and ſome other Lords ſpoke againſt it. The Lord *Trevor* having gone ſo far, as to declare his opinion, That none of the articles amounted to High-Treaſon, he was anſwered by the Lord *Cowper*, who ſhewed the contrary, and challenged all the Lawyers in *England* to diſprove his arguments. The other ſide ſtill inſiſting on conſulting the Judges, the Earl of *Nottingham* repreſented to them, 'That inſtead of favouring thereby the noble perſon, who

The Lords refuſe to conſult the Judges.

ment, wherein the terms of Peace and Commerce were falſely repreſented. 16. He had as far as in him lay deſtroyed the independency of the Houſe of Lords, by cauſing the Queen to create twelve Peers at once to ſerve his ends. To theſe were afterwards added the ſix following articles: 17. He had not (as Prime Miniſter) adviſed the Queen againſt the deſtructive expedition to *Canada*. 18. He had procured a warrant for 13000 *l.* for his own uſe. 19. He had procured a warrant for 5560 *l.* to his relation *Thomas Harley*. 20. He had paid a large ſum of money to King *James's* Queen. 21. He had received *Patrick Lileſh* (alias) *Lawleſs*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt as a foreign Miniſter, and cauſed ſeveral ſums of money to be paid him. 22. He had with others cauſed the *Catalans* to be expoſed to the fury of an inraged, revengeful Prince, againſt whom the late Queen had engaged them to take arms.

(1) Sir

who had the misfortune to be impeached, as undoubtedly they meant it, they might, on the contrary, do him a great prejudice. For if, upon conſulting the Judges, they declared the charge to amount to Treaſon, he would ſtand prejudged, before he was brought to his trial.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the negative was carried by eighty-four voices againſt fifty-two. And then it was moved, that the Earl of *Oxford* ſhould be committed to ſafe cuſtody; which occaſioned another debate; and the Earl himſelf made a ſpeech, wherein he took notice of 'his having had the honour to be placed at the head of the late Miniſtry; and muſt now, it ſeems, be made accountable for all the meaſures, that were then purſued. But that it was a very great comfort to him under this misfortune, that he had the honour to be a Member of that auguſt Aſſembly, which always ſquares their proceedings and judgments by the rules of honour, juſtice, and equity, and is not to be biaſſed by a ſpirit of party. That the whole accuſation might be reduced to the Negotiation and Concluſion of the peace. That the Nation wanted a peace (ſays he) nobody will deny; and, I hope, it will be as eaſily made out, that the conditions of this peace are as good, as could be expected, conſidering the circumſtances, wherein it was made, and the backwardneſs and reluctancy, which ſome of the Allies ſhewed to come into the Queen's meaſures. This is certain, that this peace, as bad as it is now repreſented, was approved by two ſucceſſive Parliaments. It is indeed ſuggeſted againſt this peace, that it was a *ſeparate one*. But I hope, my Lords, it will be made appear, that it was *general*; and that it was *France*, and not *Great-Britain*, that made the firſt ſteps towards a Negotiation. And, my Lords, I will be bold to ſay, that, during my whole Adminiſtration, the Sovereign upon the Throne was loved at home, and feared abroad. As to the buſineſs of *Tournay*, which is made a capital charge, I can ſafely aver, that I had no manner of ſhare in it; and that the ſame was wholly tranſacted by that unfortunate Nobleman, who thought fit to ſtep aſide. But I dare ſay in his behalf, that, if this charge could be proved, it would not amount to Treaſon. For my own part, as I always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late Queen, and never offended againſt any known law, I am juſtified in my own conſcience, and unconcerned for the life of an inſignificant old man. But I cannot, without the higheſt ingratitude, be unconcerned for the beſt of Queens; a Queen, who heaped upon me honours and preferments, though I never aſked for them; and therefore I think myſelf under an obligation to vindicate her memory, and the meaſures ſhe purſued, to my dying breath. My Lords, if Miniſters of State, acting by the immediate commands of their Sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may one day or other be the caſe of all the Members of this auguſt Aſſembly. I do not doubt, therefore, that, out of regard to yourſelves, your Lordſhips will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope, that, in the proſecution of this inquiry, it will appear, that I have merited, not only the indulgence, but likewiſe the favour of this Government. My Lords, I am now to take my leave of your Lordſhips, and of this honourable Houſe, perhaps for ever! I ſhall lay down my life with pleaſure, in a cauſe favoured by my late dear Royal Miſtreſs. And when I conſider, that I am to be judged by the juſtice, honour, and virtue of my Peers, I ſhall acquieſce, and retire with great content. And, my Lords, God's will be done.' 1715.

He is committed to cuſtody.

Before the queſtion for committing him was put, the Duke of *Shrewſbury* acquainted the Houſe, that the Earl was at preſent very much indiſpoſed with the gravel; and therefore he hoped they would not immediately ſend him to the *Tower*, but ſuffer him to be two or three days in cuſtody of the Black Rod, at his own houſe; which met with no oppoſition.

When the Earl of *Oxford* went home, he was attended by a mob, that cried out, *High Church*, Ormond, *and* Oxford *for ever*. However of twenty Biſhops, who were in the Houſe that day, ſix only were for him (1).

July 12. The Earl of *Oxford* being brought the next day to the Bar of the Houſe, and having received a copy of the articles, he repreſented, 'That the ableſt men in the Nation had been many weeks in drawing up thoſe long articles againſt him; and therefore he hoped the Houſe would allow him a proportionable time to anſwer them.' He took that occaſion 'to thank them for their great humanity in not ſending him to the *Tower*, and, as he ſtill laboured under the ſame indiſpoſition, he humbly deſired them to permit him to continue ſome few days more at his own houſe, under the cuſtody of the Black Rod.' The Earl being withdrawn, the Lords reſolved to allow him a month to anſwer the articles of impeachment; and Dr. *Mead*, one of his Phyſicians, being conſulted, and having made a kind of affidavit, 'That, if the Earl were ſent to the *Tower*, his life would be in danger;' a motion was made, 'That he might continue in his houſe till the *Monday* following.' But this was oppoſed, and after a warm debate it was carried by eighty-one againſt fifty-five, that he ſhould be ſent to the *Tower* on *Saturday* the 16th of *July*.

During the courſe of this debate, the Earl of *Angleſey* having ſaid, 'That it was to be feared, theſe violent meaſures would make the Scepter ſhake in the King's hands;' moſt of the Lords were offended at this ſuggeſtion, and ſome cried, to *the Tower*, and others only *to Order*. The Earl of *Sutherland* ſtanding up ſaid, 'He trembled with indignation to hear ſuch words pronounced in that noble Aſſembly. That, if they had been ſpoke any where elſe, he would call the perſon, that ſpoke them, to an account. But all he could do there was to move, that he might explain himſelf.' The Earl of *Sutherland* was ſeconded by the Duke of *Roxburgh*, who, among other things, ſaid, 'That the Scepter was ſo well riveted in the King's hand, that, inſtead of ſhaking, it would cruſh all his Majeſty's enemies.' Upon theſe, and ſome other ſpeeches, the Earl of *Angleſey* ſaid, 'It was but too

(1) Sir *William Dawes*, Archbiſhop of *York*,
Dr. *John Robinſon*, Biſhop of *London*,
Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*,
Dr. *George Smalridge*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*,
Dr. *Francis Gaſtrel*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*,
Dr. *Nathaniel Crew*, Biſhop of *Durham*.

(1) The

1715. too manifeſt by the riots, that were daily committed in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, that the Nation in general was againſt theſe impeachments: For his own part, he was ſo far from approving thoſe tumultuous aſſemblies, and diſorders, that he rather wiſhed a ſtop might be put to them by exemplary puniſhments. He had, on ſeveral occaſions, given ſufficient proofs of his zeal and affection for the Revolution and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. What he had now advanced, was the reſult of the ſame zeal for the peace and proſperity of his Majeſty's Reign. However, if he had been ſo unhappy, as by any unguarded or paſſionate expreſſion to give offence to that Auguſt aſſembly, he was very ſorry for it.' Notwithſtanding this apology, ſome Members were inclined to have him ſent to the *Tower*; but, the very words, he had ſpoken, not having been taken down in writing, his explanation was admitted. It is obſervable, that on this occaſion, beſides the ſix Biſhops, before mentioned, thoſe of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *St. David*'s voted for the Earl of *Oxford*; and that the Earl was by many blamed for putting off his going to the *Tower*, which, they ſaid, did not correſpond with that firmneſs he had hitherto ſhewn. It is certain, as he came in his own coach to the Houſe of Lords, he might with as much eaſe have been carried to the *Tower*, either by water, or in a ſedan, and have had there the ſame attendance of his friends and phyſicians. The Houſe having met on *Friday*, the 15th of *July*, they adjourned to the *Monday* following, to avoid, as it was generally ſurmiſed, any freſh motion, which the Earl of *Oxford*'s friends might make for deferring his being ſent to the *Tower*, where he was carried by the Black-Rod on the day appointed about eight o'clock in the evening in his chariot, attended by two hackney-coaches, in which were his Lady, his Son the Lord *Harley*, and ſome other of the Earl's relations and ſervants. Though theſe three coaches went from his houſe near *St. James*'s-Palace up *St. James's-Street*, and then through *Piccadilly*, *Gerard-Street*, *Monmouth-Street*, and *Holbourn*, with deſign to avoid a crowd, yet were they attended by a great many of the common people, whoſe numbers being much increaſed in their return from the *Tower*, they raiſed a tumult in the ſtreets, with their cry of *High Church*, Ormond, *and* Oxford *for ever*, upon which three or four of the mutineers were by the Conſtables carried to the Round-houſe.

The Earl of Oxford *carried to the* Tower, July 16.

Addreſs of the Commons about tumults. Pr. H. C.

Theſe riots and tumults were not confined to *London*, but were ſpread through the Kingdom. The day before the Earl of *Oxford* was ſent to the *Tower*, the Houſe of Commons received information of their tumultuous proceedings in *Staffordſhire*, where ſeveral Meeting-Houſes had been pulled down by the mob. Upon this the Commons unanimouſly reſolved to addreſs the King, that the laws might be put in a ſpeedy and moſt vigorous execution againſt the Rioters, and an account be taken of ſuch Juſtices, as failed in the diſcharge of their duty; and that the ſufferers, by theſe riots, may have a full compenſation for their damages, which they would inable his Majeſty to make good, out of the next aids granted by Parliament. The King, in his anſwer, promiſed an immediate compliance with their requeſt, and hoped, by their ſeaſonable aſſiſtance, to ſuppreſs the ſpirit of rebellion, and eſtabliſh peace and proſperity.

For the more effectual prevention of riots, the King came to the Houſe of Peers on the 20th of *July*, and, among others, gave the Royal aſſent to the *Proclamation-act*, as it is commonly called, by which act, if any perſons, to the number of twelve, being unlawfully aſſembled, to the diſturbance of the peace, and being required by a Juſtice of Peace or other Officer, by proclamation in the King's name, to diſperſe themſelves, ſhall riotouſly continue together one hour after the proclamation, it ſhall be felony without benefit of the Clergy (1). After paſſing this and the reſt of the acts, the Chancellor read the following ſpeech, delivered into his hands by the King: *The proclamation act paſſed July 20.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE zeal you have ſhewn for preſerving *The Lords addreſs'd the King.*
" the peace of my Kingdoms, and your
" wiſdom in providing ſo good a law to prevent
" all riotous and tumultuous proceedings, give
" me great ſatisfaction. But I am ſorry to
" find, that ſuch a ſpirit of Rebellion has diſ-
" covered itſelf, as leaves no room to doubt,
" but theſe diſorders are ſet on foot and en-
" couraged by perſons diſaffected to my Govern-
" ment, in expectation of being ſupported from
" abroad.

" The preſervation of our excellent Conſtitu-
" tion, and the ſecurity of our holy Religion,
" has been, and always ſhall be, my chief care;
" and I cannot queſtion but your concern for
" theſe invaluable bleſſings is ſo great, as not
" to let them be expoſed to ſuch attempts, as I
" have certain advice are preparing by the Pre-
" tender from abroad, and carrying on at home
" by a reſtleſs party in his favour.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" In theſe circumſtances I think it proper to
" aſk your aſſiſtance, and make no doubt but
" you will ſo far conſult your own ſecurity, as
" not to leave the Nation under a Rebellion
" actually begun at home, and threatened with
" an Invaſion from abroad, in a defenceleſs con-
" dition. And I ſhall look upon the proviſion
" you ſhall make for the ſafety of my peo-
" ple, as the beſt mark of your affection to
" me."

The

(1) The proclamation muſt be in theſe words: Our Sovereign Lord the King chargeth and commandeth all perſons, being aſſembled, immediately to diſperſe themſelves, and peaceably depart to their habitations, or to their lawful buſineſs, upon the pains contained in the act made in the firſt year of King *George*, for preventing tumults and riotous aſſemblies. This act is to be read at every Seſſions and Leet.

Other acts paſſed at this time were: 1. For continuing the impriſonment of the Conſpirators againſt King *William*. 2. For the Quakers affirmation inſtead of their oath. 3. An act for regulating the forces. 4. The malt-tax. Laſtly, An act to explain the act of 12 *Will.* III, for the further limitation of the Crown, &c.

(1) When

The King, as appears by this ſpeech, had received ſome intelligence of the Rebellion forming againſt him. Though the diſaffected in *England* vented their fury in riots, and tumults, in breaking windows, and demoliſhing Meeting-Houſes, the caſe was very different in *Scotland*, where the deſigns of the Jacobites were carried on with more ſecrecy and order, and very probably would have ſucceeded, had they been ſupported by their friends in *England*, as will hereafter appear.

The Commons in their addreſs of thanks aſſure the King, that they will, with their lives and fortunes, ſtand by and ſupport him againſt all his open and ſecret enemies; and deſire him immediately to give directions for fitting out ſuch a number of ſhips, as may effectually guard the coaſts, and to iſſue out Commiſſions for augmenting his forces by land; promiſing, without loſs of time, effectually to enable him to raiſe and maintain ſuch a number of forces, both by ſea and land, as ſhall be neceſſary for the defence of his ſacred Perſon, and for the ſecurity of his Kingdoms (1).'

An addreſs with the offer of their lives and fortunes was alſo preſented by the Lords. The ſame day the *Convocation* waited on the King with an addreſs, wherein, having thanked him for his meſſage to the Commons, about the maintenance for the Miniſters of the fifty new Churches, they proceed: 'After all the declarations your Majeſty has been pleaſed to make in favour of our Eſtabliſhed Church, and the real proofs you have given for the concern of its intereſt; we hope, that none will be found ſo unjuſt, as to doubt of your affection to it. And we do moſt humbly aſſure your Majeſty, that we will take all opportunities to inſtil into thoſe, who are under our care, the ſame grateful ſenſe, that we ourſelves have of your Majeſty's goodneſs; and that at this time more eſpecially, when the quiet of your Realms is diſturbed by Inſurrections at home, and the Nation threatened with an Invaſion from abroad, we will put them in mind of thoſe ſtrict obligations of conſcience, whereby they are engaged to defend and ſupport your Majeſty's Government; and will earneſtly exhort them to exemplify, by a ſuitable practice, thoſe principles of obedience and loyalty, which the Church of *England* has always thought it her duty to profeſs.' All theſe addreſſes met with a very gracious reception.

The Parliament paſſed an act to impower the King to ſecure ſuſpected perſons, and to ſuſpend the *Habeas Corpus* Act in that time of danger. A clauſe was added to a Money-Bill for the reward of 100,000 *l.* to ſuch as ſhould ſeize the Pretender dead or alive. Upon a motion of Mr. *Walpole*, the Commons ordered an addreſs for giving full pay to ſuch half-pay Officers as were not provided for. Sir *George Byng* ſet out for the *Downs* to take upon him the command of the fleet, and General *Erle* went to his Government of *Portſmouth* to put that place in a poſture of defence. General *Cadogan* marked out a camp in *Hyde-Park* for the Foot-guards. Lord *Irwin* was made Governor of *Hull*, in the room of Brigadier *Sutton*, who with the Generals *Roſs*, *Webb*, and *Stewart*, the Lord *Windſor*, Colonel *Deſcanay*, and other officers were either diſmiſſed the ſervice or ordered to ſell. 1715.

Twenty-one regiments raiſed.

Purſuant to the Commons addreſs, the King ordered thirteen regiments of dragoons, conſiſting of three thouſand men, and eight of foot, conſiſting of four thouſand, to be raiſed. He left the nomination of the Officers to the Dukes of *Marlborough* and *Argyle*, and the Generals *Stanhope* and *Cadogan* (2). The Trained-bands were alſo ordered to be in a readineſs to ſuppreſs riots and tumults. Upon this, the ſeveral bodies concerned in theſe orders came to Court with addreſſes, expreſſing their abhorrence of all ſeditious and tumultuous aſſemblies, and their reſolution to do their duty in preſerving the public peace, and to ſtand by and aſſiſt his Majeſty with their perſons and eſtates. Theſe addreſſes were from the Common-Council of the City of *London* (3), from the Lieutenancy of the ſame City, and from the Earl of *Clare*, who was Lord-Lieutenant of the County of *Middleſex*, with the Deputy-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the Peace. Theſe were followed by ſeveral others, particularly from the Biſhop of *London* and his Clergy; the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, the Diſſenting Miniſters of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, and the Univerſity of *Oxford*; but the Members of that Univerſity, when they preſented their addreſs, were told, 'That, as they had ſhewn an open diſreſpect to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government in their late conduct, his Majeſty expected they ſhould ſatisfy him better of their loyalty by their future behaviour, before they attempted it by words.' Nor was it a ſmall part of the reaſon of the public diſpleaſure, and of the repulſe, which the Univerſity of *Oxford* met with on that occaſion, that, at the very time it was to be preſented, an account came to Court by expreſs, that ſome of the King's Officers, who were beating up for Volunteers for a new regiment of dragoons, were attacked by ſome of the Scholars, and hardly eſcaped being killed.

Whilſt

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(1) When the motion was made for this addreſs, the Lord *Guernſey*, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of *Aylesbury*, ſaid, 'It was well known he had, on ſeveral occaſions, differed from ſome Members in that Houſe; but being now convinced, that our Liberty, Religion, and all that is dear to *Engliſhmen*, were aimed at, he would (*laying his hand on his ſword*) rather die with his ſword in his hand, than ſurvive the Pretender's coming in, though he were to enjoy the greateſt honours and preferments under him.'

(2) The thirteen Colonels of the dragoons were:

Wynne,	*Honeywood*,
Pepper,	*Bowles*,
Gore,	*Munden*,
Dormer,	*Rich*,
Newton,	*Moleſworth*,
Churchill,	*Stanhope*.
Tyrrel,	

The eight Colonels of the foot were:

Stanwix,	*Pocock*,
Hotham.	*Lucas*,
Grant,	*Chudley*,
Dubourgay,	*Handaſyde*.

(3) The Common-Council in their addreſs tell the King, 'They fear the intended Invaſion has been too much encouraged by perſons of Antimonarchical and Republican principles.'

1715. *Additional articles againſt the Lord* Oxford, July 30. *The Lord* Bolingbroke *impeached*, Aug. 4. *Debate on the articles againſt the Duke of* Ormond. Aug. 5.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the Commons added ſix articles more againſt the Earl of *Oxford*; and, two days after, the articles of impeachment againſt the Lord *Bolingbroke* were agreed to, and delivered by Mr. *Walpole* at the bar of the Houſe of Lords, where he impeached him. The next day, the articles againſt the Duke of *Ormond* being read, there aroſe a warm debate, in which ſeveral remarkable ſpeeches were made. Among the reſt, a Member of a conſiderable eſtate, and who had all along voted with the Tories, ſaid, That the *Report* of the *Committee of Secrecy* had begun to open his eyes; and that the Duke of *Ormond*'s flight had fully convinced him, that the heads of the Tory party were a ſet of knaves and villains, who deſigned to have ruined their Country, and made it a province to *France*.' The Lord *Stanhope*, the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of *Cheſterfield*, who ſpoke for the firſt time on this occaſion, ſaid, 'He never wiſhed to ſpill the blood of any of his Countrymen, much leſs of any Nobleman; but that he was perſuaded, that the ſafety of his Country required, that examples ſhould be made of thoſe, who betrayed it in ſo infamous a manner.' The Lord *Finch*, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of *Nottingham*, ſpoke alſo on the ſame ſide; and, after ſome other ſpeeches, the firſt article was agreed to by a majority of a hundred and ſeventy-ſeven voices againſt ſeventy-eight; and then the other articles alſo were ſeverally agreed to by the Houſe. The firſt article charged the Duke with correſponding with Marſhal *Villars*, the *French* General, while he commanded the *Britiſh* army in *Flanders*. The ſecond, That he wickedly promiſed and engaged, that he would not attack the *French* army, nor engage in any ſiege againſt *France*. The third, That he did falſly, maliciouſly, wickedly, and traiterouſly adhere to the *French* King; and, in purſuance of a wicked promiſe he had ſecretly made with the Marſhal *de Villars*, he endeavoured to perſuade the Generals of the Confederate army to raiſe the ſiege of *Queſnoy*; and, when he could not prevail, marched off with the Queen's troops, and gave the enemy's General advice of it. The other articles are in effect his conduct in *Flanders* reduced into a charge. And, both he and the Lord *Bolingbroke* having fled from juſtice, bills were brought in to ſummon them to render themſelves by the 10th of *September*, and, in default thereof, to attaint them of High-Treaſon; which paſſed both Houſes, and received the Royal aſſent.

On the 8th of *Auguſt*, the Houſe of Commons was called over, and among ſeveral abſent Members, who were not excuſed, Sir *Michael Wharton*, Mr. *Corbet Kynaſton*, and Mr. *Lewis Pryſe* were ordered into cuſtody. The two former were immediately diſcharged; but Mr. *Pryſe* declining to take the oaths, and having never attended the Houſe, for that and other reaſons, and being not found by the Meſſengers, was afterwards expelled.

On the 31ſt of *Auguſt* the articles againſt the Earl of *Strafford* were agreed to by the Commons, and carried by Mr. *Aiſlabie* to the Lords. The articles being read in the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of *Strafford* made a long ſpeech, wherein, among other things, he complained of the hardſhips which had been put upon him by ſeizing his papers in an unprecedented manner: That he deſigned to have drawn up and printed an account of all his Negotiations; whereby he did not doubt he ſhould have made it appear to all the world, that he had done nothing but in diſcharge of his duty, and of the truſt repoſed in him. That if, either in his letters or diſcourſes, while he had the honour to repreſent the Crown of *Great-Britain*, he had dropped any unguarded expreſſions againſt ſome foreign Miniſters, he hoped the ſame would not be accounted a crime by a *Britiſh* Houſe of Peers. He concluded with deſiring, that a competent time might be allowed him to anſwer the articles now brought againſt him; and that he might have duplicates of all the papers, that either had been laid before the *Committee of Secrecy*, or were ſtill in the hands of the Government, which might be for his juſtification.' The Lord *Townſhend* ſaid, 'That his complaint about the taking his papers from him was altogether groundleſs and unjuſt: That infinite inſtances of the like proceedings might be produced: That no State could be ſafe without it; and, in ſhort, that extraordinary caſes juſtify extraordinary methods. As to the Earl's demand to have duplicates of all the papers, that had been laid before the Commons, he (the Lord *Townſhend*) thought it unreaſonable, and made with no other deſign than to gain time, and make the Commons loſe the opportunity of bringing him to his trial. That thoſe papers were ſo voluminous (conſiſting of thirteen or fourteen volumes in folio) that they could not be copied out in many weeks; and as the Earl might have had acceſs to them, ever ſince they were laid before the Parliament, ſo he was ſtill at liberty to peruſe them, and extract out of them what he thought proper for his own defence.' The Duke of *Devonſhire* and the Lord Chancellor *Cowper* ſeconded the Lord *Townſhend*; on the other hand, the late Lord Chancellor *Harcourt* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* ſpoke for the Earl of *Strafford*; but what availed the latter moſt, was ſaid by the Earl of *Ilay*, who repreſented, 'That, in all civilized Nations, all Courts of judicature, except the Inquiſition, allowed the perſons arraigned all that was neceſſary for their juſtification; and that the Houſe of Peers of *Great-Britain* ought not, in this caſe, to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity, for which they are ſo juſtly renowned throughout all *Europe*.' Upon this it was reſolved, 'That the Earl of *Strafford* ſhould have copies of all ſuch papers, as were in the Secretary's and other offices, which he ſhould think proper for his defence: That he ſhould have free acceſs to the papers, that had been laid before the Commons: And that a month's time be allowed him, to anſwer the articles of impeachment againſt him.'

Articles againſt the Earl of Strafford.

On the 3d of *September* the Earl of *Oxford* cauſed his anſwer to the Commons impeachment to be delivered to the Houſe of Lords, who tranſmitted it to the Commons, where it occaſioned a ſmall debate. Mr. *Walpole*, among other things, ſaid, 'He had not yet had time to examine that anſwer; but he now heard it read with a great deal of attention, and, in his opinion, it contained little more than what had been ſuggeſted in vindication of the late meaſures, in a pamphlet intitled, *The conduct of the Allies*, and repeated over and over in the papers called *the Examiner*. That the main drift of this anſwer ſeemed to prove theſe two aſſertions: Firſt, that the Earl of *Oxford* had no

ſhare

15. ſhare in the adviſing and managing the matters mentioned in the articles againſt him; but that the late Queen did every thing: And, ſecondly, that the late Queen was a wiſe, good, and pious Princeſs. That, if the ſecond propoſition were not better grounded than the firſt, the reputation of that excellent Princeſs would be very precarious; but as every body muſt own her to have been a good and pious Queen; ſo it was notorious, that the Earl of *Oxford*, as prime Miniſter, was the chief adviſer, promoter, and manager of the matters charged upon him in the articles. And therefore his anſwer was a falſe and malicious libel, laying upon his Royal Miſtreſs the blame of all the pernicious meaſures he had led her into, againſt her own honour, and the good of his country. That he hoped the Earl's endeavouring to ſcreen himſelf behind the Queen's name would avail him nothing: That it is indeed a fundamental maxim of our Conſtitution, *That Kings can do no wrong*; but, at the ſame time, it is no leſs certain, *That Miniſters of State are accountable for their actions*: Otherwiſe a Parliament would be but an empty name; the Commons would have no buſineſs in that place; and the Government would be abſolute and arbitrary. That though the Earl had the aſſurance to aver, that he had no ſhare in the management of affairs, that were tranſacted, while he was at the helm, yet he pretended to juſtify the late meaſures. And therefore, in that reſpect, his anſwer ought to be looked upon as a libel on the proceedings of the Commons, ſince he endeavoured to clear thoſe perſons, who had already confeſſed their guilt by flight.' Mr. *Shippen*, a creature of the Earl of *Oxford*, ſaid, It would not become him to defend the Earl's anſwer, ſince, as a Member of that honourable Aſſembly, he was become one of his accuſers; but he could not forbear wiſhing, this proſecution might be dropped, and that the Houſe would be ſatisfied with the two late acts of attainder. That this wiſh of his was the ſtronger, becauſe one of the principal reaſons, that induced the Commons to impeach the Earl of *Oxford*, ſubſiſted no longer, the affairs of *Europe* having received a ſudden turn from the death of the *French* King, whereby the *Renunciation* of King *Philip* began to take place in the advancement of the Duke of *Orleans* to the abſolute regency of *France*.' Mr. *Aiſlabie* anſwered, 'He hoped it was to little purpoſe, that the Gentleman, who ſpoke laſt, endeavoured to move the pity and compaſſion of the Houſe, and perſuade them to drop this proſecution. That this was not a proper time to examine and reply to the Earl of *Oxford*'s anſwer; and therefore he would content himſelf with ſaying in general, that it was a contexture of the *ſhifts*, *evaſions*, and *falſe repreſentations* contained in the *three parts* of the *hiſtory of the White Staff*. As to what had been ſuggeſted concerning the event, which ſeemed to have ſtrengthened the *Renunciation*, he did not deny, there might be ſomething in it, which was manifeſt from the great joy the well-affected to the Government had ſhewn on this occaſion, and from the mortification and deſpair, that appeared in the faces of a certain party. But, after all, it could not yet be aſcertained, that the *Renunciation* was in force: That there was a vaſt difference between the *Regency* and the *Crown*; that time only could decide that matter; but even ſuppoſing, that, by the concurrence of unforeſeen events, King *Philip*'s *Renunciation* ſhould at laſt take place, yet the ſame would not juſtify the Miniſters, who propoſed and laid it as the foundation of the late peace, ſince they, with whom they treated, were ſo frank and ſo ſincere as to tell them, that it could never be valid by the fundamental laws of *France*.' After ſome other ſpeeches, it was ordered, 1. That the anſwer of *Robert* Earl of *Oxford* be referred to the Committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence againſt the impeached Lords. 2. That the Committee prepare a replication to the anſwer. Accordingly a replication was prepared, and being agreed to was ſent to the Lords. 1715.

Report about Mr. Prior. Sept 20.

The next day, a Report from the ſame Committee, concerning the ſtate and circumſtances of Mr. *Prior*'s commitment, was made to the Houſe in the following manner:

'That, in the peruſal and examination of the ſeveral books and papers referred to the *Committee of Secrecy*, Mr. *Prior* appeared, through the whole progreſs of the ſeparate and pernicious Negotiations, carried on between the Miniſters of *Great-Britain* and *France*, to have been principally concerned as an Agent and Inſtrument of thoſe evil and traiterous Counſellors, ſome of which are already attainted, and others ſtand impeached of High-Treaſon, and other High Crimes and Miſdemeanors: And the Committee conceiving there were matters contained in the firſt general Report, from which crimes of a very high nature ought to be juſtly charged and imputed to Mr. *Prior*, whenever the Houſe ſhould think proper to enter into that conſideration; as likewiſe that Mr. *Prior* was able to give great lights into all thoſe dark and ſecret tranſactions, when he ſhould be called upon by the Great Council of the Nation, or any Committee appointed by them, to give an account of the Negotiations, in which he was concerned as a public Miniſter; the Houſe, upon a motion from the Committee for that purpoſe, was pleaſed to order, before the Report was made, that Mr. *Prior* ſhould be taken into cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, to prevent his making his eſcape, upon notice of what was contained in the Report.

That this method of confining Mr. *Prior* is not only agreeable to former precedents upon the like occaſions, but neceſſary and eſſential to that great duty and privilege of the Houſe of Commons, of redreſſing grievances, and bringing great offenders to juſtice.

That the Committee did, ſome time after, purſuant to the powers given them by the Houſe, proceed to examine Mr. *Prior* concerning ſeveral matters, of which there can be no doubt but he was fully apprized and acquainted with; in which examination Mr. *Prior* did behave himſelf with ſuch contempt of the authority of Parliament, and prevaricate in ſo groſs a manner, as moſt juſtly to deſerve the higheſt diſpleaſure of the Houſe.

But finding at laſt, after an examination of ſeveral hours, that it was impoſſible for him to diſguiſe or conceal ſome facts, that were before the Committee, he was induced to declare upon oath ſome truths, which will be very material evidence upon the trials of the impeached Lords.

And the Committee having notice, that Mr. *Prior* had, during his firſt confinement, met and

1715. conferred with the Earl of *Oxford*, and his nearest relations and dependants, which Mr. *Prior* confeſſed to be true, thought it their duty to move the Houſe, that Mr. *Prior* might be committed to cloſer cuſtody.

From this ſhort ſtate of the proceedings relating to Mr. *Prior*, the Committee ſubmits it to the wiſdom of the Houſe, Whether his behaviour has ſo far merited the favour and mercy of the Houſe, as to make that confinement more eaſy to him, which his contempt of the Commons of *Great-Britain*, and his notorious prevarication, moſt juſtly brought him into. And it ſeems worthy of conſideration, how far it may be thought adviſeable for the Houſe of Commons to ſet at liberty a perſon in their cuſtody, and committed according to the antient methods and practice of Parliament; who is a material evidence againſt high offenders, under proſecution of the Commons of *Great-Britain*, and who, there is reaſon to apprehend, would immediately withdraw himſelf, and, as far as in him lay, defeat the juſtice of the Nation.'

After the reading of this Report, the Commons ordered, 'That the Committee be impowered to ſit, notwithſtanding any adjournment of the Houſe.'

The names and coats of arms of the Lord Bolingbroke *and Duke of* Ormond *razed.*

The time for the Duke of *Ormond* and the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* to render themſelves being expired, the Houſe of Lords ordered the Earl Marſhal to raze out of the liſt of Peers their names and coats of arms. Inventories were likewiſe directed to be taken of their perſonal eſtates; and the atchievement of the Duke, as Knight of the Garter, to be taken down from *St. George*'s Chapel at *Windſor*.

An act paſſed to encourage loyalty in Scotland.

On the 30th of *Auguſt*, an act received the Royal aſſent, for encouraging loyalty in *Scotland*. By this act every vaſſal that holds lands of any ſuperior guilty of High-Treaſon, by abetting the Pretender, and continues peaceable, ſhall be inveſted with the ſaid lands in fee and heritage for ever. In like manner, if any ſubject of *Great-Britain*, holding lands of a ſuperior in *Scotland*, ſhall be guilty of ſuch High-Treaſon, his lands ſhall return into the hands of the ſuperior, and be conſolidated with the ſuperiority. All entails and ſettlements of eſtates, ſince the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1714, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the puniſhment of the law due to the offence of High-Treaſon, by abetting the Pretender, ſhall be null and void. Beſides theſe and other particulars, this act had a clauſe in it, for ſummoning any ſuſpected perſon in *Scotland* to appear at *Edinburgh*, or where it ſhould be judged expedient, to find bail for his good behaviour, with certification, that, if they did not appear at the time appointed, they would be denounced Rebels. Purſuant to this clauſe, all the heads of the Jacobite Clans, and other ſuſpected perſons, were ſoon after ſummoned to appear at *Edinburgh*, and not obeying the ſummons, they were declared Rebels.

By this time the Court had received certain information, that an open Rebellion was broke out in *Scotland*, under the direction of the Earl of *Mar*, which was to be ſupported by a great Conſpiracy in *England*. The Earl of *Mar*, at the death of Queen *Anne*, was Secretary of State for *Scotland*, and had been one of the firſt who made profeſſions of their loyalty and affection to King *George*, as appears by a letter he wrote the King before his arrival (1). The Earl had alſo taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. But, not meeting the encouragement he expected, the Earl, about the 8th of *Auguſt* 1715, imbarked with Major-General *Hamilton*, Colonel *Hay*, and two ſervants, at *Graveſend*, on board a collier, and, arriving at *Newcaſtle*, hired a veſſel belonging to one *Spence* of *Leith*, which in eight days landed them at *Elie* in *Fife*. They immediately went to the houſe of *John Bethune* of *Balfour*, where they ſtaid all night, and from thence rode to the Lord *Kinnoul*'s. The next day they proceeded to *Craigie-Hall*; and Colonel *Hay* conveyed the Earl of *Mar* about three miles, and went to the Lord *Nairn*'s; and the Earl and General *Hamilton* proceeded to the Laird of *Invercald*'s at the Brae of *Mar*. Colonel *Hay*, the Lord *John Drummond*, the Marquiſs of *Tullibardine*, *Strowen Robertſon*, and ſeveral other Highland Gentlemen, and particularly the Lairds of *Glenbucket*, *Glenderule*, *Abergeldy*, *Dalmere*, *Auchindrain*, and *John Paterſon*, who had been a Clerk in the Secretary's Office,

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(1) The Earl of *Mar*'s letter was as follows:

SIR,

'Having the happineſs to be your Majeſty's ſubject, and alſo the honour of being one of your ſervants, as one of your Secretaries of State, I beg leave by this to kiſs your Majeſty's hand, and congratulate your happy Acceſſion to the Throne; which I would have done myſelf the honour of doing ſooner, had I not hoped to have had the honour of doing it perſonally e're now. I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being miſrepreſented to your Majeſty; and my reaſon for thinking ſo is, becauſe I was, I believe, the only one of the late Queen's ſervants, whom your Miniſters did not viſit, which I mentioned to Mr. *Harley*, and the Earl of *Clarendon*, when they went from hence to wait on your Majeſty: And your Miniſters carrying ſo to me was the occaſion of my receiving ſuch orders, as deprived me of the honour and ſatisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them. I ſuppoſe, I had been miſrepreſented to them by ſome here upon account of party, or to ingratiate themſelves by aſperſing others, as our parties here too often occaſion; but I hope your Majeſty will be ſo juſt, as not to give credit to ſuch miſrepreſentations. The part I acted in the bringing about and making the Union, when the Succeſſion of the Crown was ſettled for *Scotland* on your Majeſty's Family, where I had the honour to ſerve as Secretary of State for that Kingdom, doth, I hope, put my ſincerity and faithfulneſs to your Majeſty out of diſpute. My family hath had the honour, for a great tract of years, to be faithful ſervants to the Crown, and have had the care of the King's children (when Kings of *Scotland*) intruſted to them. A predeceſſor of mine was honoured with the care of your Majeſty's Grandmother, when young, and ſhe was pleaſed afterwards to expreſs ſome concern for our family in letters, which I ſtill have under her own hand. I have had the honour to ſerve her late Majeſty, in one capacity or other, ever ſince her Acceſſion to the Crown. I was happy in a good Miſtreſs, and ſhe was pleaſed to have ſome confidence in me, and regard for my ſervices. And ſince your Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Crown, I hope, you will find, that I have not been wanting in my duty, in being inſtrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the Country, to which I belong, and have ſome intereſt in. Your Majeſty ſhall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a ſubject and

5. Office, came to the Earl of *Mar*; who, having ſtaid at *Invercald*'s houſe about eight days, went to *Glenbucket*'s, and from thence to *Aboyne*, where he held a conſultation with the Marquiſſes of *Huntley* and *Tullibardine*, the Earls of *Southeſk* and *Mareſchal*, the Lairds of *Glenderule*, *Glengary*, *Glenbucket*, Tutor of *Aboyne*, General *Hamilton*, and General *Gordon*; but *Invercald* and *Abergeldy*, who were at *Aboyne*, were not admitted to the conſultation. The Earl of *Mar*, the Marquiſs of *Tullibardine*, General *Hamilton*, and Mr. *Paterſon* returned to *Invercald*, where they ſtaid about eight days; during which the Earl ſent ſeveral letters, and received others; and in that time there were gathered together about five hundred of his own men, three hundred of whom, being well-armed, went to *Caſtletoun* with him and General *Hamilton*; and *Innerey* (who came to *Invercald* the day before) and the remaining two hundred went away, till they ſhould be provided with better arms, and then were to follow under the command of *Innerey*. At *Caſtletoun* they proclaimed the Pretender; whoſe Standard was ſet up by the Earl of *Mar* at *Brae-Mar*, on the 6th of *September*.

Upon the news of the Earl's being in the *Highlands*, and the report of his having drawn together a body of men, orders were immediately diſpatched to *Edinburgh*, for apprehending ſeveral ſuſpected perſons; purſuant to which, the Earls of *Hume*, *Wigtoun*, and *Kinnoul*, and the Lord *Deſkford*, Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwath*, and Mr. *Hume* of *Whitfield*, were committed priſoners to the Caſtle. Orders were alſo ſent to Major-General *Whetham*, Commander in chief in *Scotland*, forthwith to march with all the regular troops, that could be ſpared, to form a camp near *Sterling*, to ſecure the bridge over the *Forth*, and to quarter the half-pay Officers in ſuch a manner, that they might be in a readineſs to command the militia. About this time, the Court received intelligence of ſeveral veſſels ready to ſail for *Scotland*, from the Port of *Havre de Grace*, laden with arms and ammunition for the uſe of the Pretender: And, notwithſtanding all the precautions uſed by the Government, on the 29th of *Auguſt*, the Lord Juſtice Clerk had advice from *Montroſe*, that one of thoſe ſhips was arrived at *Arboth* in the North, where ſhe was immediately unladen by the *Highlanders*, ſent thither for that purpoſe, who carried the arms and ammunition to the Country of *Brae-Mar*. A few days after, another ſhip landed ſeveral Officers, who went to join the Earl of *Mar*, and gave him, and the Lords with him, aſſurances, that the Pretender would ſoon be in perſon amongſt them. But the news of the death of *Lewis* XIV of *France*, on the 1ſt of *September*, *N. S.* ſo alarmed the Rebels, and ſtruck ſuch a general damp upon their ſpirits, that their Chiefs held a conſultation, whether they ſhould ſtand out any longer, in expectation of the Pretender's coming according to his promiſe, or whether they ſhould give over their enterprize. They divided upon the queſtion; ſome were for going home, and not ſtirring till the Pretender landed; but the majority, depending upon a general Inſurrection in *England*, were for perſiſting, at leaſt, till they had news from the Pretender; to whom they all agreed to ſend Meſſengers immediately, to preſs his coming over. Purſuant to this reſolution, the Earl of *Mar* aſſumed the title of Lieutenant-General of the Pretender's forces, and as ſuch publiſhed a declaration, which he ſent, with a letter, to the Baillie of *Kildrummie*, to exhort the people to take arms (1). A few days after, a manifeſto was alſo publiſhed, ſetting 1715.

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and ſervant, as ever any of my family have been to the Crown, or as I have been to my late Miſtreſs, the Queen. And I beg your Majeſty may be ſo good not to believe any miſrepreſentation of me, which nothing but party hatred, and my zeal for the intereſt of the Crown doth occaſion; and I hope I may preſume to lay claim to your Royal favour and protection. As your Acceſſion to the Crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your Majeſty's Reign be long and proſperous, and that your people may ſoon have the happineſs and ſatisfaction of your preſence among them, is the earneſt and fervent wiſhes of him, who is, with the humbleſt duty and reſpect,

SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt faithful,

Moſt dutiful, and moſt obedient,

Subject and ſervant.

Whitehall, Aug. 30, 1714. *MAR.*

(1) The declaration ran thus:

'Our rightful and natural King *James* VIII, by the Grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppreſſions, having been pleaſed to intruſt me with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces in this his antient Kingdom of *Scotland*; and ſome of his faithful ſubjects and ſervants met at *Aboyne*, viz. the Lord *Huntley*; the Lord *Tullibardine*, the Earl *Mariſhal*, the Earl of *Southesk*, *Glangary* from the Clans, *Glanderule* from the Earl of *Broadalbin*, and Gentlemen of *Argyleſhire*, Mr. *Patrick Lyon* of *Auchterhouſe*, the Laird of *Auldbair*, Lieutenant-General *George Hamilton*, Major-General *Gordon*, and myſelf, having taken into our conſideration his Majeſty's laſt and late orders to us, that as this is now the time, that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him; ſo it ſeems to us abſolutely neceſſary for his Majeſty's ſervice, and the relieving of our native Country from all its hardſhips, that all his faithful and loving ſubjects, and lovers of their Country, ſhould, with all poſſible ſpeed, put themſelves into arms.

Theſe are therefore, in his Majeſty's name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforeſaid, and by the King's ſpecial order to me thereunto, to require and impower you forthwith to raiſe your fencible men, with their beſt arms; and you are immediately to march them to join me, and ſome other of the King's forces at the *Inver* of *Brae-Mar*, on *Monday* next, in order to proceed in our march to attend the King's Standard, with his other forces.

The King intending, that his forces ſhall be paid from the time of their ſetting out, he expects, as he poſitively orders, that they behave themſelves civilly, and commit no plundering, nor other diſorders, upon the higheſt penalties, and his diſpleaſure; which it is expected you will ſee obſerved.

Now is the time for all good men to ſhew their zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, whoſe cauſe is ſo deeply concerned, and the relief of our native Country from oppreſſion, and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our poſterity to bear; and to endeavour the reſtoring, not only of our rightful and native King, but alſo our Country to its antient, free, and independent conſtitution under him; whoſe anceſtors have reigned over us for ſo many generations.

1715. ting forth the reaſons of their proceedings, the grievances the Nation lay under, with aſſurances of redreſſing them (1).

Attempt upon Edinburgh. Beſides theſe meaſures, a Conſpiracy was formed at *Edinburgh* to ſurprize the Caſtle, on the 8th of *September*, between eleven and twelve at night; which, by the care and vigilance of Sir *Adam Cockburn*, the Lord Juſtice Clerk, who had early notice of it, was prevented. The deſign was to mount the wall by the Weſt-ſide of the Caſtle, by rope-ladders provided for that purpoſe, which were to be pulled up by lines let down from within by ſome ſoldiers belonging to the garriſon, who had been corrupted. The Conſpirators came to the Caſtle-wall at the time appointed; and a rope was let down and fixed to one of the ladders. But, the Lord Juſtice Clerk having ſent intimation of this deſign to Colonel *Stuart*, Lieutenant-Governor of the Caſtle, he ordered the Officers under him to double their guards, and to make diligent rounds. As Lieutenant *Lindſey* was going the round in obedience to theſe orders, he found one of the ſoldiers, who had been corrupted, drawing up the ladder, in order to fix it to the top of the wall; and commanded the centinel next him to fire, which giving the alarm, the Conſpirators diſperſed. But a party of the Town-guard, which, at the requeſt of the Lord Juſtice Clerk, the Provoſt had ſent out to patrol, with ſome reſolute Volunteers, coming up, found Captain *Maclean*, formerly an Officer under the Lord *Dundee*, lying on the ground, bruiſed with a fall from the wall, whom they ſecured, with three others of his Accomplices. They likewiſe found the ladders, and about a dozen of firelocks and carbines, which the Conſpirators had left behind. One Serjeant, one Corporal, and two private Soldiers of the garriſon were alſo ſecured; and, by the confeſſions of the perſons ſeized, it appeared, that the numbers engaged in this attempt were about eighty, of whom one half were *Highlanders*: That one Mr. *Arthur*, formerly an Enſign in the Caſtle, engaged the ſoldiers in this Conſpiracy, by promiſing the Serjeant a Lieutenant's Commiſſion; the Corporal an Enſign's; and by giving one of the ſoldiers eight guineas, and the other four: That the Lord *Drummond* was to be Governor of the Caſtle, as being the Contriver of the deſign: And that, upon the ſucceſs of it, the Conſpirators were to fire three rounds of the artillery in the Caſtle; which, by the communication of fires to be kindled at convenient diſtances, was to be a ſignal to the Earl of *Mar*, immediately to march towards *Edinburgh* with his forces, to improve the conſternation, and heighten the terror, which ſuch an accident would have cauſed in the City. 1715.

The Duke of *Argyle*, being appointed Commander in Chief of the forces in *Scotland*, ſet out on the 9th of *September* for that Kingdom; and, about the ſame time, the Earl of *Sutherland* offered his ſervice to go and raiſe the Highland Clans in the moſt northern Counties of *Scotland*, which was readily accepted; and the *Queenborough* man of war was appointed to tranſport him thither. Several other *Scots* Peers, particularly the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Marquiſſes of *Annandale* and *Tweedale*, the Earls of *Selkirk*, *Loudoun*, *Rothes*, *Haddington*, and *Forfar*, the Lords *Torpichen* and *Belhaven*, &c. readily embraced this opportunity to ſhew their loyalty to King *George*, and their zeal for their Country. *The Duke of Argyle ſent to Scotland.*

By this time a dangerous Conſpiracy was diſcovered and prevented in *England*. On the 2d of *September*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Paul*, who had a Com- *A Conſpiracy in England diſcovered.*

In ſo honourable, good, and juſt a cauſe, we cannot doubt of the aſſiſtance, direction, and bleſſing of Almighty God, who has ſo often reſcued the Royal Family of *Stuart*, and our Country, from ſinking under oppreſſion.

Your punctual obſervance of theſe orders is expected: For the doing of all which this ſhall be to you, and all you employ in the execution of them, a ſufficient warrant. Given at *Brae-Mar* the 9th of *September* 1715.

To the Baillie and the reſt of the Gentlemen of the Lordſhip of Kildrummie. MAR.

The Earl's letter to the Baillie was in theſe terms:

Jockie, *Invercald*, *Sept.* 9. at night, 1715.

'Ye was in the right not to come with the hundred men ye ſent up to night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing, when all the Highlands of *Scotland* are now riſing upon their King and Country's account, as I have accounts from them ſince they were with me, and the Gentlemen in moſt of our neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men ſhould be only refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wiſhing theſe ſix and twenty years? And now when it is come, and the King and Country's cauſe at ſtake, will they for ever ſit ſtill, and ſee all periſh? I have uſed gentle means too long, and ſo I ſhall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have ſent you incloſed an order for the Lordſhip of *Kildrummie*, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vaſſals. If they give ready obedience, it will make ſome amends; and if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to ſave them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies by thoſe, who are ready ſoon to join me: And they may depend on it, that I will be the firſt to propoſe and order their being ſo. Particularly, let my own tenants in *Kildrummie* know, that, if they come not forth with their beſt arms, I will ſend a party immediately to burn what they ſhall miſs taking from them: And they may believe this not only a threat, but by all that is ſacred I will put it in execution, let my loſs be what it will, that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the Gentlemen, that I will expect them in their beſt accoutrements on horſe-back, and no excuſe to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourſelf, and let me know your having done ſo. All this is not only as you will be anſwerable to me, but to your King and Country.

Your aſſured friend and ſervant,

To John Forbes *of* Increrau, Baillie *of* Kildrummie. MAR.

(1) *Manifeſto and Declaration by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in aſſerting the undoubted right of their lawful Sovereign* James *the* VIIIth, *by the Grace of God, King of* Scotland, England, France, *and* Ireland, *defender of the faith*, &c. *and for relieving this his antient Kingdom of* Scotland *from the oppreſſion and grievances it lies under.*

'His Majeſty's right of blood to the Crown of theſe Realms is undoubted, and has never been diſputed nor arraigned by the leaſt circumſtance of authority whatſoever.

By

1715. a Company in the firſt regiment of Foot-guards, was ſecured, and the next day committed priſoner to the *Gate-Houſe*, being charged with liſting men for the Pretender's ſervice, and other treaſonable practices. The titular Duke of *Powis*, a *Roman* Catholic, was committed to the *Tower* for High-Treaſon; and the Lords *Lanſdown* and *Duplin* were alſo taken into cuſtody; and a warrant iſſued out to apprehend the Earl of *Jerſey*. At the ſame time, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* acquainted the Commons, 'That he was commanded by the King to communicate to them, that his Majeſty, having juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, that Sir *William Wyndham*, Sir *John Packington*, Mr. *Edward Harvey*, Senr. of *Combe*, Mr. *Thomas Forſter*, Junr. Mr. *John Anſtis*, and Mr. *Corbet Kynaſton*, were engaged in a deſign to ſupport the intended Invaſion of this Kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them: And deſired the conſent of the Houſe, to his cauſing them to be committed and detained, if he ſhould judge it neceſſary ſo to do;' which was unanimouſly agreed to by an addreſs to that purpoſe.

Mem. order to be apprehend.

Upon this, warrants were iſſued out for apprehending the ſix Members, two of whom, *Harvey* and *Anſtis*, happening to be in town, were immediately ſecured. Mr. *Harvey* ſtabbed himſelf ſome few days after with a knife, in two or three places of his breaſt; but the wounds proved not mortal. As to the reſt, Mr. *Forſter* ſtood out in defiance of Juſtice, and with two *Romiſh* Lords raiſed a Rebellion in *Northumberland*. Sir *John Packington* was brought up to *London* from his houſe in *Worceſterſhire*, and being examined before the Council, and nothing appearing againſt him, was honourably diſcharged. Mr. *Kynaſton* made his eſcape; and Colonel *Huske*, a Captain in the Foot-guards, was ſent down with a Meſſenger to apprehend Sir *William Wyndham*, at his houſe in *Somerſetſhire*, where they arrived between four and five in the morning. The door being opened, they appeared to be in haſte to ſee Sir *William*; but the porter told them, he was in bed, and could not yet be ſpoke with. The Colonel told him, he came Expreſs, and the perſon with him had a packet of letters of ſuch conſequence, that his Maſter muſt needs be immediately informed of it. This convinced the man, and Sir *William* preſently leaped out of bed, and came in his gown to the Colonel, who told him, he was his priſoner, the Meſſenger, at the ſame time, ſhewing the badge of his office. Sir *William* ſaid, he readily ſubmitted, but deſired no noiſe might be made to frighten his Lady, who was with child. Then they entered a chamber, where the Colonel ſeeing Sir *William*'s coat and waiſtcoat lie, told him, he had orders to ſeize all his papers; and that he muſt take leave to ſearch his pockets, wherein he found a bundle of papers, which he ſecured. Sir *William* would have diverted him, by offering him very frankly the keys of his eſcrutore, to ſearch; but the Colonel happened to ſecure the moſt important papers, as he had reaſon to gueſs, by the great diſorder and confuſion in Sir *William*'s looks, when he took the bundle out of his waiſtcoat pocket. Sir *William* deſired the Colonel to ſtay till ſeven o'clock, and he would order his own coach and ſix horſes to be ready, which would carry them all; telling the Colonel, he would only go in, and put on his cloaths, and take leave of his Lady, and then would wait on him. Out of deference to that Lady's noble relations, who, beſides their high rank, had deſerved it by their zeal and affection for the preſent Government, the Colonel had particular directions to uſe him with decorum, and readily complied with his requeſt, looking on it as his parole to return: But 1715.

By the laws of God, by the antient conſtitution of theſe Nations, and by the poſitive unrepealed laws of the land, we are bound to pay his Majeſty the duty of faithful ſubjects. Nothing can abſolve us from this our duty of ſubjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful King: The laws of the land ſecure our religion, and other intereſts; and his Majeſty, giving up himſelf to the ſupport of his Proteſtant ſubjects, puts the means of ſecuring to us our concerns religious and civil into our own hands.

Our fundamental Conſtitution has been intirely altered and ſunk amidſt the various ſhocks of unſtable faction, which, in ſearching out new experiments pretended for our ſecurity, has produced nothing but daily diſappointments, and has brought us and our poſterity under a precarious dependance upon foreign counſels and intereſts, and the power of foreign troops.

The late unhappy *Union*, which was brought about by the miſtaken notions of ſome, and by the ruinous and ſelfiſh deſigns of others, has proved ſo far from leſſening and healing the differences betwixt his Majeſty's ſubjects of *Scotland*, and *England*, that it has widened and increaſed them; and appears by experience ſo inconſiſtent with the rights, intereſts, and privileges of us, and our good neighbours and fellow ſubjects of *England*, that the continuance of it muſt inevitably ruin us, and hurt them: Nor can any way be found to relieve us, and reſtore our antient independent Conſtitution, but by reſtoring our rightful and natural King, who has the only undoubted right to reign over us. Neither can we hope, that that party, who chiefly contributed to bring us into bondage, will at any time endeavour to work our relief, ſince it is known how ſtrenuouſly they oppoſed in two late inſtances the efforts, that were made by all *Scotſmen* but themſelves, and ſupported by the beſt and wiſeſt of the *Engliſh*, towards ſo deſirable an end, as they will not adventure openly to diſown a diſſolution of the *Union* to be.

Our ſubſtance has been waſted in the late ruinous wars; and we ſee an unavoidable proſpect of having wars continued on us and our poſterity, ſo long as the poſſeſſion of the Crown is not in the right line.

The hereditary rights of the ſubjects, though confirmed by Conventions and Parliaments, are now treated as of no value nor force; and paſt ſervices to the Crown and Royal Family are now looked upon as grounds of ſuſpicion.

A packed Aſſembly, who call themſelves a *Britiſh* Parliament, have, ſo far as in them lies, inhumanly murdered their own and our Sovereign, by promiſing a great ſum of money as the reward of ſo execrable a crime. They have proſcribed, by unaccountable and groundleſs impeachments and attainders, the worthieſt Patriots of *England*; for their honourable and ſucceſsful endeavours to reſtore trade, plenty, and peace to theſe Nations. They have broke in upon the ſacred laws of both Countries, by which the liberties of our perſons were ſecured. They have impowered a foreign Prince (who, notwithſtanding his expectations of the Crown for fifteen years, is ſtill unacquainted with our manners, cuſtoms, and language) to make an abſolute conqueſt, if not timely prevented, of the three Kingdoms, by inveſting him with an unlimited power, not only of raiſing unneceſſary forces at home, but alſo of calling in foreign troops, ready to promote his uncontroulable deſigns. Nor can we be very hopeful of its being

1715. But he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken in the perſon, whoſe honour he had truſted to; for, tho' the Colonel had cauſed two doors of Sir *William*'s bed-chamber to be ſecured, yet, there being a third, he made his eſcape through it. The Colonel, having directed the Meſſenger to ſtay at the houſe till further orders, returned with ſpeed to *London*, to acquaint the Government with what had paſſed; whereupon the King in Council thought fit to ſign a proclamation, with a reward of a thouſand pounds, for apprehending Sir *William*.

One of the papers found in Sir *William*'s pocket was ſaid to be a liſt of the principal perſons, who had joined in an *Aſſociation* to favour an Invaſion, and to advance the Pretender to the Throne; which *Aſſociation* was tranſmitted to him by the Lord *Lanſdown*. Be that as it will, it is certain a great many notorious Jacobites, who by this time had got together at *Bath*, in order to head the intended Inſurrection in *Somerſetſhire*, were extremely alarmed at the coming down of the King's Meſſengers, and left that place with great precipitation, in a very ſtormy night. Sir *William Wyndham*, being purſued by the proclamation, and ſeveral Meſſengers, thought a Clergyman's habit the beſt diſguiſe, and ordered one of his ſervants to write a letter to a Gentleman in *Surrey*, deſiring him to give his Maſter refuge in his houſe; or, if he would not venture ſo far, to get him a lodging in the Miniſter's houſe, where he would come in a habit, that would beſpeak him reſpect from a Clergyman. This letter being brought to the Gentleman's houſe while he was abroad, the Lady opened it, and being frightened [illegible] thought of the danger, which her [illegible] might incur in harbouring a perſon [illegible] with Treaſon, ſhe thought fit to ſend it to the Earl of *Aylesford*, who failed not immediately to communicate it to the Government. Sir *William* rightly judging, by the information of the letter, that he could hardly eſcape, [illegible] it prudent to ſurrender himſelf. In order to which, having croſſed the *Thames* near *Kingſworth*, he went firſt to *Sion-Houſe*, belonging to the Duke of *Somerſet*, his father-in-law. From coming from thence to *London* the 3d of October, he put himſelf into the hands of the Earl of *Hertford*, his brother-in-law, Captain of one of the troops of Life-guards; who having giving notice of it to Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, a Meſſenger was ſent to take Sir *William* into cuſtody. Three days after, he was examined at the Council board, where he flatly denied he knew any thing of a plot. However, an order was made for his commitment to the Tower. It was then ſtrongly reported, the Duke of *Somerſet* offered to be his bail; which the Council did not think fit to accept. But whether the Duke bore this denial impatiently, and expreſſed ſome reſentment upon it too warmly, it is certain, he was removed from his place of Maſter of the Horſe.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the King came, on the 21ſt of *September*, to the Houſe of Lords, and, having paſſed the bills that were ready, ordered the Lord-Chancellor

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being otherwiſe, in the way it is in at preſent, for ſome generations to come; and the conſequences of theſe unexampled proceedings has been already ſo fatal to great numbers of our kinſmen, friends, and fellow-ſubjects of both Kingdoms, that they have been conſtrained to abandon their Country, Houſes, Wives, and Children, or to give themſelves up priſoners, and perhaps victims to be ſacrificed at the pleaſure of foreigners, and a few hot-headed men of a reſtleſs faction, whom they employ. Our troops abroad, notwithſtanding their long and remarkable good ſervices, have been treated ſince the peace with neglect and contempt; as particularly in *Holland*: And it is not now the Officers long ſervice, merit, and blood they have loſt, but money and favour, by which they can obtain juſtice in their preferments.

So that it is evident, that the ſafety of his Majeſty's perſon and loyal ſubjects, the rights of his people, and independency of his Kingdoms calls loudly for immediate relief and defence.

The conſideration of theſe unhappy circumſtances, with the due regard we have to common juſtice, the peace and quiet of us and our poſterity, our duty to his Majeſty, and his commands, are the powerful motives, which have engaged us in our preſent undertaking, which we are firmly and heartily reſolved to puſh to the utmoſt, and ſtand by one another to the laſt extremity, as the only ſolid and effectual means of putting an end to ſo dreadful a proſpect, as by our preſent ſituation we have before our eyes, and with faithful hearts, true to our only rightful King, our Country, and our Neighbours. We earneſtly beſeech and expect (as his Majeſty commands) the aſſiſtance of all our true fellow-ſubjects to ſecond theſe our juſt attempts, declaring hereby our ſincere intentions:

That we will promote and concur in all lawful means for ſettling a laſting peace to theſe lands under the auſpicious Government of our native-born rightful Sovereign, the direction of our own domeſtic counſels, and the protection of our own native force and troops.

That we will in the ſame manner concur and endeavour to have our laws, liberties, and properties ſecured by free Parliaments of both Kingdoms.

That, by the wiſdom of ſuch Parliaments, we will endeavour to have ſuch laws enacted, as ſhall give an abſolute ſecurity to us, and future ages, for the true Proteſtant Religion, againſt all efforts of Arbitrary Power, Popery, and all its other enemies. Nor have we any reaſon to be diſtruſtful of the goodneſs of God, the ſolidity of our Holy Religion, or the known excellency of his Majeſty's judgment, as not to hope, that in due time, good example, and converſation with our learned Divines, will remove theſe prejudices, which we know that his education in a Popiſh Country has not riveted in his Royal diſcerning mind: And we are ſure, that, as juſtice is a virtue of all religious profeſſions, the doing of it to him will not leſſen his good opinion of ours.

That, as the King is willing to give his Royal Indemnity for all that is paſt, ſo we will chearfully concur in paſſing general acts of Oblivion, that our fellow-ſubjects, who have been miſled, may have a fair opportunity of living with us in the ſame friendly manner we deſign to live with them.

That we will uſe our endeavours for redreſſing the bad uſage of our troops abroad, and bringing the troops at home to be on the ſame foot and eſtabliſhment of pay, as thoſe in *England*.

The peace of theſe Nations being thus ſettled, and we thus freed from foreign dangers, we will uſe our endeavours to have the army reduced to the uſual number of guards and garriſons, and will concur in ſuch laws and methods, as ſhall relieve us of the heavy taxes and debts now lying upon us, and, at the ſame time, will ſupport the public credit in all its parts.

And we hereby faithfully promiſe and engage, that every Officer, who joins with us in our King and Country's cauſe, ſhall not only enjoy the ſame poſt he now does, but ſhall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and ſtation, and the number of men he brings off with him to us: And each foot ſoldier [illegible] joining

Painting of Mr. Richardson belonging to the L.d Bolingbroke.

J. Houbraken sculps. Amst. 1742.

Impensis I. & P. Knapton Londini. 1742.

BRITISH MUSEUM

1715. to deliver the following ſpeech to both Houſes (1):

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech. "I AM perſuaded you are all by this time very deſirous of ſome receſs, and that it cannot be deferred longer, without great inconvenience to your private affairs.

"But, before I can part with you, I muſt return you my moſt ſincere thanks, for your having finiſhed, with ſo much wiſdom and unanimity, what I recommended to your care; and particularly I thank you, Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, for the proviſion you have made, as well for the ſupport of the honour and dignity of the Crown, as for the other neceſſary occaſions of the Public; eſpecially for your having done it by means ſo little burdenſome to my people; which, I aſſure you, recommends the Supplies to me above any other circumſtance whatſoever.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The open and declared Rebellion, which is now actually begun in *Scotland*, muſt convince all, who do not wiſh to ſee us given up into the hands of a Popiſh Pretender, of the dangers, to which we have been and are ſtill expoſed.

"I thought it incumbent on me to give you the earlieſt notice of the deſigns of our enemies; and I cannot ſufficiently commend the zeal and diſpatch, with which you impowered me, at a time when the Nation was in ſo naked and defenceleſs a condition, to make ſuch preparations, as I ſhould think neceſſary for our ſecurity. You ſhall have no reaſon to repent of the truſt and confidence you repoſe in me, which I ſhall never uſe to any other end, than for the protection and welfare of my people.

"It was ſcarce to be imagined, that any of my Proteſtant ſubjects, who have known and enjoyed the benefits of our excellent Conſtitution, and have heard of the great dangers they were wonderfully delivered from by the happy Revolution, ſhould by any arts and management be drawn into meaſures, that muſt at once deſtroy their Religion and Liberties, and ſubject them to Popery and arbitrary Power. But ſuch has been our misfortune, that too many of my people have been deluded, and made inſtrumental to the Pretender's deſigns, who had never dared to think of Invading us, or raiſing a Rebellion, had he not been encouraged by the ſucceſs his emiſſaries and adherents have already had in ſtirring up riots and tumults, and by the further hopes they entertain of raiſing Inſurrections in many parts of my Kingdoms. 1715.

"The endeavouring to perſuade my people, that the Church of *England* is in danger under my Government, has been the main artifice employed in carrying on this wicked and traiterous deſign. This inſinuation, after the ſolemn aſſurances I have given, and my having laid hold on all opportunities to do every thing, that may tend to the advantage of the Church of *England*, is both unjuſt and ungrateful. Nor can I believe ſo groundleſs and malicious a calumny can make any impreſſion upon the minds of my faithful ſubjects, or that they can be ſo far miſled, as to think the Church of *England* is to be ſecured, by ſetting a Popiſh Pretender on the Throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The proofs this Parliament has given of their unſhaken duty and affection to Me, and of their love and zeal for the intereſt of their Country, will recommend you to the good opinion and eſteem of all, who have their Religion and Liberty truly at heart, and has laid a laſting obligation upon me; and I queſtion not, but by your further aſſiſtance in the ſeveral Countries, to which you are going, with the bleſſing of Almighty God, who has

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joining us, ſhall have twenty ſhillings ſterling gratuity, beſides his pay; and each trooper or dragoon, who brings his horſe and accoutrements along with him, the ſum of twelve pounds ſterling.

And, in general, we will concur with all our fellow-ſubjects in ſuch meaſures, as ſhall make us flouriſh at home, and be formidable abroad, under our rightful Sovereign, and the peaceable harmony of our antient fundamental Conſtitution, undiſturbed by Pretenders intereſts, counſels from abroad, or by reſtleſs factions at home.

In ſo honourable, good, and juſt a cauſe, we doubt not of the aſſiſtance, direction, and bleſſing of Almighty God, who has ſo often reſcued the Royal Family of *Stuart* and our Country from ſinking under oppreſſion.'

(1) When the Speaker preſented the three bills for ſettling a revenue on the Princeſs of *Wales*, for inlarging the capital ſtock of the *South-Sea* Company, and for making proviſion for the Miniſters of the fifty new Churches, he made a ſpeech with great ſpirit and eloquence, wherein, among others, were the following paſſages:

'Your Commons could not ſee, without the utmoſt indignation, the glories of her late Majeſty's Reign tarniſhed by a treacherous ceſſation of arms; the faith of treaties violated; that antient probity, for which the *Engliſh* Nation had been juſtly renowned throughout all ages, expoſed to ſcorn and contempt, and the trade of the Kingdom given up by inſidious and precarious treaties of Commerce, whilſt the people, amuſed with new worlds explored, were contented to ſee the moſt advantageous branches of their Commerce in *Europe* loſt or betrayed.

Such was the condition of this Kingdom, when it pleaſed the Divine Providence to call your Majeſty to the Throne of your Anceſtors, under whoſe auſpicious Reign, your Commons, with pleaſure, behold the glory of the *Plantagenets*, your Majeſty's Royal Anceſtors, revive, and have an unbounded proſpect of the continuance of this happineſs even to the lateſt Poſterity, in a race of Princes lineally deſcended from your Majeſty.

And that nothing may be wanting on the part of your Commons, to eſtabliſh your Majeſty's Throne on ſolid and laſting foundations, they have applied themſelves with unwearied diligence, to vindicate the honour of the *Britiſh* Nation, and to reſtore a mutual confidence between this Kingdom and its antient and faithful Allies, by detecting the Authors of thoſe pernicious counſels, and the Actors in thoſe treacherous deſigns, in order to bring them to juſtice, by the judgment of their Peers, according to the law of the land, and the uſage of Parliament, &c.'

1715. "so frequently interposed in favour of this Nation, I shall be able to disappoint and defeat "the design of our enemies.

"Our meeting again to do business, early in "the next winter, will be useful on many accounts, particularly, that the sitting of Parliaments may be again brought into that "season of the year, which is most convenient; "and that as little delay may be given as is "possible to your judicial proceedings; and I "shall at present give such orders to my Lord "Chancellor, as may not put it long out of my "power to meet you on any sudden occasion."

When the King's speech was ended, the Parliament adjourned to the 6th of *October*, and afterwards, by several adjournments, to the 9th of *January*.

Pursuant to the King's speech, orders from the Privy-Council, with a letter from the Secretary of State, were sent to all the Lords-Lieutenants of the Counties in *England*, to cause the Militia to be put in such a posture, as to be ready to march when required; and also to give the necessary directions to the proper Officers, to seize the persons and arms of all Papists, Nonjurors, and others, whom they should have reason to suspect.

A design to seize Bristol *prevented.*

The designed Insurrection in the western Counties was so deeply concerted, and the Conspirators so potent and numerous, that the Jacobites at *Bath*, depending on their majority, openly talked, that the affair of *Scotland* was only a diversion to draw the King's troops that way; but that the effectual attempt would be made in the *West* very speedily. But the Government, having received information of the secret proceedings of the Disaffected, took such measures, as defeated all their designs. And first, to prevent the intended surprizal of *Bristol*, in order to make it a place of arms, the Earl of *Berkley*, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of that City, repaired thither with all speed, and took all necessary precautions to secure that important place. Several persons were apprehended, and, amongst the rest, Mr. *Hart*, a Merchant, who was charged with having collected great quantities of warlike stores for the use of the Conspirators. Besides part of *Lumley*'s regiment of horse, and the two battalions of *Stanwix* and *Pocock*, who were already in *Bristol*, Colonel *Chudleigh*'s regiment of foot marched thither, about the beginning of *October*. At the same time, the Lord *Windsor*'s regiment of horse, and *Rich*'s dragoons, under the command of Major-General *Wade*, marched to *Bath*, which place was both the rendezvous, and one of the arsenals of the Conspirators. Upon strict search, the King's Officers found and seized there eleven chests of fire-arms, a hogshead full of basket-hilt swords, and another of cartouches, and three pieces of cannon, one mortar, and moulds to cast cannon, which had been buried under ground. There were about two hundred horses seized; and the following persons were apprehended, Captain *Lansdon*, Captain *Doyle*, Captain *Sinclair*, Sir *George Brown*, Mr. *Mackarty*, Mr. *Dun*, Mr. *Macdonnel*, and *William Hibbort*. They were all brought to *London* by a party of Brigadier *Bowles*'s regiment, on the 18th of *October*.

The University of Oxford *suspected*

The behaviour of the University of *Oxford* gave likewise reason to suspect them. They had lately chose the Earl of *Arran* their Chancellor, in the room of his brother the Duke of *Ormond*, by a great majority over the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was put up in competition with him. On the 26th of *September*, the Earl of *Arran* was sworn and installed into that Office with the usual solemnity; and the Vice-Chancellor made a long speech, 'wherein he enumerated and extolled the eminent virtues of the family of *Butler*, and took notice of the great obligations they had at different times laid on that seminary of learning; suggesting withal, that, the Duke of *Ormond* having, before his withdrawing beyond sea, thought fit to resign the place of Chancellor of that University, they could not better express their gratitude, both to his Grace and his noble Ancestors, than by chusing his brother, the Earl of *Arran*, in his Grace's room.' The University concluded this demonstration of their disaffection, by conferring the degrees of Doctor of Laws on Sir *John Everard*, a Nonjuror, and on Sir *William Gifford*, late Governor of *Greenwich* Hospital. Not many days after, a letter from a young Gentleman at *Oxford* to his Friend in *London* falling into other hands, by reason of a similitude of names, the following particulars were found in it: 'I think myself very happy in being settled in this so loyal a place, and only want your good company to compleat it; for here we fear nothing, but drink *James*'s health every day. The Prince thought to have been made Chancellor, and by that to have been a Bishop, but, thank God, he was disappointed.'

The Government being informed of all that passed at *Oxford*, and in particular, that Colonel *Owen*, with some other broken Officers, *Irish* Papists, and several notorious Jacobites, having taken sanctuary in that place, fomented the spirit of Rebellion, drinking publickly and uncontrolled the Pretender's health; and it being justly suspected, that they designed an Insurrection, in order to act in conjunction with the disaffected at *Bristol* and *Bath*, with whom they held intelligence, it was resolved to secure their persons. Major-General *Pepper*, being charged with this Commission, sent one of his Officers, disguised in a countryman's habit, to *Oxford*, to get intelligence, and view the avenues and principal posts in the town; and then began to move himself, with his own regiment of dragoons, and a detachment of *Tyrrel*'s, bending his march towards *Bath* and *Bristol*. But, on the 5th of *October*, being come within seven or eight miles of *Oxford*, instead of resting, he marched all night, and entered the City very early in the morning. Having caused his men to alight, and fix their bayonets in the muzzles of their fuzees, he immediately secured all the avenues and the gates of every inn and public house; and then sent one of his Officers to the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor of the town, to desire to speak with them. They having readily obeyed the summons, General *Pepper* delivered to them a letter from Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, and, in a few words, acquainted them with his orders to seize sixteen or eighteen suspected persons; adding, 'That their concurring assistance would be very acceptable to the Government; otherwise, that he must be obliged to proceed to such methods, as should best execute his orders.' The Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor, surprized at this unexpected sight of soldiers, readily

715. readily promiſed the General all the aſſiſtance in their power, and offered to provide him quarters for his men; which was not accepted, becauſe their ſtay was to be very ſhort. The Vice-Chancellor in particular, who ſome days before had boldly delivered a long oration in praiſe of a Nobleman attainted by act of Parliament, now trembling, and in the utmoſt confuſion, made large profeſſions of loyalty and affection to his Majeſty. General *Pepper* told him, the only proof of thoſe profeſſions, which he deſired at preſent, was, that he ſhould keep the Fellows and Scholars quiet in their Colleges; declaring to him, at the ſame time, that if any diſturbance happened, or if any perſons aſſembled in the ſtreets, above the number allowed by the act of Parliament againſt riots, he would cauſe his men to fire upon them. The Vice-Chancellor promiſed all, and even more than was deſired; ſo the Officers appointed by General *Pepper* began to ſearch for the men, whom they had orders to apprehend. But the chief of them, Colonel *Owen*, who lay that night at the *Gray-hound-Inn*, having timely notice from the oſtler of the arrival of the King's troops, leaped over a wall in his night-gown, and got into *Magdalen-College*, where General *Pepper* did not think proper to ſearch for him, rightly judging, it would be in vain. Of the other ſuſpected perſons, ten or eleven were taken; the principal of whom were Mr. *Gordon*, Mr. *Ker*, Mr. *Dorrel*, Mr. *Wilſon*, Captain *Halſtead*, Mr. *Spelman* of *Norfolk*, *Lloyd*, the famous Jacobite Coffee-man at *Charing-Croſs* (who had formerly followed the ſame employment at *Dublin*) and one, who pretended to be a Poſtman, in the lining of whoſe coat were found letters, which he was bringing from the Conſpirators at *Bath* to their Correſpondents at *Oxford*. They alſo ſeized two horſes, with fine furniture, belonging to Colonel *Owen*, which were ſaid to have formerly been the Duke of *Ormond*'s; as likewiſe the horſes and warlike accoutrements of ſeveral others. As ſoon as the Officers had made what ſearch they thought proper, and refreſhed their men, General *Pepper* cauſed them to mount, and marched out of town with his priſoners towards *Abingdon*. It might have been expected, that the Univerſity and City of *Oxford* would have taken warning from this ſhort military viſit; but upon information, that the Diſaffected there perſiſted in their diſreſpectful behaviour towards the King's Perſon and Government, and even that a traiterous deſign was carrying on to ſeize that City for the Pretender, for which purpoſe a regiment was to be formed of the young Students, under proper Officers, who ſecretly reſorted to *Oxford*; the Court thought fit to order *Handaſyde*'s regiment of foot to be quartered there. Accordingly, they marched thither on the 28th of *October*; and their arrival was the more ſeaſonable, as, the very night before, the rabble had the inſolence to proclaim the Pretender, and to commit ſeveral outrages againſt the Well-affected.

The deſign upon *Briſtol* having miſcarried, a project was laid to ſeize on *Plymouth*. But this was alſo prevented by timely ſecuring ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, particularly Sir *Richard Vivian*, who was brought to *London* the 8th of *October* in cuſtody of a Meſſenger.

The common people in *Cornwal* were at this time ſo ripe for Rebellion, that ſix or ſeven of them ventured to proclaim the Pretender at *St. Colombe*, two of whom were ſeized, and a reward of 100 *l.* each was offered by the Government for apprehending the reſt. However, by the great care and vigilance of Mr. *Boſcowen*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, all things were kept quiet in thoſe parts. 1715.

Inſurrection in Northumberland. Patten.

The Diſaffected in the *North* of *England* were more ſucceſsful than their brethren in the *Weſt*. There had been meaſures concerted at *London* by the Pretender's friends ſome time before the Inſurrection in *Northumberland* broke out; which received great aſſiſtance from Captain *John Shaftoe*, an half-pay Officer, afterwards executed at *Preſton*, and Captain *John Hunter*, of *North Tyne* in *Northumberland*, who had a Commiſſion from Queen *Anne* to raiſe an Independent Company, but did not. Beſides theſe, there was one Captain *Robert Talbot*, an *Iriſhman*, and a Papiſt, formerly in the *French* ſervice, who, being acquainted with the deſign in *Auguſt*, 1715, took ſhipping at *London*, and went to *Newcaſtle*. By *Talbot* the reſolutions, taken at *London*, were firſt communicated to their friends in the *North* of *England*, and means uſed to perſuade and prepare thoſe, who had been engaged by them, to be ready to riſe upon warning given.

A correſpondence and intelligence were now ſettled with all the Conſpirators in the ſeveral parts of *Britain*. But, as this was a correſpondence of too much importance to be carried on by the ordinary conveyance of letters, there were ſeveral Gentlemen from ſundry parts in the Kingdom riding from place to place as travellers, under pretence of ſeeing the Country, and thereby carrying intelligence, diſcourſing with perſons, and ſettling and appointing their buſineſs. The principal men intruſted with theſe Negotiations were Colonel *Oxburgh*, Mr. *Nicholas Wogan*, Mr. *Charles Wogan*, and Mr. *James Talbot*, all *Iriſh* Papiſts, A ſecond claſs of Agents conſiſted of Mr. *Clifton*, brother of Sir *Gervaſe Clifton*, and Mr. *Beaumont*, both Gentlemen of *Nottinghamſhire*, and Mr. *Buxton*, a Clergyman of *Derbyſhire*. All theſe rid like Gentlemen, with ſervants and attendants, and were armed with ſwords and piſtols. They kept always moving, and travelled from place to place, till things ripened for action. The firſt ſtep towards their appearing in arms was, when, about the latter end of *September*, the Earl of *Derwentwater* had notice, that there was a warrant out from the Secretary of State to apprehend him, and that the Meſſengers were come to *Durham*, who were to take him. The Earl went to the houſe of one Mr. *B——n* in his neighbourhood, a Juſtice of the Peace, who, if he had been well affected to the Government, or had regarded that Lord's real intereſt, might have honourably enough taken him, or at leaſt perſuaded him to ſurrender; which, it is preſumed, would not have been a difficult matter. Hence the Earl is ſuppoſed to have gone to the houſe of one *Richard Lambert*, which was thought more private, and leſs ſuſpected. Mr. *Thomas Forſter* Junior, Knight of the Shire for *Northumberland*, againſt whom a warrant was likewiſe iſſued out, having notice of it, went from place to place, till at laſt he came to the houſe of Mr. *Fenwick* of *Bywell*. The Meſſenger in purſuit of him was come within half a mile

1715. mile of that place; but, ſtaying to call for a Conſtable to his aid, Mr. *Forſter* found time to eſcape. Upon this there was a full meeting of the parties concerned in *Northumberland*; where conſidering all the circumſtances of their friends, and of the intereſt they were imbarked in, they judged that, as there was no longer any ſafety in ſhifting from place to place, in a few days they ſhould all be ſecured and confined in priſons, or conveyed to *London*; that, as they ſhould be ſeparately confined, ſo they ſhould be ſeparately examined, and none could ſay what the other ſhould anſwer; ſo that, for fear of betraying one another, they ſhould be really brought to do it; that now was the time to ſhew their loyalty to their King, ſince, if this opportunity were loſt, they had no room to hope for another; and therefore they boldly reſolved immediately to appear in arms. Purſuant to this reOct. 6. ſolution an appointment was made, and notice of it ſent to all their friends, to meet the next morning, at a place called *Green-rig*. Accordingly Mr. *Forſter*, with ſeveral Gentlemen, in number at firſt about twenty, met at the rendezvous, but made no ſtay, thinking the place inconvenient, but rode immediately to the top of a Hill called the *Waterfalls*; from whence they might diſcover any, that came either to join, or oppoſe, them. They quickly diſcovered the Earl of *Derwentwater*, who came that morning from his ſeat at *Dilſton*, with ſome friends, and all his ſervants, mounted upon his coach horſes, and all very well armed. In coming from *Dilſton-Hall*, they all drew their ſwords as they marched along *Corbridge*. They halted at the ſeat of Mr. *Errington*, where ſeveral other Gentlemen according to appointment came to the Lord *Derwentwater*. When they had joined Mr. *Forſter* and his company, they were in all about ſixty horſe, moſt Gentlemen and their attendants. They called a ſhort council, and it was concluded to march towards the river *Coquett*, to a place called *Plainfield*. Here they were joined by others, and, having made ſome ſtay, they reſolved to go that night to *Rothbury*, a ſmall market-town. They ſtaid there all night; and next morning, being the 7th of *October*, their number ſtill increaſing, they marched to *Warkworth*, another market-town upon the ſea coaſt, of a ſtrong ſituation. Here they continued till *Monday*, during which time nothing material happened, except that on *Sunday* morning Mr. *Forſter*, who now ſtiled himſelf General, ſent Mr. *Buxton* their Chaplain to Mr. *Ion*, the Miniſter of the Pariſh, with orders for him, 'to pray for the Pretender as King, and in the Litany, for *Mary* Queen-Mother, and all the dutiful branches of the Royal Family;' which Mr. *Ion* declining, Mr. *Buxton* took poſſeſſion of the Church, read prayers, and preached. In the mean while Mr. *Ion* went to *Newcaſtle* to conſult his own ſafety, and acquaint the Government with what had happened. The next thing they did, was openly to proclaim the Pretender as King of *Great-Britain*, &c. It was done by Mr. *Forſter* in diſguiſe, and by ſound of trumpet, and all the formality, that the circumſtances and place would admit. On *Monday* the 10th of *October* they marched to *Morpeth*, having been joined at *Felton-Bridge* by ſeventy *Scots* horſe, or rather Gentlemen from the borders. They had been conſiderably increaſed before, in their march from *Warkworth*, at *Alnwick*, and other places, ſo that, at their entering *Morpeth*, 1715. they were three hundred ſtrong, all horſe, for they would entertain no foot; otherwiſe their number would have been very large: But, as they neither had nor could provide arms for thoſe they had mounted, they gave the common people good words, and told them, they ſhould ſoon be furniſhed with arms and ammunition, and then they would lift regiments to form an army. This was upon the expectation of ſurprizing *Newcaſtle*, in which caſe they did not queſtion to have as many foot as they pleaſed. Here Mr. *Forſter* received an account, that Mr. *Lancelot Errington* and ſome others had ſurprized the Caſtle in *Holy Iſland*, which is a ſmall fort guarded by a few ſoldiers ſent weekly from the garriſon at *Berwick*. *Errington* undiſcovered took boat and went to ſea, and with his companions landed under the cover of the wall, and got into the fort by ſurprize; though he kept the poſſeſſion but a very ſhort time, for the Governor of *Berwick*, having an immediate account of the action, and reſolving, if poſſible, to recover the place before *Errington* could be ſupplied with men and proviſions, detached a party of thirty men of his garriſon, with about fifty volunteers of the inhabitants, who, marching over the ſands at low-water-mark, attacked the fort, and took it ſword in hand: *Errington* himſelf attempting to make his eſcape, was wounded and taken priſoner, with ſeveral others; but he with his brother afterwards eſcaped out of *Berwick* in diſguiſe. The deſign of taking this fort was to give ſignals to any ſhips, that ſeemed to make to the coaſt to land ſoldiers; for, by the aſſurances they had from their friends beyond ſea, they expected them to land on that coaſt with ſupplies of arms and officers; but they came not till they were gone for *Scotland*; and then two ſhips appeared off at ſea, and made their ſignal, but, having no anſwer from the ſhore, they ſailed northward.

The Rebellion was now formed, and they were all in a body at *Morpeth*, promiſing themſelves great things at *Newcaſtle*. Several Gentlemen joined them, and ſome of the country people offered to liſt; but they ſtill refuſed them, and prepared to march to *Newcaſtle*. Before they went on, Mr. *Buxton* the Clergyman, taking on himſelf the office of a Herald, proclaimed the Pretender. Having ſent a party to ſeize *Felton-Bridge*, they marched towards *Newcaſtle*, and to their great diſappointment found the gates ſhut againſt them. Upon this, they turned to the weſtward, and marched to *Hexham*, where they were joined by ſome more *Scots* horſe. From *Hexham* they all went three miles diſtant, to a heath or moor adjoining to *Dilſton*, the Earl of *Derwentwater*'s ſeat, and there made an halt, with deſign, as it was thought, to go and ſurpriſe *Newcaſtle*; but they ſoon returned to their former quarters, having certain intelligence from their friends in *Newcaſtle*, that, even before any regular forces entered the town, the Magiſtrates and Deputy-Lieutenants, having had firſt ſome ſuſpicion, and ſoon after poſitive intelligence of the deſign of the Rebels, had effectually prevented a ſurprize, and taken all imaginable precaution for their ſecurity, raiſing immediately what men they could, ſeizing all Papiſts and ſuſpected perſons, arming the inhabitants for their own defence; and taking into the town the militia, who, about

715. that time, were ordered to muſter at *Killingworth*. The Earl of *Scarborough*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Northumberland*, repaired likewiſe with his friends to *Newcaſtle*; and the Gentry of thoſe parts, after his example, mounted their neighbours and tenants; ſo that the town was full of horſes and men, both townſmen and countrymen unanimouſly declaring for King *George*. However, the chiefs of the Rebels having great intereſt in that place, the inhabitants were not altogether without fear; nor were the High-party in the town without the folly of diſcovering their affection for the Rebels at *Hexham*, and even uſing ſome threatening expreſſions. This was, perhaps, partly the occaſion of laying aſide the former diviſions and prejudices between the well-affected inhabitants as Churchmen and Diſſenters. The latter chearfully offering, and the former freely accepting the offer, an Aſſociation was entered into by both, for the mutual defence of their lives and eſtates; and a body of ſeven hundred Volunteers were armed by the town for their immediate guard without diſtinction. The Keelmen, being moſtly Diſſenters, offered a body of ſeven hundred more, to be always ready at half an hour's warning; which was alſo accepted. In the midſt of this hurry, a battalion of foot, and part of a regiment of dragoons, having been ordered out of *Yorkſhire* for the ſecurity of the town, came to *Newcaſtle*; and then all the fears of the inhabitants vaniſhed. A few days after, Lieutenant-General *Carpenter* having been ſent by the Government in purſuit of the Rebels with *Hotham*'s regiment of foot, and *Cobham*'s, *Moleſworth*'s, and *Churchill*'s dragoons, arrived alſo at *Newcaſtle* the 18th of *October*, and began to prepare for attacking the Rebels at *Hexham*. In the mean time the Rebels, who ſtaid but three days at *Hexham*, ſeized all the arms and horſes they could meet with, and, the night before they left the town, they all drew up round the Croſs in the Market-place, and proclaimed the Pretender. They had received advice, that the Lord Viſcount *Kenmure*, the Earls of *Nithiſdale*, *Carnwath*, and *Wintoun*, who had taken arms in *Nithiſdale*, *Dumfries-ſhire*, and other places in the Weſt of *Scotland*, were entered *England* to join them, and were come to *Rothbury*. The Lord *Kenmure*, the only nobleman in that part of *Scotland* capable of commanding, was ſollicited by the Earl of *Mar* to take up arms for the Pretender, and to command ſuch forces, as would join him on that ſide the *Forth*. He at firſt refuſed this offer, but, being importuned by the Jacobites in that Country, was at laſt prevailed with to ſet up the Pretender's Standard at *Moffat* in *Annandale* on the 12th of *October*. The next day the body, who joined him, marched towards *Dumfries*, with deſign to ſurprize that town; but the Marquiſs of *Annandale*, whom they had followed the day before, having none but his ſervants with him, entered the town, and concerted ſuch meaſures, as diſappointed their deſign. This obliged the Rebels to alter their route, and after great diſputes they agreed at laſt to march to *Loughmaben*, where they ſet up their Standard, and proclaimed the Pretender. On the 14th they marched to *Achelfechen*, and on their march, being in all near two hundred horſe, they were formed into a regiment, divided into two ſquadrons, the chief command remaining with the Lord *Kenmure*, and each ſquadron under the Earls of *Wintoun* and *Carnwath*. Hence they marched regularly, and ſent their Quarter-maſter-general Mr. *Calderwood* to take up quarters for them. Next day they came to *Langholm*, and ſo on to *Hawick*, their numbers increaſing in the way. At this place they were alarmed, which raiſed ſome diſputes, whether they ſhould proceed. They agreed at laſt to return; but receiving an expreſs from Mr. *Forſter* about two miles from *Hawick* towards *Langholm*, inviting the Lord *Kenmure* and his followers to meet him at *Rothbury*, they faced about, and marched that night to *Jedburgh*. Here they received intelligence of *Mackintoſh*'s croſſing the *Forth*, and the Duke of *Argyle*'s reſolution to attack them. In their march to *Jedburgh*, they were extremely alarmed; for, being late, their advance guard was ſurprized by the ſhouts of one, who called out, that the Grey horſe were ready to fall upon them, and had cut the Quarter-maſter, and thoſe with him, to pieces. They, who were acquainted with the Quarter-maſter, aſſuring the Lord *Kenmure*, he would by no means be ſo eaſily inſnared, they continued their march, and entered the town without oppoſition. Here, as in moſt other towns, they proclaimed the Pretender; and the next day proceeded to *Rothbury*; and from thence diſpatched Mr. *Burnet* of *Carlips* to *Hexham* to Mr. *Forſter*, to know, whether he would come towards them, or they ſhould advance? *Forſter* returned an expreſs, that he would join them. Upon this, and the news that General *Carpenter* was preparing to attack them, the *Northumberland* Rebels marched out of *Hexham* on the 19th of *October*, and making a long march joined the *Scots* that night, and all of them next day marched to *Wooller*. Being informed there by Mr. *Errington*, that the *Highlanders*, who had croſſed the *Forth* under *Mackintoſh*, were coming to join them, they marched to *Kelſo* in *Scotland*.

1715.

The heads of the Diſaffected ſummoned to Edinburgh.

During theſe proceedings of the *Engliſh* Rebels, the principal perſons, who were either in Rebellion with the Earl of *Mar*, or juſtly ſuſpected of being diſaffected to the Government, were, purſuant to the late act, ordered, as has been ſaid, to appear at *Edinburgh*, and ſurrender themſelves (1). Of all that were ſummoned,

(1) The perſons ſummoned were:
The Marquiſs of *Huntley*, eldeſt ſon to the Duke of *Gordon*; the Earls of *Seaforth*, *Wintoun*, *Carnwath*, *Southesk*, *Nithſdale*, *Linlithgow*, *Mar*, *Kinnoul*, *Panmure*, *Mariſchal*, *Broadalbin*; the Viſcounts of *Kenmure*, *Stormount*, *Kilſyth*, *Kingſton*, *Strathallen*; the Lords *Ogilvie*, *Rollo*, *Drummond*, *Nairn*, *Glenorchy*; Sir *James Campbel* of *Auchenbrech*, Sir *Duncan Campbel* of *Lochnel*, Sir *Donald Macdonald*, Sir *Patrick Murray* of *Auchtertyre*, Sir *Hugh Paterſon* of *Bennokburn*, Sir *Alexander Erskine*, Lord *Lyon*, Sir *John Maclean*; Lieutenant-General *George Hamilton*; the Maſter of *Stormount*, the Maſter of *Nairn*, Mr. *Alexander Mackenzie* of *Fraſerdale*, *James Stirling* of *Keir*, *Robert Stuart* of *Appin*, *John Campbel* of *Aſtrabalder*, *William Murray*, Junr. of *Auchtertyre*, *Alexander Robinſon* of *Strowan*; the Lairds of *Mackinnan*, *Clanronold*, *Glenghary*, *Keppoch*, *William Drummond*, ſervant to the Lord *Drummond*, Mr. *Seaton* of *Touch*, Lieutenant *Allen Cameron*, *Rob Roy*, alias *Mac Gregor*, Mr. *Stuart*

1715. ed, only two ſurrendered themſelves; Sir *Alexander Erſkine* and Sir *Patrick Murray*, who were both ſecured in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The reſt not appearing were denounced Rebels. The Duke of *Argyle* arrived at *Edinburgh* the 14th of *September*. He went, the next day, and viewed the Caſtle, and appointed Brigadier *Grant* to command it, till the arrival of Brigadier *Preſton* the Deputy-Governor.

Progreſs of the Earl of Mar.

The Earl of *Mar* and his party, after having proclaimed the Pretender at *Kirk-Michael*, on the 9th of *September*, continued there four or five days, and then proceeded to *Moulin*, another ſmall market-town in *Perthſhire*, where they likewiſe proclaimed the Pretender, and reſted fourteen days, conſiderably increaſing their numbers. From hence they marched to *Logaret*, another market-town, where they were reckoned to be a thouſand men well armed. From *Logaret* they marched to *Dunkeld*, which they made their head-quarters; and here their numbers greatly increaſed again, for they were joined by two thouſand men from the Highlands, by the Marquiſs of *Tullibardine*, by the Earl of *Broadalbin*'s men, and ſeveral others. Finding themſelves thus ſtrengthened, they reſolved to extend their quarters; and the Earl of *Mar* having intelligence, that the Earl of *Rothes* and the Gentlemen of *Fife* (who were up in arms for the King) were advancing to poſſeſs themſelves of *Perth*, which commands the paſſage over the *Tay*, reſolved to prevent them; and detached Mr. *John Hay*, brother to the Earl of *Kinnoul*, with a ſtrong party, with orders to poſſeſs himſelf of that place, which he performed effectually. As this was a great diſappointment to the King's troops, ſo it was a very great advantage to the Earl of *Mar*, as it gave him the command of all *Fife*, the moſt fruitful, rich, and, for the convenience of the ſea-coaſt, the moſt commodious to him of any Shire in that part of *Scotland*; and as it gave a conſiderable reputation both to his conduct and to his party, who, upon this ſucceſs, made preparations in all parts to join him. And now they began to have the face of a formidable army, making this City their chief garriſon and head-quarters. A great many Lords, Chiefs of Clans, and other Gentlemen from all quarters flocked to them, with their Followers, and ſome of them in very good order, and well armed, particularly the Marquiſs of *Huntley*, the Earl of *Seaforth*, the *Mackintoſhes*, the Earl *Mariſchal*, and with them ſo many, that their number was ſaid to be about twelve thouſand men, very well appointed, both horſe and foot.

From thence extending their quarters, they performed an exploit at *Brunt-Iſland*, which ſtill added to their reputation. They not only ſurprized the town, being ſtrong by ſituation, and a ſea-port on the *Firth* of *Forth*, in view of the City of *Edinburgh*; but, manning out ſome boats in the harbour, they ſeized a ſhip loaden with arms, ammunition, and other warlike ſtores, which lay in the *Firth*, bound to the North, for the uſe of the Earl of *Sutherland*. 1715.

After this, they made themſelves maſters of all the towns upon the coaſt, even to the mouth of the *Firth*, the Earl of *Rothes*, and the Gentlemen with him, being obliged to ſeparate, or retire to *Stirling*, to the King's army.

The Rebellion being come to this height, the Earl of *Mar* reſolved, in concert with his confederates (who began by this time to appear likewiſe in other places) to make an attempt upon the South parts of *Scotland*, by a method, which at that time was thought almoſt impracticable. He ſent a ſtrong detachment to croſs the *Firth* of *Forth*, and land on the *Lothian* ſide, in order to be joined by their friends, whom they expected to riſe about *Haddington*, and on the borders of *England*. On their march to the Sea-coaſt they were covered by ſome horſe under the command of Sir *John Areſkin* of *Alva*, the maſter of *Sinclar*, and Sir *James Sharp*, grandſon to Archbiſhop *Sharp*, who was murdered in his coach by the old *Cameronians*. This body was commanded by the Laird of *Barlum*, better known by the name of Brigadier *Mackintoſh*, and conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred men well armed. Orders had been given for all the boats on that ſide to be ready to carry them over. The King's ſhips in the *Firth* either ſeeing them, or having notice of the deſign, prepared to intercept them, if they ſhould attempt the paſſage; but the Rebels made ſeveral countermarches to amuſe them till night came on; when, drawing down to the ſhore, ſeveral imbarked that night, and others the next, making directly over to the South ſhore, the men of war not being able to prevent them. However one boat was taken with fifty men. Others were forced back to *Fife* again; among whom Lord *Strathmore*, and his Lieutenant-Colonel *Walkinſhaw* of *Barrowfield*, and many were driven into the *Iſle* of *May*. Of the two thouſand five hundred deſigned for this deſcent upon the *Lothians*, only one thouſand five hundred of them landed; for the men of war being come down made it impracticable for the reſt to paſs; ſo they were obliged to ſtay till the next night, and then to return to *Criel* on the ſhore of *Fife*. The others landed at *North-Berwick*, *Aberlady*, and other places on that coaſt, and quartered at *Haddington*, and *Tranent* the firſt night. This was certainly a bold attempt, for men in open boats to croſs an arm of the ſea ſixteen or ſeventeen miles broad, in ſight, and in defiance of three men of war, among whom they fell, but received no damage from them, but rather an advantage; for the lights of the ſhips ſhewed them how to row to the ſhore. On the other hand, the Government omitted nothing, that might prevent this attempt; no care was wanting to diſappoint them of veſſels for the undertaking: The Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, and of the other towns on the *Edith*, having had notice from the Duke of *Argyle* of this

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art of *Ard*, Mr. *Francis Stuart*, brother to the Earl of *Murray*, *John Cameron* of *Lochiell*, Mr. *John Fullerton* of *Greenhall*, *Mackintoſh*, Junr. of *Borlam*, *James Malcom*, Mr. *Henry Maul*, brother to the Earl of *Panmure*, *John Walkingſhaw* of *Barrowfield*, *Colin Campbel* of *Glenderule*, ——*Graham* of *Buckley*, *George Hume* of *Whitfield*, Mr. *John Drummond*, brother to the Lord *Drummond*, *Lyon* of *Auchterhouſe*, Colonel *Balfour*, the Maſter of *Balfour*, and *Bethune* of *Balfour*.

(1) This

this design, had caused all the boats, that could be got, to be brought to *Leith*; and besides the three ships of war, that lay in the road, ordered three Custom-House smacks, either to burn or bring over from *Fife* all the boats and vessels they could find, to prevent the Rebels coming over. But all these precautions proved ineffectual: The Rebels, being masters of all the seashore from *Cromarty* to the *Forth* of *Edinburgh*, easily found means to get boats for their purpose; nor did they fail of all necessary policy in the management of the design; for, whilst some of them amused the King's ships about *Brunt-Island*, as if they would pass above *Leith-Road*, their main body imbarked on the other side, under the conduct of Brigadier *Mackintosh*, quite out of sight of the ships; and by that means came safe ashore.

While this design was executing, the Earl of *Mar* made a feigned march from *Perth* towards *Dumblain*, as if he intended to cross the *Forth* at *Stirling-Bridge*, in order to divert the Duke of *Argyle* from falling upon those, who had crossed the *Firth*. Nor did this prove ineffectual; for it obliged the Duke of *Argyle* to return to *Stirling* with the utmost expedition.

The *Highlanders*, who had thus crossed the *Firth*, having refreshed themselves but one night at *Haddington*, marched directly towards *Edinburgh*, where they caused more terror than there was real danger; for, unless their number had been greater, it was impossible for them to force that City. It was indeed supposed, they expected to be joined by the rabble, and some tumult would be raised in their favour. In the mean time the Duke of *Argyle* received letters from all hands, that, if he did not send a detachment of troops to *Edinburgh*, the town would certainly fall into the enemies hands. And therefore, though it had always been intirely against his opinion to divide the small number of troops he had with him, he was obliged to comply, and went himself with a detachment of three hundred dragoons, and two hundred foot, mounted on Country horses for expedition, and arrived at *Edinburgh* in the night. The Rebels, who were then within four miles of the City, hearing of the arrival of this detachment, altered their resolution of going directly to *Edinburgh* (which they would have infallibly taken) and marched into the Citadel of *Leith* (1). The next morning the Duke of *Argyle* invested the town with the cavalry, and marched his two hundred foot with three hundred and fifty volunteers from *Edinburgh*, and the like number of Lord *Polwarth*'s militia, down to the sea-shore, where, at a large breach in the old rampart, he judged it easy to enter; but, taking a near view of the place, he found, that, to come at the breach, the men must march at least five hundred paces under a flank-fire; that the Rebels had made a barricade along the breach; and that a garden-wall on the inside flanked it. These things made the Duke unwilling to expose his few regular troops, though they shewed a great eagerness to assault. The Rebels in the Citadel were about one thousand two hundred; and the rest, that passed the river, being in *East Lothian*, the Duke thought fit to delay any attempt, and consider of some proper method to dislodge them. But in the middle of the night they abandoned the place, and retired into *Seaton-House*, a large, old, and strong Castle, seven miles from *Edinburgh*, leaving behind them some baggage and ammunition. Thirty-six of their men, and two officers, were taken by a detachment under Colonel *Dubourgay*. 1715.

Whilst the Rebels were in *Seaton-House*, several of the King's forces, joined by the well-affected Gentlemen of the Country, came from *Edinburgh*, and appeared near *Preston-Pans*; which gave an alarm to the *Highlanders*; upon which a party marched out, and formed themselves in order to receive those, who appeared against them. But those from *Edinburgh*, having made a halt, retired; and the Rebels returned into their garrison at *Seaton-House*. The next day, the Earl of *Rothes*, with three hundred Gentlemen volunteers, and the Lord *Torphichen* with two hundred dragoons, left by the Duke of *Argyle*, marched to *Seaton-House*; but found the Rebels so strongly posted, that it was impossible to dislodge them without artillery. This animated the Rebels; and, a good body of them advancing, some shot were exchanged, but at too great a distance to do any harm on either side; and the King's troops, seeing nothing could be done, retired. Oct. 16. Oct. 17.

The Duke of *Argyle* having received intelligence from *Stirling*, that the Earl of *Mar*, and the Rebels under his command, were marching from *Perth*, he returned to *Stirling* to observe their motions, leaving a party to protect the people of *Edinburgh* from the insults of the rabble. This was a feigned march of the Earl of *Mar*, to draw the Duke of *Argyle* from attempting any thing upon the *Highlanders*, who had crossed the *Firth*. He gave out, that he would pass the *Forth* with his whole army, either at *Stirling*, or at the bridge of *Down*. They began their march in the night of *October* the 17th, and advanced in three bodies; but upon notice, that the Duke of *Argyle* was returned from pursuing the enemy, he marched back to *Perth*. All this was an amusement, which indeed succeeded; for he broke the measures of the Duke, who had resolved to attack *Seaton-House*. But the Earl was determined not to cross the *Forth* till he had drawn all the Clans together, and reduced the Earl of *Sutherland*, whom if he should leave in his rear, it might prove fatal to his designs, and expose all he had gained without opposition to be recovered by that Lord.

The *Highlanders* still continued at *Seaton-House*, and sent out parties to bring in provisions, of which they procured great plenty, as cows, sheep, meal, *&c.* They gave out, they resolved to fortify themselves, and make the house a magazine, while they raised an army, as well from the adjacent Country, and from *Edinburgh*, and from other friends to their design in the West part of *Scotland*, who were preparing to join them, as from the borders of *England*, where by this time numbers were risen in *Northumberland*.

While

(1) This Citadel is a square fort, with four Demi-bastions, built in *Oliver Cromwel*'s time, with a large dry ditch about it, never entirely demolished.

(1) Mr.

1715. While they ſtaid here, they diſcovered a boat at ſea, making towards the ſhore from the *Fife-ſide* of the *Firth*. The men of war fired very briſkly at her; but, the boat keeping to the windward at a diſtance, ſhe got ſafe to ſhore. This boat had been ſent by the Rebels from *Leith* to the Earl of *Mar*, and now brought back news concerning the proceedings of their friends at *Perth*, and orders to march towards
Oct. 18. *England*, to join the *Northumbrians*. Immediately after the receiving of theſe orders, two Gentlemen brought them an account of the Inſurrection in *Northumberland* under the command of Mr. *Forſter*, and of the Southern *Scots* Gentlemen under the Lord *Kenmure*. Upon this they altered their reſolution of continuing at *Seaton-Houſe*; and having alſo received an expreſs from Mr. *Forſter*, inviting them to meet him at *Kelſo* on the borders, they reſolved to
Oct. 19. march the next day towards him. Accordingly they ſet out in the morning for *Lonformachus*, a ſmall town ſeventeen miles from *Seaton-Houſe*. During this day's march, ſeveral of the *Highlanders* deſerted. As ſoon as Major-General *Wightman* received intelligence of their motion, he marched from *Edinburgh* with eighty dragoons, fifty of the militia, and ſome volunteers, to attack their rear; but returned in the evening without ſucceſs, having only taken ſome of the deſerters, whom he made priſoners, and left fifty foot in *Seaton-Houſe*, where they had left a great deal of their ſpoil. *Mackintoſh* and his men marched from *Lonformachus*, towards another ſmall town in the *Mers* called *Dunſe*, where they drew up in order of battle, whilſt the Pretender was proclaimed, retiring afterwards to
Oct. 22. their quarters in that town. The next morning, they marched towards *Kelſo*, where the *Engliſh* and *Scots* horſe from *Northumberland* and *Nithiſdale* entered the ſame evening. The next day they proclaimed the Pretender, and continued there till the 27th of *October* (1). It will now be proper to ſee what was doing in other parts of *Scotland*.

The Synods of *Glaſgow*, *Air*, *Perth*, *Stirling*, *Merſe*, and *Tiviotdale* had very early publiſhed earneſt admonitions to perſons of all ranks, to animate them to the defence of King *George* and the Conſtitution.

On the 28th of *September*, Mr. *James Murray*, ſecond ſon of the Lord Viſcount *Stormont*, arrived *incognito* at *Edinburgh* from *France*, by way of *England*, croſſing the *Firth* at *Newhaven*, above *Leith*, got undiſcovered into *Fife*, and ſo to the Earl of *Mar* at *Perth*. He gave the Rebels large promiſes of aſſiſtance both from *France* and *England*, and came with the character of Secretary of State to the Pretender for *Scotland*.

About this time a ſtrong party of the *Macdonalds*, *Macleans*, and *Camerons*, attempted to ſurprize the fortreſs of *Inverlochy*, and ſucceeded ſo far, at to take three redoubts at ſome diſtance from it; in one of which there was an Officer with twenty men, and in another a Serjeant with five; but, the main garriſon being on their guard, the Rebels were diſappointed, and marched towards *Argyleſhire*.

On the 20th of *October*, an account was brought from the North to *Edinburgh*, that the Earl of *Sutherland*, with the Lord *Rea* and Mr. *Monzoe* of *Foulis*, having drawn together about eighteen hundred men, advanced, on the 18th, to *Alneſs*, in order to attack the Earl of *Seaforth*, who had aſſembled the Clans of the *Mackenzies*, *Macleods*, and others; but that, upon a near view of the Rebels, they appeared to be much ſuperior in number; and therefore it was judged proper for the Earl of *Sutherland* to retire, which he did in good order, and without any

(1) Mr. *Patten* gives the following account of the ſtate of the Rebels, at their junction at *Kelſo*:

The Lord Viſcount *Kenmure* had the chief command whilſt in *Scotland*. He was a grave, full-aged Gentleman, of a very antient family, and of great experience in political buſineſs, but of little or none in military affairs. He was of a ſingular good temper, but too mild and calm for ſuch a poſt. He had a troop of Gentlemen with him, which, as he was General, was called the firſt troop, the Command of which he gave to the Honourable *Bazil Hamilton* of *Beldoun*, ſon to the Lord *Bazil Hamilton*, brother to the late Duke *Hamilton*, a very promiſing youth, and who behaved himſelf with a great deal of courage in the action at *Preſton*, though but very young.

The ſecond troop was called the *Merſe* troop, commanded by the Honourable *James Hume*, Eſq; brother to the Earl of *Hume*, who, at that time, was priſoner in *Edinburgh* Caſtle. This youth is of a good temper, but not very capable of having the command of a troop, as well on account of his age, as other incapacities. He was tried at the *Marſhalſea*, and found guilty.

The third troop, called the Earl of *Wintoun*'s troop, and commanded by himſelf. This Earl is of a very antient family, wants no courage, and has more capacity than his friends find it for his intereſt to ſuggeſt, as appears by the counſel he gave. He oppoſed the ſcheme of the *Northumbrian* Gentlemen to march into *England*, and preſſed them to leave *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* to their fate, and go and join the weſtern Clans, attacking in their way the towns of *Dumfries* and *Glaſgow*, and then to open a communication with the Earl of *Mar*. Had this advice been followed, it would, very probably, have proved very advantageous. The command of his troop he aſſigned, under himſelf, to Captain *James Dalziel*, brother to the Earl of *Carnwarth*, who had been in King *George*'s ſervice formerly, and continued an half-pay Officer for ſome time; but, upon engaging in the Rebellion, he threw up his Commiſſion; which piece of policy was the ſaving of his life, and prevented his being ſhot to death at *Preſton*, by ſentence of the Court-martial, among the half-pay Officers. He was a very bold and brave young Gentleman, and ſhewed it upon all occaſions.

The fourth troop belonged to *Robert Dalziel*, Earl of *Carnwarth*: This Nobleman was brought up under the tuition of one, who made it his ſtudied care to inſtil the principles of Hereditary Right, Paſſive Obedience, and Non-reſiſtance into his mind. He ſtudied ſome time at *Cambridge*, and there ſucked in an entire affection for the Liturgy and Worſhip in uſe in the Church of *England*, of which he was a ſincere Devotee. He is ſingularly good in his temper, and of an agreeable affability, and delivers himſelf very handſomely in his diſcourſe. The command of this troop he gave over to his uncle *James Dalziel*, Eſq. This Gentleman had a very good character, and gave ſufficient demonſtrations of his affections to the Pretender's intereſt, by his courage and conduct.

The fifth troop was under the command of Captain *Lockhart*, brother to Mr. *Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*: He was a half-pay Officer in the Lord *Mark Ker*'s regiment, and as ſuch tried at *Preſton*, by a Court-Martial; by which being found guilty of deſertion, he, with three more, were ſhot to death there.

Theſe troops were well manned, and indifferently armed; but many of their horſes ſmall: Beſides theſe, there were many Volunteers, who were not formed into any regular troop.

5. any loſs, to his own Shire, where he was augmenting his forces, and preparing to come forward again, being aſſured of aſſiſtance from the *Grants* and *Roſſes* of *Culraick*, and other parts, and from ſome of the *Fraſers*.

ers Earl 's These motions of the Earl of *Sutherland* kept the Earl of *Seaforth* from joining the Earl of *Mar*; the Rebels under whom committed great ravages and diſorders in *Fife*. A party coming to *Leſley*, the chief ſeat of the Earl of *Rothes*, after ſearching the houſe for arms, they forced open the Church-doors, and, finding no arms there, broke into the burial-place of the family of *Rothes*, and, digging up the ground, tore open the coffins in a moſt ſhocking manner.

On the 20th of *October* a body of Weſtern *Highlanders*, conſiſting of two thouſand three hundred men, commanded by General *Gordon*, came before *Inverary*, the chief town in *Argyleſhire*; and, having that night viewed the place, marched back to a mill about half a mile from the town. Next day being reinforced by three hundred of the Earl of *Broadalbin*'s men, they viewed the town a ſecond time, and again returned to their former quarters. On the 22d they drew up a third time, and ſent detachments to cut faſcines, as if they deſigned to attack the town; but finding, that the Earl of *Ilay*, who commanded in it, was ready to receive them, they thought fit once more to retreat to their quarters; and on the 24th left the place, and marched through *Glenorches*, in their way to join the Earl of *Mar*. This preſervation of the town of *Inverary* was, at that juncture, a very conſiderable ſervice; for, had the Rebels been maſters of that paſs, they might have poured in their men, either towards *Glaſgow*, or into the Shire of *Air*, and ſo have joined the Rebels in the North of *England*.

On the 23d of *October* the Duke of *Argyle* received advice, that a party of Rebels, conſiſting of two hundred foot, and one hundred horſe, were marching by *Caſtle-Campbel* towards *Dumferling*; upon which he ſent away a detachment of dragoons under the command of Colonel *Cathcart*, who came up with the Rebels on the 24th at five in the morning; and, after having killed and wounded ſeveral of them, took ſeventeen priſoners, and amongſt them the following Gentlemen, Mr. *Murray*, brother to the Laird of *Aberkernie*; Mr. *Hay*, ſon to *Arbath*; Mr. *Patrick Gordon*, *Aberlour*'s eldeſt ſon; *Alexander Forbes*, ſon to *Buſlie*; *William Robertſon*, brother to *Donſhils*; Mr. *Kenlock*, a Phyſician; *Alexander Smith*; Mr. *Alexander Gordon*; *Francis Gordon*, of *Craig*; Mr. *Hamilton*, of *Gibſtown* in *Strabogie*; and *George Gordon*, of the mill of *Kincardine*. The ſame evening Colonel *Cathcart* returned to the camp at *Stirling* with his priſoners, having had only one of his dragoons wounded. 1715.

Three letters intercepted from England.

About this time the Earl of *Mar* received three letters, which had been intercepted by Mr. *Forſter*, one from Lord *Townſhend* to the Duke of *Argyle*; one from the Earl of *Nottingham* to the Duke of *Roxburgh*; and one from the Prince of *Wales* to the Duke of *Argyle*; of which we have an account in the following letter of the Earl of *Mar* to the Earl of *Broadalbine* which gives a view of the ſtate of the Rebels affairs at that time:

My dear Lord,

The Earl of Mar's letter about them.

'I had the pleaſure of your Lordſhip's of the 13th laſt night. I have now ſent one hundred bolls of meal, and what quantity of ammunition we could ſpare, for the uſe of the army under General *Gordon*; all which is ſent under an eſcort of forty men to *Taymouth*, and from thence your

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The ſix regiments deſigned to croſs the *Forth* were:

Firſt, The Earl *Strathmore*'s; but he and his Lieutenant-Colonel *Walkinſhaw* of *Barrowfield* were forced back in their paſſage by the King's men of war, with ſeveral others, and obliged to go on ſhore in the Iſle of *May*. This regiment was not in Highland-dreſs, as the others were. This Lord was a hearty friend of the Pretender's, and had, ſome time before this Rebellion broke out, given it under his hand, that he would be ready, the firſt opportunity, to riſe and aſſiſt to eſtabliſh him upon the Throne. This paper, which was ſigned by ſeveral others, was lodged in the hands of Colonel *Hookes*, to be by him tranſported into *France*.

The ſecond regiment was the Earl of *Mar*'s, which came not entire over the *Forth*; for only Major *Forbes*, with three Captains and three Lieutenants, were taken at *Preſton*, the reſt were driven back by the men of war.

The third, *Logie Drummond*'s. This regiment came not entire over the *Forth*, being driven back on the *Fife* ſide, with many more; for, of the two thouſand five hundred deſigned to croſs the *Firth*, the better half were prevented. He that had the command of this regiment was one of thoſe that ſigned an anſwer to Monſieur *de Torcy*'s queſtions, which gave a diſtinct reſolution to each query, containing a full account of the ſtate of affairs; particularly an account of the inclinations of the people, to venture all for the Chevalier's ſervice: This was when the people of *Scotland* were diſſatisfied about the Union, in the year 1707. This paper was likewiſe lodged in the hands of Colonel *Hookes*, to be by him tranſported into *France*.

The fourth, the Lord *Nairn*'s, brother to the Duke of *Athol*; but by marrying an heireſs, according to the cuſtom of *Scotland*, changed his own name for hers: He came over the *Firth* with a good many of his men. He is a Gentleman well beloved in his Country, and by all that had the advantage to be acquainted with him: He had formerly been at ſea, and gave ſignal inſtances of his bravery: He was a mighty ſtickler againſt the Union. His ſon, who was Lieutenant-Colonel to Lord *Charles*, took a great deal of pains to encourage the *Highlanders* by his own experience, in their hard marches, and always went with them on foot through the worſt and deepeſt ways, and in Highland-dreſs.

The fifth regiment was commanded by Lord *Charles Murray*, a younger ſon of the Duke of *Athol*: He had been a Cornet of horſe beyond ſea, and had gained a mighty good character for his bravery, even temper, and graceful deportment. Upon all the marches, he could never be prevailed with to ride, but kept at the head of his regiment on foot, in his Highland-dreſs, without breeches: He would ſcarce accept of a horſe to croſs the rivers, which his men, in that ſeaſon of the year, forded above mid-thigh deep in water. When the Rebels ſurrendered at *Preſton*, he was tried for a deſerter, being a half-pay Officer, and ſhot.

The ſixth regiment was called *Mackintoſh*'s Battalion, a relation of the Brigadier's, who is chief of that Clan. He is of an antient family, deſcended from the old *Thanes* of *Fife*. His name, in the *Iriſh*, or Highland language, diſcovers his deſcent; for *Toſh* ſignifies *Thane*, and *Mac* Son. His motto to his coat of arms is comical as well as remarkable, *Touch not the cat without*

1715. your Lordſhip will take care to tranſport it to your army.

You aſk for news, and I can tell you a good deal pretty agreeable. Moſt of our *Fife* detachment are got over to the other ſide, and proclaimed the King yeſterday at *Haddington*. I have now a letter from Mr. *Forſter*, with three letters they had intercepted; one from Lord *Townſhend* to Duke of *Argyle*; one from Lord *Nottingham* to Duke of *Roxburgh*, and one from Prince *Hopeful* to Duke of *Argyle*, of which I ſend your Lordſhip a copy, and by that you will judge pretty well of the ſituation of our enemies. By *Hopeful*'s letter it will ſeem, that the Duke of *Ormond* is in *England* by this time. Mr. *Forſter*'s letter is three days after his laſt to me. He was then three hundred horſe, and was to be joined next day by all the border, and go ſtraight to *Newcaſtle*, which they were ſure of, and of getting good numbers of the beſt foot in the North of *England* to join them. By them and our men on the South ſide, all correſpondence betwixt *London* and the Duke of *Argyle* will be ſtopped. I have heard nothing yet of theſe four battalions, and if *Evan*'s dragoons from *Ireland* to Duke *Argyle* be come: But, if the news we had of the commotions in that Country be not true, they will certainly be with him ſoon; and by that your Lordſhip will eaſily ſee the neceſſity of *Gordon*'s finiſhing his buſineſs in *Argyleſhire* without delay, and marching Weſt. *Tom. Forſter* thinks and preſſes my attacking Duke of *Argyle* before that enforcement join him; which I wiſh heartily to do; but that muſt be as things happen. The affair of *Argyleſhire* being finiſhed by your Lordſhip and *Gordon*, is of great conſequence to this, as well as other things. Therefore I am ſure your Lordſhip and he will loſe no time in it.

By Lord *Nottingham*'s to Duke of *Roxburgh*, I perceive your Lordſhip has had the honour 1715. of a letter from his Grace; to which I have no doubt of your giving a ſuitable anſwer. The paragraph of the letter is this: *Not having time to ſend you the whole; and beſide, it ſignifies little. Though what you writ to my Lord* Broadalbin *was in itſelf very proper; yet, I doubt it will have little effect upon him, unleſs he were convinced of the folly of this attempt, from ſome aſſurance, that not only the preparations againſt them would be ſufficient to ſuppreſs them; and that all their expectation of aſſiſtance from abroad, or by an inſurrection in* England, *would certainly fail them.* Theſe are the words of the letter; and it is dated the 3d of this month. That of *Hopeful* to Duke of *Argyle* is of the 7th, by which they then knew of Duke *Ormond*'s leaving *Paris*, which they had not when *Nottingham* wrote his letter. And, now that they muſt know of the Inſurrection in *England* being far from failing us, I leave your Lordſhip to judge what they are not thinking at *London* of their condition. I have read moſt of *Hopeful*'s letter to the company here: What I have not read is the firſt paragraph; and that I think your Lordſhip had beſt not ſhew to any body, ſave to General *Gordon*.

I juſt now hear from *Monteith*, that the Earls *Ilay* and *Bute* are certainly in *Argyleſhire*; and that there are two men of war come into *Clyde*, who were ſending their long boats to retake the boats on *Lochlomond*, which *Glingyll* has ſeized. I wiſh, with all my heart, this could be prevented, and that theſe folks were driven from *Inverary*, which I am ſure your Lordſhip and General *Gordon* will loſe no time in doing. I am ſorry for more in that Country's following *Lawers*'s example; and particularly, I am ſurprized exceedingly with *Lochnell*'s behaviour, which I knew ſome days ago; but I hear they have

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without your glove; which coat of arms is ſupported by two wild cats, and has a cat for the creſt. The Earl of *Weems* is deſcended from the ſame *Thane* of *Fife*; and it is diſputed whether he or *Mackintoſh* are elder, though certain it is, that the Earl of *Weems* retains a conſiderable part of *Thane*'s eſtate. Whether *Mackintoſh* be elder or younger, he left *Fife*, and made a purchaſe in the North, where his Succeſſors have lived for ſeveral hundreds of years in a handſome and ſplendid manner, and married the heireſs of *Clancattau*, whereof *Mackintoſh* became the Head and Chief; which has a great many Tribes or Followers, *viz.* the *Macpherſon's*, the *Farquarſon's* of *Brae-Mar*, the *Macgilwray's*, the *Shaw's*, *Macbeans*, *Macqueens*, *Smith's*, and *Clark's*, *&c.* which, joined together, make a numerous Clan. The *Macpherſon's* would not on this occaſion follow their Chief, but formed a ſeparate body for the Pretender. This regiment came entire over the *Firth*. *Mackintoſh* is a Gentleman that few people expected in the Rebellion, having always appeared on the other ſide; but the perſuaſions of the Brigadier prevailed with him. He is a handſome brave young Gentleman, of a very conſiderable intereſt in his own Country; for he can bring into the field upon any occaſion one thouſand ſtout, hardy, and well armed men.

The *Engliſh* were not ſo well regulated, or ſo well armed as the *Scots*. The troops were: Firſt, the Earl of *Derwentwater*'s, commanded by his brother *Charles Radcliffe*, Eſq; and Captain *John Shaftoe*. That Earl being a Papiſt, and a Relation of the Pretender's, having it ſeems had the opportunity of being perſonally acquainted with him, all theſe circumſtances unhappily concurred to draw him into this ſnare, to his deſtruction, and the utter ruin of the moſt flouriſhing family in that part of *Britain*.

It was thought, however, that this Lord did not join either ſo heartily or ſo premeditately in this affair as was expected; for there is no doubt but he might have brought far greater numbers of men into the field than he did; the great eſtate he poſſeſſed, the money he could command, his intereſt among the Gentlemen, and, which is above all, his being ſo well beloved as he was, could not have failed to have procured him many hundreds of followers more than he had, if he had thought fit; for his concerns in the Lead-mines in *Alſtone Moor* are very conſiderable, where ſeveral hundreds of men are employed under him, and get their bread from him, whom, there is no doubt, he might eaſily have engaged: Beſides this, the ſweetneſs of his temper and diſpoſition, in which he had few equals, had ſo ſecured him the affection of all his tenants, neighbours, and dependants, that multitudes would have lived and died with him: The truth is, he was a man formed by nature to be generally beloved; for he was of ſo univerſal a beneficence, that he ſeemed to live for others. As he lived among his own people, there he ſpent his eſtate, and continually did offices of kindneſs and good neighbourhood to every body, as opportunity offered. He kept a houſe of generous hoſpitality and noble entertainment, which few in that Country do, and none come up to. He was very charitable to poor and diſtreſſed families on all occaſions, whether known to him or not, and whether Papiſt or Proteſtant. His fate will be ſenſibly felt by a great many, who had no kindneſs for the cauſe he died in, and who heartily wiſh he had not forwarded his ruin, and their loſs, by his

715. have uſed him as he deſerves. One near *Stirling* wrote to me two days ago, that the Duke of *Argyle* had ſent him priſoner to *Edinburgh*, which, I wiſh, may be true. I hope it will not be in the power of thoſe rogues to do us much hurt, eſpecially when your Lordſhip's being heartily in the cauſe of your King and Country is known to them: And I aſſure your Lordſhip, thoſe vaſſals of yours, who miſbehave, ſhall be uſed as you deſire.

I have ſent to *Aberdeen* for the Printing-preſs, and we have Lawyers here, with whom I adviſe as your Lordſhip recommends.

Theſe men of *Gleulyon*'s, you mentioned, were in *Fife*, and are gone over: So I have ſent a party of *Macphersons* with the meal and ammunition to *Taymouth*, who are to return from that; and your Lordſhip will take care of it from thence. I have recommended it to your doers there, in caſe of your abſence; and I ſend this by an expreſs, that you may have it ſooner than that party can march.

I'll long to hear from your Lordſhip, and that you will ſend me ſome good news from your parts in return for all this.

The thing I am moſt in pain about is our friends, who are gone over to the other ſide, becauſe of Mr. *Forſter*'s marching towards *Newcaſtle*; and nothing could ſo much prevent the Duke of *Argyle*'s ſending a detachment that way, as your clearing *Argyleſhire* ſoon, and marching Weſtwards, as *Gordon* has orders.

I am, my dear Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient

From the camp of *Perth*, *Oct.* 14, 1715.

and moſt humble ſervant,

MAR.

Soon after, two letters from the Earl of *Mar* were intercepted, and the Pretender cauſed a declaration to be drawn up (1). 1715.

The Rebellion being thus kindled as well in *England* as *Scotland*, it was thought proper to demand in form of the *States-General* the ſix thouſand men, which by the treaty of guarantee they were engaged to ſend over when required. The *States* immediately complied with the demand, and preparations were made for tranſporting them. At the ſame time, General *Cadogan* repreſented to the *States*, that the King, having received advice that the Pretender, *James Butler* late Duke of *Ormond*, *Henry St. John* late Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, and other Traitors, deſigned to paſs through their Dominions, in order to go to *Great-Britain* and join the Rebels, deſired them to give orders to all the Governors of the places under their dominion, to ſtop and examine all the King's ſubjects that ſhould paſs out of *Germany*, *Lorrain*, or *France*, and alſo to all the Captains of ſhips not to take any ſuch on board. This memorial was readily agreed to, and orders were iſſued accordingly. *Dutch troops are ſent for*, Oct. 16.

As it would be ſome time before the *Dutch* could be imbarked, *Pitt*'s regiment of horſe, and *Sabine*'s, *Preſton*'s, and *Vane*'s of foot, had been ſent for from *Ireland*, and had landed at *Cheſter* the beginning of *October*. Aſſociations were alſo entered into throughout the Kingdom, for the defence of the King's Perſon and Government; and the Lords-Lieutenants of the Counties were impowered to form into Troops or Companies ſuch as ſhould be willing to aſſociate, and to grant Commiſſions to them in the King's name. *Regiments from Ireland.* *Aſſociations.*

The Archbiſhop publiſhed a declaration, ſigned by himſelf and thirteen of his Suffragans, teſtifying their abhorrence of the Rebellion. *Declaration by the Biſhops.*

But

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his indiſcretion in joining in this mad as well as wicked undertaking. If the warrant from the Secretary's Office for apprehending him had been made a greater ſecret than it was, he might have been taken, and ſo his ruin have been prevented. His brother is young and bold, but too forward: He has a great deal of courage, which wants a few more years, and a better cauſe to improve it; there is room to hope he will never employ it in ſuch an adventure again.

The ſecond troop was the Lord *Widdrington*'s, commanded by Mr. *Thomas Errington* of *Beaufront*. This *Errington* is a Gentleman of a very antient family in *Northumberland*, a younger brother of the family of *Errington*: He has very good natural parts, and had been formerly an officer in the *French* ſervice, where he had got the reputation of a good ſoldier. It is believed he would not have engaged in this Rebellion, had not the many obligations he lay under to the Earl of *Derwentwater* prevailed with him.

The third troop was commanded by Captain *John Hunter*, born upon the river *North-Tyne* in the County of *Northumberland*: He had obtained a commiſſion in the latter end of Queen *Anne*'s Reign to raiſe an Independent Company, but never received any pay, nor liſted any men, but when he made uſe of that commiſſion now in the Rebellion. He was famous for running uncuſtomed goods out of *Scotland* into *England*. He behaved with great vigour and obſtinacy in the action at *Preſton*, where he took poſſeſſion of ſome houſes during the attack, and galled that brave regiment of Brigadier *Preſton*'s, making a great ſlaughter out of the windows: He has ſince made his eſcape out of *Cheſter-Caſtle*, and, as is ſaid, got over into *Ireland*, and from thence to *France*.

The fourth troop was commanded by *Robert Douglaſs*, brother to the Laird of *Finland* in *Scotland*: He ſignalized himſelf upon ſeveral accounts; for going ſo often, ſo privately, and expeditiouſly betwixt *England* and the Earl of *Mar*. He was the man who brought Mr. *Forſter* his Commiſſion, and the Manifeſtoes and Declarations of the Pretender. He was indefatigable in ſearching for arms and horſes, a trade, ſome were pleaſed to ſay, he had followed out of the Rebellion as well as in it. He was alſo very vigorous in the action at *Preſton*; where he with his men were poſſeſſed of ſeveral houſes, and did a great deal of harm to his Majeſty's forces from the windows. He alſo made his eſcape when a priſoner, either at *Liverpool* or *Cheſter*.

The fifth troop was commanded by Captain *Nicholas Wogan*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman, but deſcended from an antient family of that name in *Wales*; he joined the Rebels at their firſt meeting. He is a Gentleman of a moſt generous mind, and a great deal of bravery, unwearied to forward the good of his cauſe: His bravery was made known by ſeveral inſtances in the action at *Preſton*: His generoſity, as well as courage, was moſt remarkable in bringing off priſoner Captain *Preſton*, of *Preſton*'s regiment of foot, who was mortally wounded through the body by a bullet from the Rebels, and juſt at the point of being cut in pieces; he hazarded his life among his own men, if poſſible, to ſave that Gentleman, though an enemy, and was wounded in doing it. Beſides theſe there were many volunteers not formed into any troop, and the whole amounted to about two thouſand horſe and foot.

(1) The Letters and Declaration were as follow:

To the Lord Viſcount Kenmure.

My Lord,

"I long extremely to hear from you, you may be ſure,

1715. But Dr. *Atterbury* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr. *Smalridge* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, refuſed to ſign this declaration; and, a few days after, *Smalridge* was removed from the poſt of Lord Almoner to the King, in which he was ſucceeded by Dr. *Wake* Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

Proceedings of the Rebels.

On the 25th of *October*, Lieutenant-General *Carpenter*, who was appointed to go againſt the *Northumberland* Rebels, ſet out from *Newcaſtle* with *Hotham*'s regiment of foot, *Cobham*'s, *Moleſworth*'s, and *Churchill*'s dragoons; and, on the 27th, lay at *Wooller*, intending, the next day, to face *Kelſo*, where the Rebels were. The Lord *Kenmure*, who commanded them while on the South-ſide of the *Tweed*, having notice of this, called immediately a Council of war, wherein it was conſidered what courſe they ſhould take. The Lord *Wintoun* preſſed them earneſtly to march into the Weſt of *Scotland*; but the *Engliſh* oppoſed, and prevailed againſt that opinion. Then it was propoſed to paſs the *Tweed*, and attack the King's troops, taking advantage of the weakneſs and wearineſs of General *Carpenter*'s men, who were indeed extremely fatigued, and not above nine hundred men in number, whereof two regiments of dragoons were new raiſed, and had never ſeen any ſervice. But this advice was alſo rejected; and the Rebels decamped from *Kelſo*, and, taking a little to the right, marched to *Jedburgh*. Upon this march they were all alarmed, by miſtaking a party of their own men for ſome of General *Carpenter*'s forces. The party appearing at a diſtance, Captain *Wogan*, deſirous to know who they were, went off towards the river's ſide, which parted them, and left Mr. *Patten* to ſtand at a convenient diſtance from him, whilſt he rid up to make a diſcovery. If they proved enemies, he was to fire a piſtol; if friends, to toſs up his hat. At the ſame time ſome of the party, wanting 1715

ſure, ſince I have not had the leaſt accounts almoſt of your motions, ſince I ſent the detachment over. I hope all is pretty right again; but it was an unlucky miſtake of Brigadier *Mackintoſh* in marching from *Haddington* to *Leith*. I cannot but ſay though, that it was odd your Lordſhip ſent no orders or intelligence to him, when you had reaſon to expect that party's coming over every day. His retreat he made from *Leith*, and now from *Seaton*, with the help of the movement I made from this, makes ſome amends for that miſtake; and I hope that party of men with him will be of great uſe to you, and the cauſe. I wiſh you may find a way of ſending the incloſed to Mr. *Forſter*, which I leave open for your Lordſhip to read; and I have little further to ſay to you, than what you will find in it. I know ſo little of the ſituation of your affairs, that I muſt leave to yourſelf what is fit for you to do, as will moſt conduce to the ſervice; and I know you will take good advice.

My humble ſervice to all friends with you, particularly Brigadier *Mackintoſh*, Lord *Nairn*, Lord *Charles Murray*, and *Mackintoſh*, who, I hope, are joined you long e're now; and indeed they all deſerve praiſe for their gallant behaviour. I muſt not forget *Kinackin*, who I hear ſpoke ſo reſolutely to the Duke of *Argyle* from the Citadel; and I hope *Innereal* and all my men with him are well; and their countrymen long to be at them, which I hope they and we ſhall ſoon. I I have ſent another copy of the incloſed to Mr. *Forſter* by ſea; ſo it will be hard, if none of them come to his hands.

I know your Lordſhip will endeavour to let me hear from you as ſoon as poſſible, which I long impatiently for; and I hope you will find a way of ſending it ſafe. In one of my former, either to your Lordſhip, or to ſome body to ſhew you, I told, that a part of the army would be about *Dumbarton*. But now you would not rely on that, for, till I hear from General *Gordon*, I am uncertain, if they hold that way. I have ſent your Lordſhip a copy of my new Commiſſion, which perhaps you have not ſeen before. I have named the ſeveral General Officers, and your Lordſhip has the rank of a Brigadier of the horſe.

I am told Earl *Wintoun* has been very uſeful to our men we ſent over. I ſuppoſe he is now with your Lordſhip, and I beg you may make my compliments to his Lordſhip; and I hope the King will ſoon thank him himſelf.

I will trouble your Lordſhip no farther now; but all ſucceſs attend you, and may we ſoon have a merry meeting. I am, with all reſpect,

My LORD,

Your moſt obedient

From the Camp at *Perth*, *October* 21, 1715. *and moſt humble ſervant*,

MAR.'

To Mr. Forſter, *General of the King's forces in* Northumberland.

SIR,

'I wrote to you of the 17th from *Auchterardre*, which I hope you got. I marched the ſame night the horſe to *Dumblain*, within four miles of *Stirling*, and the foot ſome miles ſhort of that place. Next morning I had certain intelligence of the Duke of *Argyle*'s returning from *Edinburgh* with moſt of the troops he had carried there, and was on their march towards *Stirling*. I alſo had account of *Evans*'s regiment landing in the Weſt of *Scotland* from *Ireland*, and were on their way to *Stirling*. I had come away from *Perth* before the proviſions were ready to go with us; and I found all the Country about *Stirling*, where we were to paſs the *Forth*, was intirely exhauſted by the enemy, ſo that there was nothing for us to ſubſiſt on there. I had no account from General *Gordon*, as I expected; and the ſooneſt I could expect him at the heads of *Forth* was two days after that; and I could not think of paſſing *Forth* till I had been joined by him. Under thoſe difficulties, and having got one of the things I deſigned by my march, the Duke of *Argyle*'s withdrawing from our friends in *Lothian*, I thought fit to march back to *Auchterardre*, which was a better quarter, though not a good one neither. Next morning I got intelligence of the Duke of *Argyle*'s being come to *Stirling* the night before, and that he had ſent an expreſs to *Evans*'s dragoons to haſten up. I had a letter alſo that morning from General *Gordon*, telling me, that ſome things had kept him longer than he expected; that it would be that day e're he could be at *Inverary*; and that he could not poſſibly join me this week. Upon this I thought it better to return here, which is a good quarter, and wait his coming up, and the Lord *Seaforth*'s, than continue at *Auchterardre*, ſince it would not a bit retard my paſſing the *Forth*, when I ſhould be in a condition to do it; and in the mean time I could be getting proviſions ready to carry along with me in my march, which, as I have been told, are abſolutely neceſſary about the heads of *Forth*: So I came home laſt night.

I very much regret my being obliged to this for many reaſons, particularly becauſe of its keeping me ſo much the longer from joining you; but you eaſily ſee it was not in my power to help it. However, I hope my ſtay here ſhall be very ſhort, and you may depend upon its being no longer than it neceſſarily muſt. The paſſage over the *Forth* is now ſo extreme difficult, that it is ſcarce poſſible to ſend any letters that way; and within theſe two days there were two boats coming over with letters to me, that were ſo hard purſued, that they were obliged to throw the letters into the ſea; ſo that I know very little of our friends on that ſide, and leſs of you, which is no ſmall loſs to me. I heard

1715. wanting to know who he was, and, galloping towards him, he fired a piſtol; ſo the alarm was taken; but the diſorder was not great, the matter being ſoon diſcovered. Then they continued their march towards *Jedburgh*. The horſe having entered the town, word was brought them, that General *Carpenter* had fallen upon the foot, who had not as yet reached the town. This put them into the utmoſt conſternation. However, not being diſcouraged ſo as to abandon their fellows, they all mounted their horſes, and marched out to relieve their friends. This miſtake was likewiſe occaſioned by another party of their own men, who had taken a different route; and, this being alſo diſcovered, they all returned to their quarters, and ſtaid at *Jedburgh* two days.

As they had now a fair opportunity to ſlip 1715.
General *Carpenter*, who was ſome marches behind them, it was reſolved, purſuant to the advice of the *Engliſh*, to croſs the mountains, and march into *England*. Accordingly, Captain *Hunter*, who was well acquainted with the country, was ordered, with his troops, to go into *North-Tyndale*, and there provide quarters for them, who would follow. But here began a mutiny; the *Highlanders* could not be perſuaded to paſs the borders; and, though many perſuaſions were uſed with them, they would not ſtir. Upon this, the firſt reſolution was altered, and orders were ſent after Captain *Hunter* to countermand him. They were joined in this town by Mr. *Ainſley* of *Blackhill*, and ſome others. From *Jedburgh* they marched to *Hawick*, a ſmall

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to day by word of mouth, that the detachment I ſent over are marched and joined our friends in the South of *Scotland*; ſo I hope they may be yet uſeful; but I hope you know more of them than I do. I have now writ to Lord *Kenmure*, but it is ten to one, if it comes to his hands. I know not what he is doing, where he is, or what way he intends to diſpoſe of his people; whether he is to march into *England*, or towards *Stirling*, to wait my paſſing *Forth*; and, in the ignorance I am in of your affairs beſouth the river, I ſcarce know what to adviſe him. If you be in need of his aſſiſtance in *England*, I doubt not but you have called him there; but, if not, certainly his being in the rear of the enemy when I paſs *Forth*, or now that the Duke of *Argyle* is reinforced, ſhould he march towards me before I am, it would be of great ſervice. I am forced in a great meaſure to leave it to himſelf to do as he finds moſt expedient.

I am afraid the Duke of *Ormond* is not as yet come to *England*; elſe I ſhould have had the certainty of it one way or other before now. I cannot conceive what detains him, nor the King from coming here. However, I am ſure it is none of their fault; and I hope they will both ſurprize us agreeably very ſoon.

I believe I told you in my laſt of the Lord *Strathmore*, and two hundred of the detachment, that were going over *Forth*, and drove into the *Iſland* of *May* by three men of war, being got ſafe aſhore on this ſide, and are now joined us again. There were but two of all the boats taken; and I hear ſome of the men, that were in them, who were made priſoners in *Leith*, were relieved by our men, when they came there; but that their officers were ſent to *Edinburgh-Caſtle*; ſo I want ſome repriſals for them, which I hope to have e're long.

Though Brigadier *Mackintoſh*'s miſtake in going to *Leith* was like to be unlucky to us and them, yet it has given the Duke of *Argyle* no little trouble; and our march obliging him to let them ſlip, has, I am apt to believe, vexed him.

I beg you will find ſome way to let me hear from you. Ever ſince my detachment were in *Fife*, all the men of war, that cruiſed on the North Coaſt, betwixt *Peterhead* and the *Firth*, have been in the *Firth*, and, I believe, will continue there to prevent my ſending more over that way; ſo that all that coaſt is clear, which I wiſh to God the King knew; and you may eaſily ſend a boat here any where with letters from *England*. I hear there is one of the regiments of foot come from *Ireland* to *Stirling*.

When you write to me, if by ſea, pray ſend me ſome News-papers, that I may know what the world is a doing; for we know little of it here theſe eight days. Succeſs attend you; and I am, with all truth and eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

Humble ſervant,

M A R.'

From the Camp at *Perth*, *October* 12, 1715.

The Pretender's Declaration was in the following terms:

James R.

'*James* VIII. by the Grace of God, of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. to all our loving ſubjects of what degree or quality ſoever, greeting. As we are firmly reſolved never to omit any opportunity of aſſerting our undoubted title to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms, and of endeavouring to put ourſelf into the poſſeſſion of that right, which is devolved upon us by the laws of God and Man; ſo muſt we, in juſtice to the ſentiments of our own heart, declare, that nothing in this world can give us ſo great ſatisfaction, as to owe, to the endeavours of our loyal ſubjects, both our and their reſtoration to that happy ſettlement, which can alone deliver this Church and Nation from the calamities, which they lie at preſent under, and from thoſe future miſeries, which muſt be the conſequences of the preſent Uſurpation. During the life of our dear Siſter of glorious memory, the happineſs, which our people enjoyed, ſoftened in ſome degree the hardſhip of our own fate: And we muſt further confeſs, that when we reflected on the goodneſs of her nature, and her inclinations to juſtice, we could not but perſuade ourſelf, that ſhe intended to eſtabliſh and perpetuate the peace, which ſhe had given to theſe Kingdoms, by deſtroying for ever all competition to the Succeſſion of the Crown, and by ſecuring to us at laſt the enjoyment of that inheritance, out of which we had been ſo long kept, which her conſcience muſt inform her was our due, and which her principles muſt lead her to deſire, that we might obtain.

But, ſince the time when it pleaſed Almighty God to put a period to her life, and not to ſuffer us to throw ourſelf, as we then fully purpoſed to have done, upon our people, we have not been able to look on the preſent condition of our Kingdoms, or to conſider their future proſpect, without all the horror and indignation, which ought to fill the breaſt of every *Scotſman*.

We have beheld a foreign Family, aliens to our Country, diſtant in Blood, and ſtrangers even to our Language, aſcend the Throne.

We have ſeen the reins of Government put into the hands of a faction; and that Authority, which was deſigned for the protection of all, exerciſed by a few of the worſt, to the oppreſſion of the beſt and greateſt number of our ſubjects. Our Siſter has not been left at reſt in her grave; her name has been ſcurrilouſly abuſed; her glory, as far as in theſe people lay, inſolently defaced, and her faithful ſervants inhumanly perſecuted. A Parliament has been procured by the moſt unwarrantable influences, and by the groſſeſt corruption, to ſerve the vileſt ends. And they, who ought to be the Guardians of the liberties of the people, are become the Inſtruments of tyranny. Whilſt the principal powers engaged in the late wars enjoy the bleſſings of peace, and are attentive to diſcharge their debts, and eaſe their people; *Great-Britain*, in the midſt

1715. ſmall market-town, belonging to the Ducheſs of *Buccleugh*, at whoſe houſe the *Engliſh* Lords, with their relations, and Mr. *Forſter*, took up their quarters. The *Highlanders* ſtill ſuppoſing, that the march for *England* was reſolved on, ſeparated themſelves in diſguſt, and went to the top of a riſing ground on *Hawick Moor*, and, reſting their arms, declared, they would fight, if they were led on to the enemy; but would not go into *England*; adhering to Lord *Wintoun*'s advice, that they would go through the Weſt of *Scotland*, join the Clans there, and either croſs the *Forth* ſome miles above *Stirling*, or ſend word to the Earl of *Mar*, that they would fall upon the Duke of *Argyle*'s rear, whilſt he fell on his front. Whilſt they were in this humour, they would allow none to come and ſpeak with them but the Earl of *Wintoun*, who had tutored them in this project, by aſſuring them, if they went to *England*, they would be all cut to pieces, or taken and ſold for ſlaves (1). After a diſpute of two hours they were at laſt brought to this, that they would keep together as long as they ſtaid in *Scotland*; but, upon any motion of going for *England*, they would return back: So they continued their march to *Hawick*, where they were extremely ſtraitened for quarters. Here the *Highlanders*, who had always the guard, and did all the duty after they joined the horſe, diſcovered from their advanced guard a party of horſe (who were patroling in their front) and, taking them for enemies, gave the alarm at midnight; and all ran immediately to arms. The moon ſhone, 1715

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midſt of peace, feels all the load of a war. New debts are contracted; new armies are raiſed at home; *Dutch* forces are brought into theſe Kingdoms; and by taking poſſeſſion of the Duchy of *Bremen*, in violation of the public faith, a door is opened by the Uſurper to let in an inundation of foreigners from abroad, and to reduce theſe Nations to the ſtate of a province, to one of the moſt inconſiderable provinces of the Empire.

Theſe are ſome few of the many real evils, into which theſe Kingdoms have been betrayed, under pretence of being reſcued and ſecured from dangers purely imaginary. And theſe are the conſequences of abandoning the old Conſtitution, as we perſuade ourſelves, very many of thoſe, who promoted the preſent unjuſt and illegal Settlement, never intended.

We obſerve, with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, that the generality of our ſubjects are awakened with a juſt ſenſe of their danger; and that they ſhew themſelves diſpoſed to take ſuch meaſures, as may effectually reſcue them from that bondage; which has, by the artifice of a few deſigning men, and by the concurrence of many unhappy cauſes, been brought upon them.

We adore the wiſdom of the Divine Providence, which has opened a way to our Reſtoration, by the ſucceſs of thoſe very meaſures, that were laid to diſappoint us for ever. And we moſt earneſtly conjure all our loving ſubjects, not to ſuffer that ſpirit to faint or die away, which has been ſo miraculouſly raiſed in all parts of the Kingdom; but to purſue, with all the vigour and hopes of ſucceſs, which ſo juſt and righteous a cauſe ought to inſpire, thoſe methods, which the finger of God ſeems to point out to them.

We are come to take our part in all the dangers and difficulties, to which any of our ſubjects, from the greateſt down to the meaneſt, may be expoſed on this important occaſion, to relieve our ſubjects of *Scotland* from the hardſhips they groan under on account of the late unhappy Union, and to reſtore the Kingdom to its antient, free, and independent State.

We have before our eyes the example of our Royal Grandfather, who fell a ſacrifice to Rebellion; and of our Royal Uncle, who, by a train of miracles, eſcaped the rage of the barbarous and blood-thirſty Rebels, and lived to exerciſe his clemency towards thoſe, who had waged war againſt his Father and Himſelf; who had driven him to ſeek ſhelter in foreign lands, and who had even ſet a price upon his head.

We ſee the ſame inſtances of cruelty renewed againſt us by men of the ſame principles, without any other reaſon than the conſciouſneſs of their own guilt, and the implacable malice of their own hearts. For, in the account of ſuch men, it is a crime ſufficient to be born their King. But God forbid, that we ſhould tread in theſe ſteps, or that the cauſe of a lawful Prince and an injured People ſhould be carried on like that of uſurpation and tyranny, and owe its ſupport to Aſſaſſins. We ſhall copy after the patterns abovementioned, and be ready, with the former of our Royal Anceſtors, to ſeal the cauſe of our Country, if ſuch be the will of Heaven, with our blood. But we hope for better things: We hope, with the latter, to ſee our juſt rights, and thoſe of the Church and People of *Scotland*, once more ſettled in a free, independent *Scots* Parliament, on their antient foundation. To ſuch a Parliament (which we will immediately call) ſhall we intirely refer both our and their intereſts, being ſenſible, that theſe intereſts, rightly underſtood, are always the ſame. Let the civil as well as religious rights of all our ſubjects receive their confirmation in ſuch a Parliament. Let conſciences truly tender be indulged. Let property of every kind be better than ever ſecured. Let an act of general grace and amneſty extinguiſh the fears even of the moſt guilty. If poſſible, let the very remembrance of all, which have preceded this happy moment, be utterly blotted out, that our ſubjects may be united to us, and to each other, in the ſtricteſt bonds of affection as well as intereſt.

And that nothing may be omitted, which is in our power to contribute to this deſirable end, we do, by theſe preſents, abſolutely and effectually, for us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, pardon, remit, and diſcharge all crimes of High-Treaſon, miſpriſion of Treaſon, and all other crimes and offences whatſoever, done or committed againſt Us, or our Royal Father, of bleſſed memory, by any of our ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, who ſhall, at or after our landing, and before they engage in any action againſt us, or our forces, from that time, lay hold of mercy, and return to that duty and allegiance, which they owe to us, their only rightful and lawful Sovereign.

By the joint endeavours of Us and of our Parliament, urged by theſe motives, and directed by theſe views, we may hope to ſee the peace and flouriſhing eſtate of this Kingdom in a ſhort time reſtored; and we ſhall be equally forward to concert with our Parliament ſuch further meaſures, as may be thought neceſſary for leaving the ſame to future generations.

And we hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewarts of Stewarties, or their Deputies, and Magiſtrates of Burghs, to publiſh this our Declaration, immediately after it ſhall come to their hands, in the uſual places and manner, under pain of being proceeded againſt for failure thereof, and forfeiting the benefit of our general pardon.'

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at our Court of *Commercy* the 25th Day of *October*, and in the fifteenth year of our Reign.

J. R.

(1) During the conteſt, the horſe ſurrounded the foot, in order to force them to march Southwards, upon which the *Highlanders* cocked their firelocks, and ſaid, 'If they were to be made a ſacrifice, they would chuſe to have it done in their own Country.'

1715. ſhone, and the night was very clear; ſo the whole body formed themſelves in very good order to oppoſe any attack, that ſhould be made. But in the end this proved another falſe alarm; and they all returned to their quarters. It was ſaid, that this alarm was deſigned to try the *Highlanders*, and to ſee how they would behave, and whether they would ſtand chearfully to their arms, if an enemy appeared.

30. The next day, they marched to *Langholme*, another ſmall-market-town belonging to the Ducheſs of *Bucclugh*. From hence there was a ſtrong detachment of horſe ſent in the night to *Ecclefechan*, with orders to block up *Dumfries*, till they ſhould come up and attack it. *Dumfries* is a rich town, ſituated very commodiouſly upon the mouth of a navigable river on the *Iriſh* ſea, and maintains a conſiderable trade with *England* and the Weſt of *Scotland*. Had the Rebels been ſteady in their reſolutions, they might very eaſily have made themſelves maſters of that town, there being no regular forces in it, but only train-bands, militia, and townſmen, who would not have been able to hold out, nor any fortifications to aſſiſt them in the defence of it. Here the Rebels alſo might have furniſhed themſelves with arms, money, and ammunition, which were much wanted, and opened a paſſage to *Glaſgow*, one of the beſt towns in *Scotland*. Here likewiſe they might have joined the Highland Clans from the Weſt, beſides a great many Country Gentlemen, who, on ſuch an appearance, would have come in to them; by which means they might have ſoon formed a conſiderable army, and have received ſuccours from *France* and *Ireland*, no men of war being in all thoſe ſeas at that time. They were, moreover, aſſured, that in *Glaſgow* there were a great many arms in the Talbooth ready for all occaſions, and a conſiderable quantity of gunpowder in the *Tron* ſteeple. As to the Duke of *Argyle*, he was in no condition to have diſturbed them; but, on the contrary, would have ſcarce thought himſelf ſafe in *Stirling*, his troops not exceeding two thouſand men; for he had not then been reinforced by the troops from *Ireland*, nor the *Dutch* from *England*. But all theſe arguments were in vain; the *Engliſh* Gentlemen were poſitive for an attempt upon their own Country, pretending to have letters from their friends in *Lancaſhire*, inviting them thither, and aſſuring them, that there would be a general inſurrection upon their appearing; and that twenty thouſand men would immediately join them. Whether they had any ſuch letters or no, is ſtill a queſtion; but they affirmed it to their army, and urged the advantages of a ſpeedy march into *England* with ſuch vehemence, that they turned the ſcale, and ſent an expreſs after the party of horſe they had ordered to *Ecclefechan*, for to return and meet them at *Langtoun* in *Cumberland*. Thus the deſign of continuing in *Scotland* was abandoned. But the *Highlanders*, whether dealt with privily by the Earl of *Wintoun*, or being convinced of the advantages they were going to throw away, and the uncertainties they were bringing upon themſelves, halted a ſecond time, and would march no farther. However, their Leaders were again prevailed with to march by promiſes, and diſtributing money to the men. But many of them were ſtill poſitive, and that to ſuch a degree, that they ſeparated, and about five hundred of them went off in bodies, 1715. chuſing rather, as they ſaid, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, than to go forward to certain deſtruction. All imaginable means were uſed to prevent this deſertion; but nothing could prevail with them to alter their reſolutions; for they retired in parties over the mountains. The Earl of *Wintoun* went off likewiſe with part of his troop, very much diſſatisfied at the meaſures, and declaring they were taking the way to ruin themſelves. However, in a little time he returned and joined the body, though not at all ſatisfied with their proceedings; and was never after called to any Council of War, which incenſed him extremely againſt the reſt of the Lords and commanding Officers. They left the ſmall pieces of cannon, which they had brought from *Kelſo*, at *Langholme*, having nailed them up, and made them unfit for ſervice. Then they marched that night to *Langtoun*, about ſeven miles from *Carliſle*, which was a very long and fatiguing march. Here they had intelligence, that Brigadier *Stanwix*, with a party of horſe from *Carliſle*, had been there that day to get intelligence of their numbers and motions; but that, upon notice of their coming towards him, he had retired to his garriſon, which then conſiſted of very few men, having made Mr. *Graham* of *Inchbracky* a priſoner. This night the party ordered to *Ecclefechan* returned and joined the Rebels. Next day they entered *England*, and marched to *Brampton*, a ſmall market-town, belonging to the Earl of *Carliſle*. Here they proclaimed the Pretender, and Mr. *Forſter* opened his Commiſſion (brought by Mr. *Douglas* from the Earl of *Mar*) to act as General in *England*. From this time the *Highlanders* had ſix-pence *per* day paid them, to keep them in good order, and under command. The Rebels halted one night at *Brampton*, to refreſh the men, having marched above one hundred miles in five days. On the 2d of *November* they advanced to *Penrith*, where they expected to have met with ſome friends to join them; for it was reported, that Mr. *Dacre* of *Abbeylanner-Coaſt*, a Papiſt, had promiſed to raiſe forty men; but he was prevented by a fever. As they drew near *Penrith*, they had notice, that the Sheriff, with the Lord *Lonſdale*, and the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, had drawn together the whole *Poſſe* of *Cumberland*, amounting to about twelve thouſand men, in order to oppoſe their progreſs. The firſt part of this was very true, that the *Poſſe* was drawn together; nor was their number much leſs. But they gave the Rebel army no occaſion to try, whether they would ſtand or not; for, upon notice of the approach of the Rebels, they ſhamefully diſperſed, leaving the Lord *Lonſdale*, with about twenty men beſides his own ſervants, who continued on the ſpot till the Rebels appeared, and then he retired. A party was ſent to *Lowther-Hall* to ſee for him, but he was not to be found. This retreat animated the Rebels, who made ſome booty, taking ſeveral horſes and a great many arms. Having ſtaid at *Penrith* that night, they marched next day to Nov. 3. *Appleby* where they halted again. On the 5th of *November* they marched to *Kendal*, and on the 6th to *Kirby-Lonſdale*, a ſmall market-town in *Weſtmorland*, where ſome few Papiſts and their ſervants from *Lancaſhire* joined them.

1715. them (1). From this place they marched to *Lancaſter* on the 7th, where the famous Colonel *Chartres* and another Officer happened to be. Upon the news of their approach, the Colonel propoſed to blow up a fine bridge, over which they were to paſs, to obſtruct their entry into the town; but the inhabitants would not agree to it. The Colonel therefore thought it adviſeable to leave the town, after having ordered ſome barrels of powder to be thrown into a well, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Rebels. The Rebels, having entered *Lancaſter* without oppoſition, performed the uſual ceremonies of proclaiming the Pretender, and levying the public revenue. It was thought they would have continued here till they had received the promiſed ſuccours, the place being eaſily made tenable againſt a greater force than the Government could command on a ſudden: But they were in a great hurry to meet their fate, and left *Lancaſter* on the 9th, carrying with them ſix pieces of cannon, which they found there. They directed their march towards *Preſton*, where the horſe arrived that night, but the foot halted half way. The horſe entered *Preſton* without any oppoſition; *Stanhope*'s regiment of dragoons, and a regiment of militia, having thought proper to retire on the approach of the Rebels, which did not a little animate them to ſee the Royal troops thus fly before them. At *Preſton* they were joined by a conſiderable number of Gentlemen and their followers, all Papiſts; which very much diſguſted the *Scots* Gentlemen and *Highlanders*, becauſe they were made to believe, that all the High-Church party would join them. The Rebels had once reſolved to march out of *Preſton* the next day, in order to enter *Mancheſter*, where they expected to meet with a conſiderable reinforcement, and to poſſeſs themſelves of *Warrington-Bridge*, which would have made them maſters of the rich town of *Liverpool*. But this deſign, like all others, that had any ſhew of prudence, was laid aſide for two days, by which time they found themſelves otherwiſe employed.

Proceedings of the King's forces.

It is now time to obſerve what motions the King's troops made to oppoſe the Rebels, who had thus given General *Carpenter* the ſlip.

While it was yet uncertain which way the Rebels would direct their march, the Duke of *Argyle* ſent a detachment from his ſmall army at *Stirling*, to hinder their paſſing the head of *Forth*, if they ſhould attempt that way to join the Earl of *Mar*. A ſquadron of dragoons, and one battalion of foot of this detachment, were quartered at *Falkirk*, and two hundred dragoons at *Kilſyth*.

General *Carpenter*, upon intelligence, that the Rebels were in full march towards *Lancaſter*, reſolved to purſue them with the dragoons only, for the greater expedition; not doubting but he ſhould be joined by the King's troops in the Weſt; in which he was not miſtaken; for General *Wills*, who had been ſent down ſome days before to command in the Weſt, having intelligence at *Cheſter*, that the Rebels were advancing towards *Lancaſter*, gave orders for all the troops, quartered in thoſe parts, to aſſemble at *Warrington*, on the borders of that Country. When he arrived there, he found only *Preſton*'s regiment. With that he ſet out, on the 8th of *November*, and, the ſame day, arrived at *Mancheſter*, where he had intelligence that General *Carpenter* was on his march from *Durham* to *Lancaſter*, to whom he ſent an expreſs, to acquaint that General of his own motions, that they might act in concert. He marched from *Mancheſter* the 11th, with the regiments of dragoons of *Wynne*, *Honeywood*, *Munden*, and *Dormer*, and *Preſton*'s regiment of foot, and advanced directly to *Wiggan*, where *Pitt*'s horſe and *Stanhope*'s dragoons were quartered. Underſtanding here, that the Rebels were ſtill in *Preſton*, he gave orders for the troops to be ready to march towards that place next morning, by break of day. He formed the horſe into three brigades, *Wynne*'s and *Honeywood*'s, under the command of Brigadier *Honeywood*; *Munden*'s and *Stanhope*'s, under the command of Brigadier *Munden*; *Pitt*'s and *Dormer*'s, under the command of Brigadier *Dormer*.

On the 12th of *November*, the troops began their march in the following order: A Captain and fifty men of *Preſton*'s foot, ſuſtained by a Captain and fifty dragoons, formed the vanguard: *Preſton*'s regiment followed Brigadier *Honeywood*'s brigade; next *Dormer*'s; and *Munden*'s in the rear; and the baggage in the rear of all. In this order they marched to the bridge of *Ribble*, where we ſhall leave them, to obſerve what preparations were made for their reception by the Rebels.

The ſame morning General *Forſter* gave orders for his army to march, not in the leaſt ſuſpecting the King's troops, and the deſtruction of all their hopes, were ſo near at hand. He had depended on the intelligence from the *Lancaſhire* Gentlemen, who had promiſed, that none ſhould advance within forty miles without his knowledge; but it ſeems, they diſappointed him; ſo that he was under the greateſt ſurprize, when he was informed from all hands, that General *Wills* was within ſight of him. He went out with a party of horſe to view the poſture of the King's troops; and, upon finding they were in full march towards him, he returned to the town to prepare for their reception.

His men were no ways diſcouraged, but chearfully ſet about the preparations for their defence. They barricadoed the avenues, and poſted their men in the ſtreets and by-lanes, and ſuch houſes, as were propereſt for galling their enemies. The Gentlemen Volunteers were poſted in the Church-yard, under the command of the Earls of *Derwentwater*, *Wintoun*, and *Nithſdale*, and the Lord *Kenmure*. General *Forſter* formed four main barriers; the firſt a little below the Church, commanded by Brigadier *Mackintoſh*, and ſupported

(1) It is to be obſerved, there were no Papiſts of any account had yet joined them in their march; for all the Papiſts on that ſide the Country had been ſecured in the Caſtle of *Carliſle*, as Mr. *Howard* of *Corbee-Caſtle*, Mr. *Warwick* of *Warwick-Hall*, Mr. *James Graham* of *Inchbracky*, and Mr. *Henry Curwen* of *Workinton*.

ported by the Gentlemen-Volunteers in the Church-yard. The ſecond was ſituated at the end of a lane leading to the fields, and commanded by Lord *Charles Murray*. The third Barrier was near a wind-mill, and commanded by the Laird of *Mackintoſh*. And the fourth was in the ſtreet leading to *Liverpool*, commanded by Major *Millar* and Mr. *Douglas*. They threw up ſeveral intrenchments in an inſtant, and did all in their power to make a ſtout reſiſtance; but were guilty of one capital error, which diſcovered their ignorance, or rather infatuation. For in the morning, upon the firſt intelligence of General *Willes*'s approach, they had detached *Macpherſon* of *Innercal*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Earl of *Mar*'s Regiment, with an hundred choſen men, to take poſt at the bridge of *Ribble*, which was the only paſs the King's troops could enter on that ſide, the river being fordable only in two places, the one below, and the other above the bridge, and theſe fords eaſily made unpaſſable. The bridge terminates a long narrow lane, where, in ſome parts, not above two can ride abreaſt. This is the famous lane, where *Oliver Cromwell* met with a ſtout reſiſtance from the King's troops, who having rolled down ſeveral large ſtones from the height upon him and his men, one of them came ſo near, that he eſcaped only by making his horſe jump into a quick-ſand. But Mr. *Forſter*, inſtead of making advantage of this paſs, which he might have done to the deſtruction of the King's troops, (whom he might have very much annoyed by the help of his cannon, while they lay expoſed without any cover) ordered this detachment to return to the town, and left the paſs free for General *Willes*.

When General *Willes* came up to the bridge in the forementioned order, he expected to have met with great difficulties in forcing the paſs; but, finding it abandoned, he was much ſurprized, and ſuſpected ſome ſtratagem; and therefore reſolved to proceed with caution. Having viewed the hedges, and laid open the ways for the cavalry to enter, he found all clear, and not the leaſt appearance of an enemy. This made him conclude, they had abandoned the place, and were endeavouring, by long marches, to return to *Scotland*; but in this he was likewiſe miſtaken. For, upon his advancing near the town, he found them in a poſture to give him a warm reception, in a place, where he could eaſier come at them, than he could at the bridge of *Ribble*. He immediately prepared for an attack, and diſpoſed his troops in ſuch a manner, as he might beſt annoy them in the town, and prevent their making an eſcape.

The General having viewed the diſpoſition of the enemy, and finding all the avenues leading to the town ſtrongly barricaded, and two pieces of cannon planted on each; he reſolved to make two attacks. For the attack of the avenue, that leads to *Wiggan*, a Captain and fifty dragoons were draughted out of each of the five regiments, with a Major and Lieutenant-Colonel to command them, and ordered to diſmount to ſuſtain *Preſton*'s regiment commanded by the Lord *Forreſter*, their Lieutenant-Colonel; and *Honeywood*'s regiment was ordered to remain on horſeback, to ſuſtain the whole; and the Brigadier of that name had the direction of that attack.

The regiment of *Wynne* and *Dormer*, and a ſquadron of *Stanhope*'s, were ordered to diſmount under the command of Brigadier *Dormer*, while the regiments of *Pitts* and *Munden*, and the remaining ſquadron of *Stanhope*'s ſuſtained them in the attack of the avenue, that leads to *Lancaſter*, lying on that ſide of the town oppoſite to the attack of the avenue leading to *Wiggan*. By the diſpoſition of the King's forces, the four chief barricades of the enemy were eaſily attacked, but not with deſired ſucceſs. 1715.

The firſt attack was upon that barricade below the Church, commanded by the old Brigadier *Mackintoſh*, who received the King's troops very gallantly; and with a terrible fire, both from the barricade and the houſes, obliged them to retire to the end of the town; at the ſame time the Lord *Forreſter*, Lieutenant-Colonel of *Preſton*'s foot, entered the avenue of *Wiggan*, and took poſſeſſion of two large houſes within fifty yards of the barricade, where he poſted his men, finding it impracticable to force the barricade; but from theſe houſes, which overlooked the whole town, he very much annoyed the enemy; and from thence, it is ſaid, they received moſt of the damage they ſuſtained during the action. Theſe houſes had been poſſeſſed by the *Highlanders*, when the barricade was commanded by *Mackintoſh*; but they were called off by him to ſupport that barricade, which gave the King's troops an eaſier poſſeſſion of them, and perhaps ſaved the remains of that regiment, which ſuffered very much in that bold attack. General *Honeywood* ordered the houſes between thoſe he poſſeſſed and the barricade to be ſet on fire; which was not done without the loſs of men on both ſides. He likewiſe ordered breaſt-works to be thrown up, both to ſecure his men, and prevent the Rebels from eſcaping at that quarter of the town.

The other barricades were attacked with great reſolution, but without any ſucceſs; the King's troops being obliged to retire to the ends of the town, and remain ſatisfied till they could renew their attempts the next day; for by this time night hindered their farther approaches. Thus far the Rebels appeared to have acted with courage, and to have had the advantage, ſince they had, in all the attacks, repulſed their enemies with little or no loſs on their ſide, and a conſiderable ſlaughter on the King's. But they did not long continue in this diſpoſition; for, having intelligence next morning, that General *Carpenter* had arrived with more troops to ſurround them, their reſolution failed them, and from that moment they acted with great confuſion and deſpair.

General *Carpenter* arrived at *Preſton* on the 13th, at ten in the morning, with three regiments of dragoons, Lord *Cobham*'s, *Churchill*'s, and *Moleſworth*'s, accompanied by the Earl of *Carliſle*, Lord *Lumley*, and Colonel *Darcy*; ordering *Moleſworth*'s to the *Mancheſter* ſide, and marching the other two to the *Lancaſter* ſide. He found, that the Rebels had been attacked the day before without ſucceſs, and that moſt part of the King's horſe and dragoons were crouded in a deep narrow lane near the end of the town, ſo incommodious, that it was impoſſible to draw up above three or four in front; and, going to view the ground towards the river, he ſaw there were no troops poſted at the end of *Fiſher-gate-Street*, to block up that part of the town, where ſeveral of the Rebels were ſaid to have

1715. have escaped the night before. This street leads to a marsh or meadow, which joins to that part of the river *Ribble*, where there are two good fords, being the high road towards *Liverpool*; and, towards the end of the same street, there was another barricade with two pieces of cannon. General *Carpenter* therefore ordered Colonel *Pitt* to post his two squadrons on that marsh; and, going back to the end of the town, he ordered communication to be made for the troops to assist each other, in case of a sally. The Rebels, being thus invested on all sides, and being now sensible, though too late, of their condition, began to consider what was to be done. The *Highlanders* were for sallying out upon the King's forces, and dying, as they called it, like men of honour, sword in hand; but they were over-ruled, and not allowed to stir. Nor was the motion communicated to the whole body; but General *Forster* (prevailed upon by Lord *Widdrington*, Colonel *Oxburgh*, and some few others) resolved upon a capitulation, flattering themselves with obtaining good terms from the King's Officers. Colonel *Oxburgh*, pretending acquaintance with some of them, made an offer to go out, and treat of a surrender. Accordingly, he went with a trumpet to General *Willes*, and offering to lay down their arms, and submit themselves, hoped he would recommend them to the King's mercy. The General told the Colonel, he would not treat with Rebels; for they had killed several of the King's subjects, and they must expect to undergo the same fate. The Colonel said, as the General was a man of honour, and an officer, he hoped he would shew mercy to people, who were willing to submit. The General replied, All he would do for them was, that, if they laid down their arms, and submitted prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them in pieces till he had farther orders; and he would give them but an hour to consider of it. Colonel *Oxburgh* returned into the town, to acquaint Mr. *Forster* with this; and, before the hour was expired, there came out Mr. *Dalziel*, brother to the Earl of *Carnwarth*, who wanted terms for the *Scots*. The General's answer was, that he would not treat with Rebels, nor give them any other terms than what he had before offered them. Upon which the General was desired to grant farther time till seven o'clock next day, to consult the best method of delivering themselves up. The General agreed to grant them the time desired, provided they threw them up no new intrenchments in the streets, nor suffered any of their people to escape, and sent out the chief of the *English* and *Scots* as hostages for the performance. The General sent in Colonel *Cotton* to bring them out, who accordingly brought out the Earl of *Derwentwater* and Brigadier *Mackintosh*. The next day, about seven in the morning, Mr. *Forster* sent out to let the General know, that they were willing to give up themselver prisoners at discretion, as he had demanded. Brigadier *Mackintosh*, being present when this message was brought, said, He could not answer, that the 17[illegible] *Scots* would surrender in that manner; for that they were people of desperate fortunes; and he had been a soldier himself, and knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion. Upon this the General said, 'Go back to your people again; and I will attack the town, and the consequence will be, I will not spare a man of you.' The Brigadier went back, but came running out immediately again, and said, 'The Lord *Kenmure*, and the rest of the Noblemen, with his brother, would surrender in like manner with the *English*.'

General *Carpenter* entered one side of the town, and General *Willes* the other, with all their troops, with trumpets sounding, drums beating, and colours displayed. They both met in the middle of the town, where the *Highlanders* were drawn up under arms. The Noblemen and Gentlemen were first secured in several inns, and the *Highlanders* then laid down their arms in the place where they were standing; and they were next secured under a sufficient guard.

General *Carpenter*, finding the place too narrow to contain all the horse, that was with him, sent part of them to *Wiggan* the same day, and Nov. went away himself the next, leaving General *Willes* to command in his absence.

Mr. *Forster* was by most people blamed for the surrender, without obtaining better terms for those, whom he had drawn into this enterprize. His want of skill was acknowledged on all hands; and this was what he could be least blamed for, since he was made General, as the only Protestant of note of the party. But, though he was nominal General, he depended mostly upon the conduct of Colonel *Oxburgh*, who had gained in foreign service the reputation of an experienced Officer. Others did not scruple to charge Mr. *Forster* with treachery as well as want of capacity, and pretend to say, that, if the King's General had not been sure of him beforehand, he would have granted more generous terms to the Rebels; and they bring his escape out of *Newgate* as a proof of this surmise; supposing, that a prisoner of his distinction would have been better looked after, if the Government had not been under an obligation to connive at his escape. But there seems to be little ground for such a suspicion, especially as the Pretender himself did not credit it, but held Mr. *Forster* afterwards in great esteem and confidence.

In the attack upon *Preston*, Brigadier *Honeywood* received a contusion on the shoulder by a musket-shot, and Major *Bland* a slight one in the arm; and his horse was shot through the neck. There were killed at Brigadier *Honeywood*'s attack two Captains, one Ensign, and twenty-eight private soldiers; wounded, Lord *Forrester*, Major *Lawson*, two Captains, one Lieutenant, four Ensigns, and fifty private men. At Brigadier *Dormer*'s attack there were nine men killed; wounded, the Brigadier, one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Cornet, and thirty-nine men (1).

Upon

(1) The prisoners of note *English* and *Scots* were as follows:

ENGLISH.

Mr. *Forster*, the General, The Earl of *Derwentwater*, The Lord *Widdrington*, Mr. *Edward Howard*, brother of the Duke of *Norfolk*, Mr. *Charles Radcliffe*, brother of the Earl of *Derwentwater*,

Charles

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Upon the very day, the Rebels agreed to ſurrender themſelves at *Preſton*, was fought the battle at *Dumblain*. The Earl of *Mar*, being now joined by all the power he could expect from the Earl of *Seaforth* and all his Northern Clans, and by the troops under General *Gordon*, thought himſelf ſtrong enough to put his deſign in execution of paſſing the *Forth*, joining his Southern friends, and marching into *England*. To this purpoſe he ſummoned a general Council of war, where all their meaſures were concerted for this enterprize. Accordingly he left Colonel *Balfour* Governor of the town of *Perth*, with a guard ſufficient; and, being furniſhed with proviſions, artillery, and all other neceſſaries for a long march, he ſet out on the 10th of *November* for *Auchterardire*, there to draw his army together, of which he made a general review that day at that place, and reſted the 11th.

The Duke of *Argyle*, having intelligence of the motion of the enemy, was at no uncertainty what to do. He knew, if he was to diſpute their paſſage over the *Forth* at the heads of that river, his horſe on which he placed his whole dependence, would be of no ſervice to him in that place. He choſe therefore to engage the Earl on the grounds about *Dumblain*, where he might employ all his forces (1). He likewiſe had intelligence, that on the 12th at night the enemy deſigned to incamp at *Dumblain*. Therefore, judging it of importance to poſſeſs that place, on the 12th in the forenoon he ordered his whole army to paſs the river at *Stirling-Bridge*, and incamped that night with his left at *Dumblain*, and his right towards *Sheriff-Moor*. The enemy advanced the ſame night within two miles of the Royal army; and having received intelligence, that the Duke with his whole army was in poſſeſſion of *Dumblain*, they drew up in order of battle, and remained in that poſture under arms till break of day. 1715.

Battle of Dumblain Nov. 13.

On the 13th in the morning both armies were in motion, and the Duke of *Argyle* advanced to a riſing ground, to take a view of the Rebel army, which he could eaſily diſcern in full march towards him. But another hill on his left intercepted his view of the whole extent of their left wing; for which reaſon it was impoſſible for him to gueſs at the true extent of their line, or how far they out-flanked him.

The Duke's army amounting to three thouſand five hundred men, of which one thouſand two hundred were dragoons, was drawn up upon the heights above *Dumblain* to the North-eaſt of that place, which lay about a mile and a half from his left, and a wet boggy moraſs, called *Sheriff-Moor*, on his right.

The order of the Royal army was thus: The firſt line was compoſed of ſix battalions of foot in the centre, with three ſquadrons of dragoons upon

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Charles and *Peregrine Widdrington*, brothers of the Lord *Widdrington*,
Walter Tankard,
John Thornton of *Netherwriton*,
John Clavering of *Cailey*,
Nicholas Wogan,
Charles Wogan,
John Talbot,
Robert Talbot,
Roger Salkeld,
George Collingwood,
John Hunter,
Edward Ord,
William Tunſtall, Paymaſter,
William Shaftoe of *Pavington*,
John Shaftoe, his ſon,
Edward Shaftoe,
Edward and *James Swinburn*, brothers of Sir *William Swinburn*,
George Gibſon, Junr. of *Stonecraft*,
Edward Byers,
Richard Stockart,
William Charleton,
Edward Charleton,
Charles Charley,
Richard Charley,
Ralph Standiſh of *Standiſh*,
Sir *Francis Anderton* of *Leſtock*,
Richard Townley of *Townley*,
John Dalton,
John Laybourn,
Gabriel Heſtedt,
Cuthbert Heſtedt,
Thomas Walton,
Edward Teſley,
Thomas Errington,
Philip Hudſon,
James Talbot,
Alexander Deaſineſs,
Lyon Walden,
John Maſterſon,
George Sanderſon,
George Budding,
Robert Cotton of *Gidding* in *Huntingdonſhire*,
John Cotton, his ſon,
Richard Gaſcoigne,
John Hunter,
William Hardwick,
Thomas Butler,
Robert Patten,
William Caſton,
Thomas Liſle,
Thomas Forſter,
William Raine,
Thomas Riddle,
Henry Widdrington,
Richard Ord.
William Sanderſon,
John Towle,
John Hotherſalt,
Francis Thornbuck,
John Heale,
Edward Mackey,
Henry Oxburgh,
William Dobſon,
John Beaumont,
John Crofts.

Captain *James Dalziel*,
Brigadier *Mackintoſh*,
Colonel *Stuart*,
William Erring,
Alexander Forreſter,
William Grierſon,
William Calderwood,
Robert Maclean,
Robert Carruthers,
Andrew Caſhie,
Mr. *Lockhart*,
James Skeen,
Walter Riddle,
Richard Harris,

SCOTS.

The Earl of *Nithiſdale*,
The Earl of *Wintoun*,
The Earl of *Carnwarth*,
The Lord Viſcount *Kenmure*,
The Lord *Nairn*,
The Maſter of *Nairn*,
Lord *Charles Murray*,
Major *Baſil Hamilton*,
George Seton of *Barne*,

The *Engliſh* Noblemen and Gentlemen of the *Engliſh* taken priſoners	75
Their Servants or Followers	83
Private men in the Church at *Preſton*	305
Total *Engliſh*	463
Scots Noblemen, Officers, and Gentlemen taken priſoners	143
Their Vaſſals, &c.	862
Total *Scots*	1005
Engliſh in *Preſton*	463
Taken in *Lancaſter*	4
	467
Scots in *Preſton*	1005
Taken at *Lancaſter*	17
	1022
Total *Engliſh* and *Scots*	1489

(1) On the 23d of *October*, the Duke of *Argyle* had notice that a party of the Rebels, conſiſting of two hundred foot and a hundred horſe, were marching by *Caſtle-Campbell* towards *Dumferling*. Upon this intelligence, his Grace immediately ſent off a detachment of dragoons, under the command of Colonel *Cathcart*, who came up with the Rebels the 24th, at five o'clock in the morning; and, after having killed

1715. upon the right and left. The ſecond line was compoſed of two battalions of foot, and two ſquadrons of dragoons on each wing. The Duke commanded the right; General *Witham* the left; and Major General *Wightman* the main battle or centre.

The Earl of *Mar*'s army, amounting to about nine thouſand men, were drawn up in the following order: The firſt line was compoſed of ten battalions of foot, conſiſting of the Clans commanded by the Captain of *Clanronald*, *Glangary*, Sir *John Maclean*, and *Campbell* of *Glen-Lyon* on the right; there were three ſquadrons of horſe, the *Stirling* ſquadron, which carried the Pretender's ſtandard, and two of the Marquiſs of *Huntley*'s: On the left were drawn up the *Perthſhire* and *Fifeſhire* ſquadrons. The centre of the ſecond line was compoſed of three battalions of the Earl of *Seaforth*'s, two battalions of the Marquiſs of *Huntley*'s, the battalions of the Earl of *Panmure*, Marquiſs of *Tullibardine*, Lord *Drummond* and *Strowan*, all commanded by their reſpective Chiefs, except that of *Drummond*, commanded by the Viſcount of *Strathallan* and *Logie-Almond*. The Earl *Mariſchal*'s ſquadron was on the right, and that of *Angus* on the left.

The Earl of *Mar*, who knew that his number far exceeded the Duke's, extended his lines as far as poſſible, with a deſign to take him in flank, and marched up to him in this diſpoſition.

The Duke of *Argyle*, who till now ſuppoſed, that the moraſs of *Sheriff-Moor* was unpaſſable, ſaw, that the two or three nights froſt had made it capable of bearing; and the Rebels coming down the *Moor* with intent to flank him, having their right much extended beyond the point of his left; he found himſelf obliged to alter the diſpoſition of his front, to prevent his being ſurrounded; which, on account of the ſcarcity of General Officers, was not done ſo expeditiouſly, as to be all formed again before the Rebels begun the attack.

The left wing of the Duke's ſmall army fell in with the centre of their's, which conſiſted, eſpecially the firſt line, of the flower of the Rebel army.

They begun the action by a general diſcharge of their fire-arms, and received the firſt fire of the Royal troops without ſhrinking; but the Captain of *Clanronald*, who led them on in chief, was killed, which had like to have ſtruck a damp upon them. But *Glengary*, who ſucceeded him, ſtarting from the lines, waved his bonnet, and cried three or four times *Revenge*; which ſo animated the men, that they followed him cloſe up to the muzzles of the muſkets, puſhed aſide the bayonets with their targets, and with their broad ſwords did great execution.

The three battalions of foot, on the left of the Duke's centre, behaved gallantly, and made all the reſiſtance they could; but, being unacquainted with this way of fighting, they were forced to give ground, fell in among the horſe, and helped the enemy to put them in confuſion; ſo that a total route of that wing of the Royal army enſued. General *Witham*, with ſome of the horſe, riding full ſpeed to *Stirling*, gave out that all was loſt; but the General was miſtaken in that, as well as in the opinion he formed of the men he run from, that morning before the engagement. 1715.

Upon the right wing of the King's army, the Duke of *Argyle* commanded in perſon, and, at the head of *Stair*'s and *Evan*'s dragoons, attacked the enemy's left, conſiſting chiefly of horſe, with ſuch intrepidity, that, notwithſtanding the Rebels ſhewed they wanted neither courage nor inclination to ſtand, yet were obliged to give way, and were put into confuſion. The Duke purſued them towards the river *Allan*, which he was forced to do, in regard that, tho' the diſtance is not above two miles, yet in that ſpace they attempted to rally again above ten times; and, whenever the ground afforded them any advantage, endeavoured to make a full ſtop; ſo that the Duke, having to do with troops of that diſpoſition, who likewiſe out-numbered him, was obliged to follow his blow, leſt he ſhould have loſt the advantage he had gained. Nor was it in his power to ſuccour the left, the route of that wing happening ſo ſuddenly, and the Officer, who commanded, leaving the field almoſt at the firſt fire of the Rebels, there was no opportunity to rally the broken troops a ſecond time.

Brigadier *Wightman* followed cloſe after the Duke with three battalions of foot, and ran a very great riſque of faring in the ſame manner with the reſt, if the Rebels had but had common prudence; for, no ſooner their right underſtood the diſaſter of their left, than they formed again, and returned back to the field, following cloſe on the rear of *Wightman*'s battalions, to the number of five thouſand. Some ſay, that body was led on by General *Gordon*, others by General *Hamilton*, others by both; and others, and indeed with more probability, ſay, they were headed by *Glengary*; and that he, upon being ordered to attack theſe battalions, returned for anſwer, That the Clans had done enough; and that he would not hazard them to do other people's work (meaning the horſe) and remained upon a hill, where he ſeemed to form his men, as if for ſome new action.

The Duke, having by this time intirely broke their left, and puſhed them over the river *Allan*, returned to the field; and *Wightman*, facing again to the right, took poſſeſſion of ſome incloſures and mud walls, which would ſerve for a breaſt-

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and wounded ſeveral of them, took ſeventeen priſoners; amongſt them the following Gentlemen:

Mr. *Murray*, brother to the Laird of *Aberkenny*.
Mr. *Hay*, ſon to *Arboth*.
Mr. *Patrick Gordon*, *Arbertour*'s eldeſt ſon,
Alexander Forbes, ſon to *Buſlie*.
William Roberton, brother to *Donſhills*.
Mr. *Kenloch*, a Phyſician.
Alexander Smith.
Mr. *Alexander Gordon*.
Francis Gordon of *Craig*.
Mr. *Hamilton* of *Gibſtown* in *Strabogie*,
George Gordon of the *Miln* of *Kincardine*.

The ſame evening Colonel *Cathcart* returned to the camp at *Stirling* with his priſoners. A few days after, a detachment ſent by the Earl of *Ilay* into *Lorn*, to intercept about four hundred of the Earl of *Broadalbin*'s men, who were in motion to join the Rebels, having ſurrounded them, obliged them to ſeparate and return to their ſeveral habitations.

(1) This

1715. a breaſt-work, in caſe they were attacked, as they judged by the countenance and number of the enemy they ſhould. In this poſture both armies ſtood looking at one another, but neither caring to engage; when towards evening the Duke drew off towards *Dumblain*, and the enemy towards *Ardoch*, without moleſting one another (1).

The day after the engagement, the Duke of *Argyle* returned to the field of battle, and carried off the wounded, and four pieces of cannon left by the Rebels, to *Stirling*, where he retired with all his army. 1715.

The priſoners of moſt note taken by the King's forces were the Lord *Strathallan*, the Lairds

(1) This is the account of the Duke of *Argyle*'s Hiſtorian, to which it may be proper to add thoſe which were publiſhed by a kind of authority on all ſides. The firſt is Colonel *Harriſon*'s account, who was ſent expreſs to the King by the Duke of *Argyle*:

The Duke of *Argyle* being informed, on the 12th, that the Rebels had come to *Auchterardire* with their baggage, artillery, and a ſufficient quantity of bread for a march of many days, found he was obliged, either to engage them on the grounds near *Dumblain*, or decamp, and wait their coming to the head of the *Forth*. He choſe the firſt on many accounts, and, amongſt others, that the grounds near *Dumblain* were much more advantageous for his horſe than thoſe at the head of the river: And beſides this, by the froſts then beginning, the *Forth* might become paſſable in ſeveral places, which the ſmall number of his troops did not inable him to guard ſufficiently. He likewiſe received advice, that the 12th at night the Rebels deſigned to incamp at *Dumblain*; upon which, judging it of importance to prevent them by poſſeſſing that place, he marched the 12th in the forenoon, and incamped with his left at *Dumblain*, and his right towards *Sheriff-Moor*. The enemy ſtopped that night within two miles of *Dumblain*. Next morning his Grace, being informed by his advanced guard, that the Rebels were forming, rode to a riſing ground, where he viewed the enemy diſtinctly, and found, as they pointed their march, they deſigned ſtrait upon his flank. The *Moor*, to our right, was the preceding night unpaſſable, and guarded us from being flanked on that ſide; but by the froſt was become paſſable. His Grace therefore ordered his troops to ſtretch to the right in the following order: Three ſquadrons of dragoons upon the right and left in the front line, and ſix battalions of foot in the centre. The ſecond line was compoſed of two battalions in the centre, and one ſquadron upon the right, and another upon the left, and a ſquadron of dragoons behind each wing of horſe in the firſt line. As the right of our army came over-againſt the left of the Rebels, which they had put to a moraſs, his Grace, finding they were not quite formed, gave orders immediately to fall on, and charged both their horſe and foot. They received us very briſkly, but, after ſome reſiſtance, were broke through, and were purſued above two miles by five ſquadrons of dragoons, the ſquadron of volunteers, and five battalions of foot. When we came near the river *Allan*, by the vaſt numbers of Rebels we drove before us, we concluded it an intire rout, and reſolved to purſue as long as we had day-light. The purſuing to the river *Allan* had taken up a long time, by reaſon of the frequent attempts they made to form in different places, which obliged us as oft to attack and break them, when they were in part paſſed, and others paſſing the *Allan*. Major-General *Wightman*, who commanded the five battalions of foot, ſent to acquaint the Duke of *Argyle*, that he could not diſcover what was become of our troops on the left; and that a conſiderable body of the Rebels, horſe and foot, ſtood behind him. Upon that his Grace halted, formed his troops, and marched towards the hill, on which the Rebels had poſted themſelves.

Hereafter his Grace extended his right towards *Dumblain*, to give his left an opportunity of joining him. There we continued till it was late, and, not finding our left come up, his Grace marched ſlowly towards the ground he had formed on in the morning. So ſoon as it was dark, the Rebels, who continued undiſperſed on the top of the hill, moved to *Ardoch*. About an hour after our troops, which had been ſeparated from the Duke of *Argyle*, joined his Grace. Our dragoons on the left, in the beginning of the action, charged ſome of the horſe on the right, and carried off a ſtandard; but at the ſame time the Rebels preſſed ſo hard on our battalions on the left, that they were diſordered, and obliged to fall in among the horſe. The Rebels, by this means, cut off the communication betwixt our left and the other body; and they being informed, that ſome of the Rebels were endeavouring to get to *Stirling*, the troops on our left retired beyond *Dumblain*, to poſſeſs themſelves of the paſſes leading there. We have, as yet, no certain account of the numbers killed; but it is reckoned they may be about eight hundred, among whom there are ſeveral perſons of diſtinction. The quality of the priſoners is not yet fully known; only that the Viſcount of *Strathallan*, two Colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, one Major, nine Captains, beſides Subalterns, are brought to *Stirling*. We have likewiſe carried off fourteen colours and ſtandards, four pieces of cannon, tumbrels with ammunition, with all their bread-waggons. This victory was not obtained without the loſs of ſome brave men on our ſide. The Earl of *Forfar*'s wounds are ſo many, that his life is deſpaired of. The Earl of *Ilay*, who came half an hour before the action, received two wounds, the one in his arm, and the other in his ſide; but, the bullet being cut out of his ſide, it is hoped he is paſt danger. General *Evans* received a cut in his head. Colonel *Hawley* was ſhot through the body, but there is hopes of his recovery. Colonel *Lawrence* is taken. Colonel *Hummers* and Captain *Armſtrong*, Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Argyle*, are killed. The courage of the King's troops was never keener than on this occaſion, who, though the Rebels were three times their number, yet attacked, and purſued them with all the reſolution imaginable. The conduct and bravery of the Generals and inferior Officers contributed much to this ſucceſs; but, above all, the great example of the Duke of *Argyle*, whoſe preſence not only gave ſpirit to the action, but gained ſucceſs as often as he led on. The troop of horſe Volunteers, which conſiſted of Noblemen and Gentlemen of diſtinction, ſhewed their quality by the gallantry of their behaviour; in a particular manner the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Lords *Rothes*, *Haddington*, *Lauderdale*, *Loudoun*, *Belhaven*, and Sir *John Shaw*.'

Major-General Wightman's *account was as follows:*

Stirling, *Nov.* 14, 1715, at eleven at night.

'Laſt *Friday* I arrived from *Edinburgh*, where I had finiſhed all the works and barricadoes, that I had orders to do for the ſecurity of that town; and, as ſoon as I came to his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, he told me he was glad to ſee me; and that, as he intended to make a march towards the enemy the next morning, he had ſent an expreſs to *Edinburgh* for me. Accordingly on *Saturday* the 12th inſtant our whole army marched over the bridge of *Stirling* towards the enemy, who lay at a place called *Ardoch*, about ſeven miles from this place; and in the evening our army came within three miles of the enemy's camp. We lay all that night on our arms, and the next morning, being *Sunday*, I went with his Grace where our advanced guard was poſted, and had a plain view of the Rebels army all drawn up in line of battle, which conſiſted of nine thouſand one hundred men. They ſeemed to make a motion towards us; upon which the Duke ordered me immediately back to put our men in order; and ſoon after his Grace ordered them to march to the top of a hill againſt the enemy: But before all, or not above half our army was formed in line of battle, the

1715. Lairds *Barrowfield*, *Logie Drummond*, Mr. *Murray* of *Auchtertyre*, the Viſcount of *Strathallan*'s brother, Mr. *Drummond* of *Drumquhany*, Mr. *Roſs*, ſon to the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrew*'s, Colonel *Mackenzie* of *Keldin*, &c. with ſeveral Captains, ſubaltern Officers, and private Men, amounting in all to the number of about eighty. 1715.

The Earl of *Forfar*, the Laird of *Glenkindy*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Lawrence*, were all the men of note, who were mentioned to be taken priſoners by the Rebels, who took likewiſe ſeveral

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enemy attacked us. The right of their line, which lay in a hollow way, vaſtly out-winged us, which was not perceived by us, nor poſſible for us to know it, the enemy having poſſeſſion of the brow of the hill; but the left of their army was very plain to our view, the moment we got to the top of the hill. Not half our men were come up, or could form. The enemy, that were within little more than piſtol-ſhot, began the attack with all their left upon our right. I had the command of the foot; the enemy were *Highlanders*, and, as it is their cuſtom, gave us fire, and a great many came up to our noſes ſword in hand: But the horſe on our right, with the conſtant fire the of platoons of foot, ſoon put the left of theirs to the rout; the Duke of *Argyle* purſuing, as he thought, the main of their army, which he drove before him above a mile and a half over a river. As I marched after him as faſt as I could with a little above three regiments of foot, I heard great firing on our left, and ſent my Aid de Camp to ſee the occaſion of it, and found, that the right of the enemies army, that lay in the hollow way, and were ſuperior to that part of the army, which we had beaten, was fallen upon our left with all the fury imaginable; and, as our men were not formed, they cut off juſt the half of our foot, and the ſquadrons on our left. The Duke, who purſued the enemy very faſt, was not appriſed of this; and, as he had ordered me to march after him as faſt as I could, I was obliged to ſlacken my march, and ſend to his Grace, to inform him of what had happened. I kept what foot I had in perfect order, not knowing but my rear might ſoon be attacked by the enemy, that had beat our left, which proved to be the flower of our army. At laſt when the Duke had put to flight that part of the Rebel army he was engaged with, he came back to me, and could not have imagined to ſee ſuch an army as was behind us, being three times our number; but, as I had kept that part of our foot, which firſt engaged, in very good order, his Grace joined me with five ſquadrons of dragoons, and we put the beſt face on the matter, to the right about, and ſo marched to the enemy, who had defeated all the left of our army. If they had had either courage or conduct, they might have intirely deſtroyed my body of foot; but it pleaſed God to the contrary. I am apt to conjecture their ſpirits were not a little damped by having been witneſſes ſome hours before of the firm behaviour of my foot, and thought it hardly poſſible to break us. We marched in a line of battle till we came within half a mile of the enemy, and found them ranged on the top of a hill, on very advantageous ground, and above four thouſand in number. We poſted ourſelves at the bottom of the hill, having the advantage of ground, where their horſe could not well attack us; for we had the convenience of ſome earth walls or ditches about breaſt high, and, as evening grew on, we inclined with our right towards the town of *Dumblain*, in all the order, that was poſſible. The enemy behaved like civil Gentlemen, and let us do what we pleaſed; ſo that we paſſed the bridge of *Dumblain*, poſted ourſelves very ſecurely, and lay on our arms all night. This morning we went with a body of dragoons to the field of battle, brought off the wounded there, and came to this town in the evening. General *Webb*'s late regiment, now *Moriſon*'s, is one of the unfortunate regiments, that was not formed, and ſuffered moſt. Major *Hanmer* is killed, with young *Hillary*, and many other Officers. General *Evans* and I had the good fortune to be on the right wing with the Duke. General *Evans* had his horſe ſhot dead under him, and eſcaped very narrowly as well as myſelf.

P. S. Our whole army did not conſiſt of above one thouſand dragoons, and two thouſand five hundred foot; and but a little more than half of them engaged. However, I muſt do the enemy that juſtice to ſay, I never ſaw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment; and their Officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable. All I can ſay is, it will be of the laſt danger to the Government, if we have not force to deſtroy them ſoon. The loſs on both ſides I leave for another time, when we have a more exact account.'

The following account (given by the Earl of *Mar* or his party) of the engagement on *Sheriff-Moor* near *Dumblain*, *Nov.* 13, 1715, was publiſhed by Mr. *Freebairn*, the Pretender's Printer at *Perth*:

'There being various and different reports induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, to cover the victory obtained by the King's army over the enemy, the beſt way to ſet it in a clear light is to narrate the true matter of fact, and leave it to the world to judge impartially thereof.

Thurſday, *Nov.* 10, the Earl of *Mar* reviewed the army at *Auchterardire*. *Friday*, 11, reſted.

Saturday 12, the Earl of *Mar* ordered Lieutenant-General *Gordon* and Brigadier *Ogilvie*, with three ſquadrons of the Marquiſs of *Huntley*, and the Maſter of *Sinclair*'s five ſquadrons of horſe, and all the Clans, to march and take poſſeſſion of *Dumblain*, which was ordered to be done two days before, but was delayed by ſome interruptions: And all the reſt of the army was ordered, at the ſame time, to parade upon the *Moor* of *Tullibardine* very early, and to march after General *Gordon*. The Earl of *Mar* went to *Drummond-Caſtle* to meet with my Lord *Broadalbin*, and ordered General *Hamilton* to march the army. Upon the march, General *Hamilton* had intelligence of a body of the enemy's having taken poſſeſſion of *Dumblain*; which account he ſent immediately to the Earl of *Mar*. A little after General *Hamilton* had another expreſs from General *Gordon*, who was then about two miles to the Weſtward of *Ardoch*, that he had intelligence of a great body of the enemy's being in *Dumblain*. Upon which General *Hamilton* drew up the army ſo, as the ground at the *Roman* camp near *Ardoch* would allow. A very little after the Earl of *Mar* came up to the army, and not hearing any more from Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, who was marched on, judged it to be only ſome ſmall party of the enemy to diſturb our march, ordered the guards to be poſted, and the army to their quarters, with orders to aſſemble upon the parade any time of the night or day, upon the firing of three cannon. A little after the army was diſmiſſed, the Earl of *Mar* had an account from Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, that he had certain intelligence of the Duke of *Argyle*'s being at *Dumblain* with his whole army. Upon which the General was ordered to halt, till the Earl ſhould come up to him, and ordered the three guns to be fired; upon which the army formed immediately, and marched up to Lieutenant-General *Gordon* at *Kinbuck*, where the whole army lay under arms, with guards advanced from each ſquadron and battalion till break of day.

Sunday the 13th, the Earl of *Mar* gives orders for the whole army to form on the *Moor*, to the left of the road that leads to *Dumblain*, fronting to *Dumblain*. The general perſons were ordered to their poſts. The *Stirling* ſquadron, with the King's ſtandard, and two ſquadrons of the Marquiſs of *Huntley*'s, formed the right of the firſt line of horſe. All the Clans formed the right of the firſt line of foot. The *Perthſhire* and *Fifeſhire* ſquadrons formed the left of the firſt line of horſe; the Earl *Mariſchal*'s ſquadron on the right of the ſecond line; three battalions of the Marquiſs of *Seaforth*'s

1715. ral Captains and ſubaltern Officers; and, according to them, about two hundred private Men.

The number of the killed and wounded, on the ſide of the Rebels, is ſaid to have amounted to eight hundred, and on the King's ſide to five 1715.

Seaforth's foot, two battalions of my Lord *Huntley*'s, the Earl of *Panmure*'s, the Marquiſs of *Tullibardine*'s, the battalions of *Drummond*, commanded by the Viſcount of *Strathallan* and *Logie Almond*, the battalion of *Strowan*, and the *Angus* ſquadron of horſe, formed the ſecond line. When the army was forming, we diſcovered ſome ſmall number of the enemy on the height of the Weſt end of the *Sheriff-moor*, which looks into *Dumblain*; from which place they had a full view of our army. The Earl of *Mar* called a Council of war, conſiſting of all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, General Officers, and Heads of the Clans, which was held in the front of the horſe on the left, where it was voted to fight the enemy *nemine contradicente*. Upon which the Earl of *Mar* ordered the Earl *Mariſchal*, Major-General of the horſe, with his own ſquadron, and Sir *Donald Macdonald*'s battalion, to march up to the height, where we ſaw the enemy, and diſlodge them, and ſend an account of their motions and diſpoſitions. No ſooner the Earl *Mariſchal* began his march, but the enemy diſappeared, and the Earl of *Mar* ordered the army to march up after them. By the other Generals orders the lines marched off the right, divided in the centre, and marched up the hill in four lines. After marching about a quarter of a mile, the Earl *Mariſchal* ſent back an account, that they diſcovered the enemy forming their line very near him, to the South of the top of the hill: Upon which the army, particularly the horſe, was ordered to march up very quickly, and form to the enemy; but, by the breaking of their lines in marching off, they fell in ſome confuſion in the forming, and ſome of the ſecond line jumbled into the firſt, on or near the left, and ſome of the horſe formed near the centre; which ſeems to have been the occaſion, that the enemy's few ſquadrons on the right were not routed as the reſt.

The Earl of *Mar* placed himſelf at the head of the Clans, and, finding the enemy only forming their line, thought fit to attack them in that poſture. He ſent Colonel *William Clepham*, Adjutant-General to the Marquiſs of *Drummond*, Lieutenant-General of the horſe on the right, and to Lieutenant-General *Gordon* on the right of the right of the foot, and Major *David Erskine*, one of his Aids de Camp, to the left, with orders to march up and attack immediately: And upon their return, pulling off his hat, waved it with a huzza, and advanced to the front of the enemy's formed battalions: Upon which all the line to the right, being of the Clans, led on by Sir *Donald Macdonald*'s brothers, *Glengary*, Captain of *Clanronald*, Sir *John Maclean*, *Glenco Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, Colonel of *Broadalbin*'s, and Brigadier *Ogilvie* of *Boyne*, with Colonel *Gordon* of *Glenbucket*, at the head of *Huntley*'s battalions, made a moſt furious attack; ſo that in ſeven or eight minutes we could perceive neither the form of a ſquadron or battalion of the enemy before us. We drove the main body and left of the enemy in this manner for about half a mile, killing and taking priſoners all that we could overtake. The Earl of *Mar* endeavoured to ſtop our foot, and put them in ſome order to follow the enemy, which we ſaw making off in ſome ſmall bodies from a little hill below, towards *Dumblain*, where the Earl of *Mar* reſolved to follow them to compleat the victory. When an account was brought him, that our left, and moſt of our ſecond line, had given way, and the enemy was purſuing them down the back of the hill, and had taken our artillery, immediately the Earl of *Mar* gave orders for the horſe to wheel; and having put the foot in order, as faſt as could be, marched back with them. When he was again near the top of the hill, two ſquadrons of the enemy's Grey dragoons were perceived marching towards us. When they came near the top of the hill, and ſaw us advancing in order to attack them, they made much faſter down the hill than they came up, and joined at the foot of the hill to a ſmall ſquadron or two of the Black dragoons, and a ſmall battalion of foot, which we judged had marched about the Weſt end of the hill, and joined them. At firſt they again ſeemed to form on the low ground, and advanced towards us; but, when they ſaw us marching down the hill upon them, they filed very ſpeedily to *Dumblain*. The Earl of *Mar* remained poſſeſſed of the field of battle, and our own artillery, and ſtood upon the ground till ſunſet; and then, conſidering, that the army had no cover or victuals the night before, and none to be had nearer than *Braco*, *Ardoch*, and the adjacents, whereby his Lordſhip expected the left to rally, and the battalions of the Lord *George Murray*, *Innernyhe*, *Macpherſon*, and *Macgregor*, to join him, reſolved to draw off the artillery, and march the army to that place, where were ſome proviſions. There were two carriages of the guns broke, which we left on the road. But theſe battalions did not join us till the next day afternoon, before which the enemy was returned to *Stirling*.

We took the Earl of *Forfar*, who was dangerouſly wounded, Colonel *Lawrence*, and ten or twelve Captains and Subalterns, and about two hundred Serjeants and private men, and the Laird of *Glenkindy*, one of the volunteers, four colours, ſeveral drums, and about fourteen or fifteen hundred ſtands of arms. We compute, that there lay killed in the field of battle about ſeven or eight hundred of the enemy: And this is certain, that there lay dead upon the field of battle above fifteen of the enemy to one of ours. Beſides, the number of the wounded muſt be very great.

The priſoners taken by us were very civilly uſed, and none of them ſtripped. Some are allowed to return to *Stirling* upon their parole, and the Officers have the liberty of the town of *Perth*. The few priſoners, taken by the enemy on our left, were moſt of them ſtripped and wounded after taken. The Earl of *Panmure* being firſt of the priſoners wounded, after taken, they having refuſed his parole, he was left in a village, and by the haſty retreat of the enemy, upon the approach of our army, was reſcued by his brother and his ſervants, and carried off.

Monday 14, the Earl of *Mar* drew out the army early in the morning on the ſame field, at *Ardoch*, they were on the day before. About eleven o'clock, we perceived ſome ſquadrons of the enemy on the top of the hill near the field of battle, which marched over the top of the hill, and a little after we had an account of their marching to *Stirling*. Upon which the Earl of *Mar* marched back with his army, who continued about *Auchterardire*.

Tueſday 15, reſted. *Wedneſday* 16, the Earl of *Mar* left General *Hamilton* with the horſe to canton about *Duplin*, and Lieutenant-General *Gordon* with the Clans, and the reſt of the foot about *Forgan* and adjacents, and went into *Perth* himſelf to order proviſions for the army; the want of which was the reaſon of his returning to *Perth*.

Thurſday 17, the Earl of *Mar* ordered General *Hamilton* to march with the horſe, and ſome of the foot, to *Perth*, and Lieutenant-General *Gordon* with the Clans, to canton about that place.'

After writing the former Narrative, we have account from *Stirling*, that the enemy loſt twelve hundred men; and, after inquiry, we cannot find above ſixty of our men in all killed; among whom were the Earl of *Strathmore*, and the Captain of *Clanronald*, both very much lamented. *Auchterhouſe* is miſſing. Very few of our men are wounded.'

(1) The

1715. five hundred; but they never agreed in the accounts of their ſeveral loſſes (1).

A remarkable incident. Patten.

It was reported, that Mr. *Drummond*, an Officer in the Duke of *Argyle*'s army, went to *Perth* under the pretence of being a deſerter, and was made Aid de Camp to the Lord *Drummond*; and at the battle of *Dumblain* he attended the Earl of *Mar* to receive his orders. When the Earl thought, that his right wing was like to defeat the Duke of *Argyle*'s left, he diſpatched this Mr. *Drummond* to General *Hamilton* (who commanded the left of the Earl of *Mar*'s army) with orders to attack the enemy briſkly, ſince he was like to have the advantage on the right. But Mr. *Drummond*, inſtead of delivering that order, gave the direct contrary orders to General *Hamilton*, and told him, that the Earl of *Mar* was worſted on the right, and deſired him to retire with all haſte with as good order as poſſible. Upon which General *Hamilton* gave order to halt, which was obeyed. Then, the right of the Duke of *Argyle*'s army approaching them, moſt part of them gave way without firing a gun; and thoſe, that ſtood, were chiefly Gentlemen and Officers, who were ſo galled by the Duke of *Argyle*'s right wing, that many of them were killed on the ſpot, and others taken priſoners. And it is ſaid, Mr. *Drummond*, after he gave the abovementioned orders to General *Hamilton*, deſerted to the Duke of *Argyle*'s ſide. But this is only report.

There was another thing very obſervable that day; Mr. *Robert Roy Macgregor*, alias *Campbell*, a Gentleman eminent formerly for his bravery and courage, was with his men very near the Earl of *Mar*'s army; and being deſired by a Gentleman of his own party, to go and aſſiſt his friends, he refuſed, and ſaid, If they could not do it without him, they ſhould not do it with him.

Inverneſs *taken.*

The engagement being over, news was brought to the Rebels, of the ſurrender of the important paſs of *Inverneſs* to the King, on the ſame day the battle was fought. This ſervice was performed by *Simon Frazer* of *Beauford*, Lord *Lovat*, chief of the *Frazers*, who had hitherto appeared in the intereſt of the Pretender. He came before *Inverneſs* on the 10th of *November*, where he was little expected in that manner, having been all his life of a contrary party. Sir *John Mackenzie*, who held the town as Governor for the Earl of *Seaforth*, had only three hundred men with him. With theſe he retired to a kind of Caſtle or Citadel, out of which he made his retreat on the 12th, and gave free poſſeſſion to the King's new friends. The ſecuring *Inverneſs* was a great blow to the Rebels in theſe parts, for by it a free communication was opened between the Earl of *Sutherland* and the Well-affected in the Counties adjacent to *Inverneſs*; and by this means the Earl of *Seaforth* and the Marquiſs of *Huntley* were not only drawn from the Rebel-army to defend their own territories, but were induced ſoon after to make their ſubmiſſion; and a good number of the *Frazers*, who followed *Frazerdale* before, upon the change of diſpoſition in their Chief, the Lord *Lovat* left the Rebels, and increaſed the number of the King's friends under him. 1715

The Marquiſs of *Tullibardine* left the Earl of of *Mar* likewiſe, in order to cover his own Country; and many of the Clans, not ſeeing any likelihood of coming to an action, returned to their homes; it being the cuſtom with theſe people never to remain long in the field, unleſs they are kept in conſtant employ.

On the 12th of *November* arrived at *Whitehall* Captain *Williamſon*, Aid de Camp to General *Cadogan*, with the news of the Barrier treaty being ſigned, bringing with him a duplicate of the treaty itſelf for the King to ratify. This treaty had been a long while in hand, and had met with many difficulties and delays; and it was very much doubted by ſome, whether the Imperial Court intended to conclude it at all. But, after great diſputes, it was at laſt finiſhed at *Antwerp*, and ſigned by the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, the *States-General*, and the King of *Great-Britain*, by which the bounds of the Imperial Dominions in the *Netherlands*, as alſo of the *States-General*, were adjuſted, and the Emperor became guarantee of the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover* to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, as the *States-General* were before. The Barrier treaty ratified.

Three days after, General *Cadogan* arrived at *London* from *Flanders*, and the ſame day three thouſand of the *Dutch* Auxiliaries came up the *Thames*; and having refreſhed themſelves for ſome days in their quarters in the Tower Hamlets, and *Southwark*, marched by land towards *Scotland*, and the other three thouſand were ordered to follow by ſea. But, the winds being contrary, they were forced to put into *Harwich* and other places. Theſe troops, not being uſed to ſea, ſuffered ſo much, that they deſired to land, and march wherever the King ſhould think fit. Accordingly they were ordered alſo to proceed by land to *Scotland*; and their march, with that of the three thouſand from *London*, was ſo regulated, as to arrive at *Edinburgh* about the ſame time. The arrival of the Dutch troops. They march to Edinburgh.

A reſolution being taken to diſlodge the Rebels from *Perth*, General *Cadogan*, by the King's command, ſet out on the 29th of *November* for *Scotland*; and Brigadier *Petit*, with ſix engineers under him, was ordered to march thither General Cadogan ſets out for Scotland.

(1) The account of the killed, wounded, and taken on the King's ſide, according to the Muſter-Maſter-General's Rolls, *Nov.* 30, 1715, ſtands thus:

	Killed.	*Wounded.*	*Taken.*	
Foot,	241	120	110	*In all*
Dragoons,	25	53	12	
Officers,	14	11	10	
Serjeants,	10	3	1	
Total of men	290	187	133	610
Horſes,	42	75	40	157

(1) The

1715. thither with all ſpeed. A conſiderable train of artillery was alſo ſhipped off at the *Tower*, and ſent to *Scotland* for this expedition.

About the ſame time Colonel *Stern*'s regiment arrived in the *Thames* from *Ghent*, where they had been garriſoned, and brought priſoners with them the Lord *Clermont*, ſon to the Earl of *Middleton*, who, in the year 1708, was taken priſoner in the Pretender's expedition to *Scotland*, and Mr. *Murray*, who, by the name of *Gordon*, had lately been with the Earl of *Mar*, and who were both taken in *Flanders*. The Lord *Clermont* was committed to the *Tower*, and the other to *Newgate*.

With regard to the priſoners taken at *Preſton*, ſome half-pay Officers being found among them, a Court-martial was held at *Preſton* on the 28th of *November*, to try the following perſons as deſerters; the Lord *Charles Murray*, a younger ſon of the Duke of *Athol*, Major *Nairn*, and Captain *Lockhart*, brother to *Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*, the Author of the *Memoirs of* Scotland. *Nairn* and *Lockhart* had belonged to Lord *Mark Ker*'s regiment; Captain *Shaftoe* to Colonel *Frank*'s; Enſign *Erſkine* to *Preſton*'s; and Enſign *Dalziel* to Lord *Orkney*'s. The five firſt were found guilty, and ſentenced to be ſhot; but *Dalziel* was acquitted as to the crime of deſertion, upon his proving, that he had reſigned his Commiſſion ſome time before he engaged in the Rebellion. The Lord *Charles Murray* was reſpited till further orders; but the others were, on the 4th of *December*, executed. About five hundred of the inferior priſoners were ſent to the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, and a great number to *Liverpool*; but all the Noblemen and moſt conſiderable perſons amongſt them were ſent to *London*, where they arrived on the 9th of *December*, being guarded from *Highgate* by Major-General *Tatton*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the firſt regiment of guards, at the head of a detachment of about three hundred foot-guards, and a hundred and twenty horſe-grenadier guards. They were brought ſo far by Brigadier *Panton*, Lieutenant-Colonel of *Lumley*'s regiment of horſe, under a guard of one hundred of his troopers. At *Highgate* every one of the priſoners had his arms tied with a cord coming croſs their back; and, thus pinioned, they were not allowed to hold the reins of the bridle, but had their horſes led by a foot-ſoldier. In this poſture they were ranged in four diviſions, according to the four different priſons, to which they were allotted; the Noblemen to the *Tower*; *Forſter* and *Mackintoſh* to *Newgate*; others to the *Marſhalſea*; and others to the *Fleet*; each diviſion being placed between a party of horſe-grenadiers, and a platoon of foot-guards. In this manner General *Tatton* ſet out from *Highgate* about noon, and proceeded to *London* through innumerable crowds of ſpectators of all ages and conditions; his drums beating all the way a triumphal march. The ſame day two of them, Mr. *Richard Gaſcoigne* and Mr. *Thomas Butler*, one of the Duke of *Ormond*'s natural ſons, were carried to the *Cock-pit*, where they were examined before a Committee of the Privy-Council, and afterwards committed to the cuſtody of a Meſſenger. The next day, the Lord *Kenmure*, Mr. *Forſter*, and Brigadier *Mackintoſh* were carried to the *Cock-pit*, where they were ſeverally examined by a Committee of Council, and then remanded, the firſt to the *Tower*, and the others to *Newgate*. The ſame day likewiſe, Mr. *Gaſcoigne* and Mr. *Butler* were examined a ſecond time, and then committed to *Newgate*. On *Monday*, the 12th of *December*, the Earls of *Derwentwater*, *Nithiſdale*, *Carnwarth*, and *Wintoun*, the Lord *Widdrington*, and ſome others of the principal Rebels, were alſo ſeverally examined, and afterwards ſent back to their reſpective priſons. 1715.

The Rebellion in *England* being totally ſuppreſſed, the King's houſhold troops broke up their camp in *Hyde-Park*, the day after the priſoners were brought to *London*, and the artillery was ſent to the *Tower*. However, for the greater ſecurity of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, an extraordinary horſe-guard was placed in ſeveral inns between *St. James's* and *Whitehall*, with orders to patrole all night.

The Pretender lands in Scotland.

On the 22d of *December*, the Pretender landed at *Peterhead*, in the North of *Scotland*, with only ſix Gentlemen in his retinue; among whom was the Marquiſs of *Tinmouth*, ſon to the Duke of *Berwick*. The Pretender had imbarked at *Dunkirk* on board a ſmall ſhip, which had formerly been a Privateer of eight guns. The firſt night he lay at *Peterhead*; the ſecond at *Newburgh*, a ſeat of the Earl *Mariſchal*'s. He paſſed through *Aberdeen incognito* (he and all that were with him being in the habit of Sea-officers) to *Fetteroſſe*, the chief ſeat of the Earl *Mariſchal*. Here he was met by the Earl of *Mar*, the Earl *Mariſchal*, and about thirty Noblemen and Gentlemen of the firſt Quality, who had left *Perth* with a party of horſe, on the firſt notice of his landing, which they received by an expreſs from *Peterhead*. At this place he appeared in public, and, aſſuming his pretended Quality, permitted the Noblemen and Gentlemen to kiſs his hand. Whilſt he remained at *Fetteroſſe*, which was till the 27th, he formed a Court, appointing all the Officers of State and Houſhold, and made ſome Peers, and ſeveral Knights. He was proclaimed with great ſolemnity before the door of the houſe, and then publiſhed his declaration *, dated at *Commercy* in *Lorrain*, on the 25th of *October*. It was printed at *Perth* by *Robert Freebairn*, who ſtiled himſelf *Printer to his Majeſty*, and was ſent to all the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and Juſtices of the peace within the Rebel-quarters; many of whom, eſpecially in the North, publiſhed it according to the order ſent with it.

He is proclaimed, and his declaration publiſhed.

* See p. 454.

He is addreſſed.

At *Fetteroſſe*, the Pretender received alſo the homage of his Eccleſiaſtical and Lay Epiſcopal Subjects of the Dioceſe of *Aberdeen* by addreſſes from each of them (1).

During

(1) The addreſs of the Clergy, dated *December* 29, was as follows:

SIR,

'We your Majeſty's moſt faithful and dutiful ſubjects, the Epiſcopal Clergy of the Dioceſe of *Aberdeen*, do, from our hearts, render thanks to Almighty God for your Majeſty's ſafe and happy arrival into this your antient Kingdom of *Scotland*, where your Royal preſence was ſo much longed for, and ſo neceſſary to ani-

1715. *He goes to* Scoon.

During the Pretender's ſtay at *Fetteroſſe*, he was attacked by an aguiſh diſorder; but he ſoon recovered, and, on the 2d of *January*, arrived at *Briechen*, where he continued two days; and, on the 3d, went and lay at *Kinaird*. The next day he arrived at *Glames*, and lay there that night. Next morning he made his public entry into *Dundee*, with the Earl of *Mar* on his right, and the Earl *Mariſchal* on his left hand, being followed by about three hundred Gentlemen on horſeback. At the deſire of his friends he remained about an hour on horſeback in the market-place, allowing the people to perform the ceremony of kiſſing his hand. He then went and dined at *Stuart* of *Garantully*'s, where he lodged that night. Next day he left *Dundee*, and dined at *Caſtle-Lyon*, a ſeat of the Earl of *Strathmore*'s, and lay that night at Sir *David Tripplin*'s, and, on the 7th of *January*, arrived at the palace of *Scoon*, the antient place of the Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*, where he ſeemed reſolved to ſtay till that ceremony was performed.

He makes his entry into Perth.

On the 9th of *January*, about noon, he made his public entry on horſeback into *Perth*, and reviewed ſome of the troops, that were drawn out on purpoſe. He expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the appearance of the men, and was much pleaſed with the Highland dreſs, which he had never ſeen before. In the evening he returned to *Scoon*, where he began to form a regular Council, and to perform ſeveral acts of State. He publiſhed ſix proclamations; for a general thankſgiving for his ſafe arrival; for praying for him in Churches; for the currency of all foreign coins; for ſummoning the meeting of the Convention of Eſtates; for ordering all fencible men, from ſixteen to ſixty, to repair to his Standard; and for his Coronation on the 23d of *January*. 1715.

On the 16th of that month, a grand Council was held, at which all the Chiefs of the Rebels were preſent. At the opening of it, the Pretender delivered himſelf in a ſet ſpeech to this effect:

His ſpeech to his Council.

'I am now, on your repeated invitation, come among you. No other argument need be uſed of the great confidence I place in your loyalty and fidelity to me, which I intirely rely on. I believe you are already convinced of my good intentions to reſtore the antient laws and liberties of this Kingdom: If not, I am ſtill ready to confirm to you the aſſurance of doing all, that can give you ſatisfaction therein.

The great diſcouragements, which preſented, were not ſufficient to deter me from coming to put myſelf at the head of my faithful ſubjects, who were in arms for me, and, whatſoever ſhall enſue, I ſhall leave them no room for complaint, that I have not done the utmoſt they could expect from me. Let thoſe, who forget their duty, and are negligent of their own good, be anſwerable for the worſt that may happen. For me, it will be no new thing, if I am unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has ſhewn a conſtant ſeries of misfortunes; and I am prepared (if ſo it pleaſe God) to ſuffer the threats of my enemies, and yours. The preparations, which are making againſt us, will, I hope, quicken your reſolution, and convince others, from whom I have aſſurances, that it is now no time to diſpute what they have to do: If, otherwiſe, they ſhall by their remiſſneſs be unmindful of their own ſafety, I ſhall take it as

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mate your loyal ſubjects, our noble and generous patriots, to go on with that invincible courage and reſolution, which they have hitherto ſo ſucceſsfully exerted for the recovery of the rights of their King and Country, and to excite many others of your good ſubjects to join them, who only wanted this great encouragement.

We hope and pray, that God may open the eyes of ſuch of your ſubjects, as malicious and ſelf-deſigning men have induſtriouſly blinded with prejudices againſt your Majeſty, as if the recovery of your juſt rights would ruin our Religion, Liberties, and Property, which by the overturning of theſe Rights have been highly incroached upon; and we are perſuaded, that your Majeſty's juſtice and goodneſs will ſettle and ſecure thoſe juſt privileges, to the conviction of your moſt malicious enemies.

Almighty God has been pleaſed to train up your Majeſty from your infancy in the School of the Croſs, in which the Divine Grace inſpires the mind with true wiſdom and virtue, and guards it againſt thoſe falſe blandiſhments, by which proſperity corrupts the heart. And as this School has ſent forth the moſt illuſtrious Princes, as *Moſes*, *Joſeph*, and *David*; ſo we hope the ſame infinitely wiſe and good God deſigns to make your Majeſty, not only a bleſſing to your own Kingdoms, and a true Father of them, but alſo a great inſtrument of the general peace and good of mankind.

Your Princely virtues are ſuch, that, in the eſteem of the beſt judges, you are worthy to wear a Crown, though you had not been born to it; which makes us confident, that it will be your Majeſty's care to make your ſubjects a happy people, and ſo to ſecure them in their Religion, Liberties, and Property, as to leave no juſt ground of diſtruſt, and to unite us all in true Chriſtianity, according to the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Practice of the primitive Chriſtians.

We adore the goodneſs of God, in preſerving your Majeſty amidſt the many dangers, to which you have been expoſed, notwithſtanding the helliſh contrivances formed againſt you, for encouraging aſſaſſins to murder your ſacred perſon; a practice abhorred by the very Heathens. May the ſame merciful providence continue ſtill to protect your Majeſty, to proſper your arms, to turn the hearts of all the people towards you, to ſubdue thoſe who reſiſt your juſt pretenſions, to eſtabliſh you on the Throne of your anceſtors, to grant you a long and happy reign, to bleſs you with a royal progeny, and at laſt with an immortal crown of glory. And as it has been, ſtill is, and ſhall be our care, to inſtil into the minds of the people true principles of loyalty to your Majeſty; ſo this is the earneſt prayer of, *&c.*'

The City of Aberdeen, *who were moſtly of the Epiſcopal Communion, followed the example of their Paſtors, in the following addreſs:*

We your ever loyal and dutiful ſubjects, the Magiſtrates, Town-Council, and other your Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, Citizens of *Aberdeen*, do heartily congratulate your arrival to this your native and hereditary Kingdom. Heaven very often inhances our bleſſings by diſappointments; and your Majeſty's ſafe arrival, after ſuch a train of difficulties, and ſo many attempts, makes us not doubt but God is propitious to your juſt cauſe.

As your Majeſty's arrival was ſeaſonable, ſo it was ſurpriſing. We were happy, and we knew it not: We had the bleſſing we wiſhed for, yet inſenſible till now, that your Majeſty has been pleaſed to let us know, that we are the happieſt, and, as ſo, we ſhall always endeavour to be the moſt loyal of, *&c.*'

(1) The

1715. as my greateſt comfort, that I have acquitted myſelf of whatever can be expected from me. I recommend to you what is neceſſary to be done in the preſent conjuncture; and, next to God, rely on your Council and Reſolution.'

The Rebels think of diſperſing.

This ſpeech was diſperſed with great induſtry; but the Council ſoon came to a reſolution to abandon the whole enterprize, the firſt opportunity they ſhould have to do it decently. They were not in circumſtances to ſtand the attack of the Royal army, which was now reinforced with ſix thouſand *Dutch:* But it was neceſſary to conceal this reſolution from their own people, till the proper meaſures were concerted to have them all diſperſed with the greateſt ſafety, without expoſing them to the inſults of the Royal army. Had the reſolution been made public, it would have had this conſequence, that the common people would be ſo diſpirited, as not to be capable of taking care of their ſafety; and ſome of them perhaps might have have had thoughts of revenging upon their Leaders the danger, into which they had been drawn. For this reaſon the Council gave out, they reſolved to fight the King's troops; and, accordingly, made all the preparation neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking, as if they had really intended it.

Expreſſes were ſent to the Earl of *Seaforth*, the Marquiſs of *Huntley*, and many others of their friends, to return ſpeedily to the army at *Perth*. Their head-quarters were fortified in the beſt manner; and people of all ranks were zealous in promoting the work. Nothing was to be ſeen till the very day they abandoned the place, but the greateſt induſtry in throwing up intrenchments, raiſing batteries, planting guns, with all the other preparations of war. The Pretender even iſſued out an order; for the burning of the village of *Auchterardire*, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy (1). 1715.

According to this order, ſeveral towns, as *Auchterardire*, *Blackford*, *Dunning*, and *Muthell*, and other villages, were burnt to the ground; by which the poor inhabitants, being only old infirm men, women, and children (the reſt being forced from their homes) were expoſed to the ſevereſt ſeaſon of the year, in one of the coldeſt winters that had been known for many ages. In the account publiſhed at *Paris* of the Pretender's conduct in *Scotland*, it is affirmed, that, upon his leaving that Kingdom, he had depoſited a ſum of money in the hands of General *Gordon*, for the uſe of the Sufferers by the execution of this order; which money was to be delivered by that General, with a letter from the Pretender to the Duke of *Argle*. Whether this was publiſhed to take off the ill impreſſion that order ſeemed to leave upon the minds of the people, or whether there was any truth either in that or the letter, depends only on the credit of the account written by the Earl of *Mar* at *Paris* (2). *Several villages burnt.*

During theſe tranſactions, the Duke of *Argyle*, in conjunction with the Lord *Cadogan*, took meaſures to diſlodge the Rebels from *Perth*, and remove the Pretender from *Scotland*.

A number of the Rebels having poſſeſſion of the town of *Brunt-Iſland*, on the other ſide of the road of *Leith*, the Duke of *Argyle* ordered the men of war, then on duty in that road, to ſtand over, and throw ſome ſhot into the town. The Captain had thrown but few, when the Rebels abandoned the town, fearing, as they ſaid, the Captain, after his cannonading, would attempt *Brunt-Iſland abandoned by the Rebels.*

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(1) The order was as follows:

James R.

'Whereas it is abſolutely neceſſary for our ſervice, and the public ſafety, that the enemy ſhould be as much incommoded as poſſible, eſpecially upon their march towards us, if they ſhould attempt any thing againſt us or our forces; and ſeeing this can be by no means better effected than by deſtroying all the corn and forage, that can ſupport them in their march, and burning the houſes and villages, which may be neceſſary for quartering the enemy; which nevertheleſs it is our meaning ſhould be only done in caſe of abſolute neceſſity, concerning which we have given our full inſtructions to *James Graham* younger of *Braco:* Theſe are therefore ordering and requiring you, how ſoon this order ſhall be tranſmitted to you by the hands of the ſaid *James Graham*, forthwith, with the garriſon under your command, to burn and deſtroy the village of *Auchterardire*, with all the houſes, corn, and forage within the ſaid town, ſo as they may be rendered intirely uſeleſs to the enemy; for the doing whereof this ſhall be to you, and all you ſhall employ in execution thereof, a ſufficient warrant.

Given at our Court of *Scoon* this ſeventeenth day of *January*, in the fifteenth year of our reign, 1715-16.

By his Majeſty's command,

M A R.

To Colonel *Patrick Graham*, or the commanding Officer for the time, of our garriſon of *Tullibardine*.

(2) This account at large was as follows:

S I R,

'You ſeem ſurprized at the ſudden change our affairs here have taken, from what you expected by the accounts you had from ſome of our friends at *Edinburgh*, before our leaving *Perth*, and even after we were gone from thence. I will therefore, for your ſatisfaction, give you a true account of that whole matter.

It is plain enough, that it was our buſineſs to repreſent our affairs then to the public, to be in ſuch a poſture, as might encourage our friends every where, and diſcourage our enemies, and ſtop them from marching againſt us, until we were in a better condition to receive them; which we had reaſon to expect ſoon to be, by our friends joining us, as they daily promiſed to do, and until we ſhould receive the money, arms, and ammunition we were every day expecting, as we had been for a long time.

But, that time being now over, I may freely own to you, and it is fit you ſhould know, that, a month before the Chevalier landed, the reſolution was taken of abandoning *Perth*, as ſoon as the enemy ſhould march againſt it. And, though this reſolution was known to a good number in our army, yet the ſecret was ſo well kept, that it never came to the public; ſo that the enemy, believing that we would ſtand our ground, thought themſelves obliged to delay their march for a long time, until they had made great preparations of artillery, *&c.* as if they had been going to beſiege a fortified town: But, in reality, our condition was then ſuch, as obliged us to take that reſolution, having neither a ſufficient number of men, ammunition, nor arms.

Upon the Chevalier's arrival we expected, that our friends would then have certainly joined us; both

1715. attempt to land; and their number was not ſufficient to defend the place. Upon notice of the Rebels abandoning *Brunt-Iſland*, where they had left behind them ſix pieces of cannon, ſome arms, and a great quantity of proviſions, a detachment of *Scots* and *Dutch* troops were ſent over the *Firth*, to take poſſeſſion of the town, under the command of Sir *James Montgomery*. Upon this the Rebels quitted all the towns on the North ſide of the *Firth*; by which means the navigation to and beyond *Leith* was not ſo much interrupted, as in the beginning of the winter.

There happened ſome ſkirmiſhes between the detachments ſent to poſſeſs theſe towns, and ſome parties of the Rebels; but none of any conſequence. The moſt remarkable ſkirmiſh was about the 2d of *January*, when the Earl of *Rothes*, with a good company of volunteers, and a detachment of fifty *Dutch*, attempted to poſſeſs themſelves of the palace of *Falkland*, a royal foundation, but now gone to decay. The Rebels, having intelligence of the Earl's deſign, threw a party of their men into the place, and ſent another body to ſurround him in a village, near *Falkland*. The volunteers, to the number of thirty, found means to make their eſcape; but the *Dutch* foot were made priſoners.

To reſtrain the incurſions of the enemy upon the Duke's new acquiſitions on the coaſt of *Fife*, three battalions of *Dutch* foot were ordered to paſs the *Firth* at the *Queen's-Ferry*, and take quarters about *Innerkeithing*, *Dumferling*, and the towns in that neighbourhood, which proved a ſufficient check upon the Rebels during their ſtay at *Perth*. 1715.

About this time the Earl of *Seaforth* and the Marquiſs of *Huntley* had capitulated with the Earl of *Sutherland*, after many threatenings between them, which never came to blows. The Earl of *Seaforth* afterwards involved himſelf again in the Rebellion; but the Marquiſs of *Huntley* ſtrictly obſerved the terms of his capitulation.

The Duke of *Argyle* had now got all the ſupplies he expected. The ſix thouſand *Dutch* auxiliaries, under the command of Major-General *Vanderbeck*, had joined him; as *Newton's* and *Stanhope's* dragoons had likewiſe from *England*. But he was in great want of a train of artillery, which he had long expected from *England*, and which had been ſhipped for this ſervice; but, the ſtormy weather and eaſterly winds continuing, the Duke grew impatient of waiting any longer for them, and ordered General *Cadogan* to go to *Berwick* with a guard of five hundred men, and fifteen hundred carriage horſes, to bring thence ten pieces of cannon and four mortars, with their carriages and ammunition, which, with fourteen pieces, that he had already with him, was thought a ſufficient train for this expedition. The train being now ready, he was as much at a loſs for gunners to manage it, having few or none in his army; but the fleet, on Preparations of the King's army.

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thoſe, who had formerly been with us, and were gone home, and thoſe, who before had given, the Chevalier not being come, as the only reaſon of their not joining the army; and alſo that thoſe, to whom the reducing of *Inverneſs*, the Lord *Sutherland*, and thoſe with him, was committed, would have vigorouſly performed that ſervice, and then have joined us; and we had no reaſon to doubt, but money, ammunition, and arms would immediately be ſent after the Chevalier.

But, to our great misfortune, we were diſappointed in all theſe our hopes, though never ſo well grounded in appearance.

The rigour of the ſeaſon, and the great fall of the ſnow on the hills, kept in ſome meaſure the reſt of the *Highlanders* from joining us. Moſt of thoſe, who before had excuſed themſelves upon the Chevalier's not being come, kept ſtill at home, now that he was come, waiting perhaps to ſee how his affairs were like to ſucceed. Thoſe employed for reducing of *Inverneſs* were ſo far from acting with vigour, that they made, what they called it, a ceſſation of arms with the enemy. Some gold was ſent to us in Lingo's; but the ſhip, in which it came, was ſtranded, and the gold itſelf loſt. Several ſhips came with Officers, but neither arms nor ammunition in any of them. So that our condition, after the Chevalier's arrival, was no ways bettered, except by the new life his preſence gave to the ſmall number we at that time had got together. Even in that weak condition, the Chevalier would gladly have maintained *Perth*, or ventured a battle. But when the enemy, with all their great preparations, and an army of above eight thouſand effective regular troops were actually in march, and advanced near to the place, it was found impracticable to defend the town, and unadviſeable to enter into a battle with a ſmall number of men, that were in it, for a great many reaſons too long to be here mentioned. But in ſhort we had not above four thouſand, both horſe and foot; and of theſe, for want of arms, and for other reaſons, not above two thouſand five hundred to be relied upon as good fighting men. The town is little better than an open village at any time; and at this the river on one ſide, and a kind of foſſe or ditch on the other, were frozen up, ſo that it was eaſy to be entered on all quarters. The long continued froſt had kept the mills from going; ſo that there was not above two days proviſions in the town. The enemy being then in poſſeſſion of the moſt part of *Fife*, where the coal-pits are, there were no coals to be got; and, the wood being ſcarce in the country, there happened to be almoſt no fuel at all. Beſides this, the *Highlanders* are not uſed to defend towns; nor had they wherewithal to defend this.

On the other hand, to have gone out to fight the enemy, when there was no advantageous poſt or paſs to be defended, had been expoſing our men to viſible deſtruction; the enemy being provided with every thing, and thrice our number of fighting men, might have ſurrounded us on all ſides, and prevented all poſſibility of retreat. All this put us into an abſolute neceſſity of leaving *Perth*, and retiring Northwards, which we did in good order, and came in two days to *Montroſe*, and *Brechin*. Neither of theſe places are tenable, though we had been provided, as we were not, with a ſufficient number of men, ammunition, and proviſions. But, *Montroſe* being a good harbour, where we expected our ſuccours from abroad, we were unwilling to quit it, ſo long as we could remain ſafe in it. We thought indeed, that the enemy would have made a halt at *Perth*, and not have marched ſo quickly after us, as we ſoon found they did, they being within a few miles of us before we had certain intelligence of it, though great pains had been taken to be informed of their motions. The Earl of *Panmure*, not being recovered of the ſevere wounds he had received at the battle of *Sheriff-Moor*, was not in a condition to march along with the army, which otherwiſe he would have done; upon which the Chevalier adviſed him, as he paſſed *Dundee*, to endeavour to get off in the firſt ſhip he could find; and, by accident finding a little bark at *Arboth*, went off in it for *France*.

Before this time ſeveral people had very ſeriouſly repreſented to the Chevalier the deplorable circumſtances, in which his affairs now were on all ſides; that, being overpowered in *Scotland*, no appearance of any riſing in *England*, nor any news of the ſuccours he expected from

1715. on board of which the train and ammunition had been ſhipped, arriving in the road of *Leith* on the 28th of *January*, Colonel *Borgard*, who commanded the Engineers and Gunners ſent with theſe ſtores, arrived at *Stirling* on the 29th, ſo that now all things were ready for the intended attack of the enemy, which was reſolved in a Council of war, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon.

On the 21ſt, two hundred dragoons were ſent, under the command of General *Gueſt*, to view the road, and diſcover ſome of the diſpoſitions of the Rebels. This party, though only ſent to reconnoitre, put the Rebels into the utmoſt confuſion at *Perth*. Some country people, whoſe fear magnified the number of the detachment, carried news to the town, that the Duke of *Argyle* and all the army was within a few hours march. This ſtruck the whole Rebel army with the greateſt conſternation; and the pannic continued, till parties, ſent out as far as *Tullibardine* to view the country, returned with the report of the falſhood of the rumour.

Colonel *Gueſt*, being returned, acquainted the Duke of *Argyle*, that the roads were ſo covered with ſnow, that it would be impoſſible for the army to paſs, eſpecially the artillery and heavy carriages, except the ſnow was removed; upon which ſeveral thouſand people from the Country were ſummoned in to clear the roads.

On the 24th, the Duke and General *Cadogan* went out with a party to view the Country, and haſten the workmen employed in clearing the roads. This likewiſe alarmed ſome of the enemy's advanced poſts, but did not, as the other, reach *Perth*. 1715.

The day before and that day it thawed ſuddenly; and the thaw was followed by a great fall of ſnow, which hindered the workmen employed in clearing the roads, who had now all their work to do over again, and rendered the deſigned march almoſt impracticable. This inclined moſt of the Generals to defer the march of the troops till the ſeaſon was more moderate, none of them having ſeen a campaign in ſo cold a climate: But the Duke was reſolute in the meaſures taken, eſpecially as he had poſitive orders from above, to attack the Rebels without loſs of time.

On the 26th, the Duke ordered two regiments of dragoons, and five hundred foot, to advance to *Dumblain*, with directions to poſt a ſtrong party at the demoliſhed bridge of *Down*.

On the 29th, the army begun their march, and proceeded to *Dumblain*; the troops, which were there before, advancing, at the ſame time, to the old Caſtle of *Braco*, expecting ſome reſiſtance, but they found it abandoned. The next morning the ſame party, with two pieces of cannon, advanced upon the road to *Tullibardine*, to cover the workmen, who were clearing the way, and to prevent their being inſulted by the garriſon of *Tullibardine*. That day the army marched to *Auchterardire*; that is, to the place where

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from abroad, he had no courſe at preſent to take, that was conſiſtent with what he owed to his people in general, to thoſe, who had taken arms for him in particular, and to himſelf upon their account, but by retiring beyond ſea, to preſerve himſelf for a better occaſion of aſſerting his own right, and reſtoring them to their antient liberties.

It was indeed hard to bring him to think of this; but thoſe about him found it now high time to preſs the matter more than ever, the enemy being within three miles upon their march towards us. They therefore again repreſented to him the impoſſibility of making a ſtand any where, till they ſhould come to the moſt inacceſſible places of the mountains, where in that ſeaſon of the year, there being ſo much ſnow on the ground, there could be no ſubſiſtance for any body of men together, and where no ſuccour could come to them. That, when his ſmall army was divided in leſſer bodies, they could not avoid being cut off by the enemies troops, who would then be maſter of all the Low Countries, and eſpecially by the garriſons they had in *Inverlochy* and *Inverneſs*, which they would reinforce. That, as long as they knew he was in the Kingdom, they would purſue him, even with the hazard of their whole army, his perſon being the chief object of their purſuit, as his deſtruction was the only thing, that could ſecure their uſurpation; whereas, if he were gone off, they would not purſue with that eagerneſs, nor would they find their account in haraſſing their army in the ſnow, and exceſſive cold of the mountains, to purſue the ſcattered remains of the loyal party, who might ſkulk in the hills, till providence ſhould open a way for their relief, or that they ſhould obtain terms from the Government. That his perſon being with them would defeat even theſe faint hopes; and that in ſhort, whilſt he was in the Kingdom, they could never expect any terms or capitulation but by abandoning him, or giving him up; which rather than ever conſent to, they would be all to the laſt man cut in pieces.

Though the Chevalier was ſtill extremely unwilling to leave his loyal people, who had ſacrificed their all with ſo much zeal and alacrity for his ſervice; yet when he conſidered, that, as things then ſtood, his preſence, far from being a help and ſupport to them, would rather be an occaſion of haſtening their ruin, he was ſenſibly touched to find himſelf, for their ſakes, under a neceſſity of leaving them: There was no anſwering their reaſons, nor any time to be loſt, the danger increaſing every moment. He therefore at laſt told them, that he was ſorry to find himſelf obliged to conſent to what they deſired of him; and I dare ſay, no conſent, he ever gave, was ſo uneaſy to him as this was.

In the mean time freſh alarms coming of the enemies approaching, orders were given for the army's marching towards *Aberdeen*, and the reſolution was taken for his going off in the evening. It happened very providentially, that there was juſt ready in the harbour a ſmall ſhip, that had been deſigned to carry a Gentleman he was then to have ſent to a foreign Court This ſhip was now pitched upon to tranſport him: She was but a ſmall one, and could carry but a few paſſengers; and therefore, to avoid confuſion, he himſelf thought fit to name thoſe, who ſhould attend him. The Earl of *Mar*, who was the firſt named, made difficulty, and begged he might be left behind; but the Chevalier being poſitive for his going, and telling him, that in a great meaſure there were the ſame reaſons for his going as for his own; that his friends would more eaſily get terms without him than with him; and that, as things now ſtood, he could be no longer of any uſe to them in that Country, he ſubmitted.

The Chevalier likewiſe ordered the Marquiſs of *Drummond* to go along with him. This Lord was then lame by a fall from his horſe, and not in a condition to follow the army, and was one of the four with the Earl of *Mar*, Lord *Tullibardine*, and Lord *Lithgow*, againſt whom there was then a bill of attainder paſſing. The Chevalier would have willingly carried with him the two other Lords; but it happened, that they were both then at a diſtance; Lord *Tullibardine* at *Briechin* with a part of the foot, and Lord *Lithgow* at *Bervil* with the horſe. Lord *Mariſchal*, Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, was alſo ordered to go, though he ſeemed very deſirous to ſtay, and ſhare in the fate of his

1715. where it ſtood, for the Rebels had burnt the village to the ground, ſo that the men were obliged to lie in the open air in as violent a cold night, as ever was known in thoſe parts. The next morning early they marched to *Tullibardine*, the garriſon of which place had retired, except fifty men, who were made priſoners. Here the Duke of *Argyle* received intelligence, that the Pretender and his army had abandoned *Perth* the day before, and retired towards *Dundee*. This was very agreeable news to the whole army, who had lain in the ſnow for two nights ſucceſſively. But, as it was four o'clock in the afternoon before the Duke had the intelligence, they could not reach *Perth* that night. However the Duke took with him four ſquadrons of dragoons, and two battalions of foot, and marched that evening to take poſſeſſion of the town, where he arrived about two o'clock in the morning with the horſe; but the foot, through the length and deepneſs of the road, did not arrive till ten the next morning, very much haraſſed by their march. Had the Rebels had any intelligence, that the Duke was detached, with ſo ſmall an attendance, from the main of the army, he might have been in ſome hazard; for the groſs of the army did not arrive at *Perth* from *Tullibardine* till late in the evening, the 1ſt of *February*.

The Pretender and his party had now got two days march before the Royal army. It was neceſſary therefore to purſue them without intermiſſion, that they might have no reſt. Accordingly the 2d of *February* the Duke of *Argyle* continued his purſuit at the head of ſix ſquadrons, two battalions, and eight hundred detached foot; lay that night at *Errol*, and on the 3d arrived at *Dundee*, though the main army, which made more eaſy marches, did not come up till the 4th. Here the Duke's intelligence made him judge, that the Rebel army, which had now proceeded to *Montroſe*, would make ſome ſtop there, as that place was more tenable than *Perth*, and a ſea-port, where they might expect ſupplies from abroad. Therefore he reſolved not to allow them to fortify themſelves, but ſent two detachments to *Montroſe* by two different roads: Two thouſand foot and fifty dragoons went by the way of *Aberbrothick*, and three hundred more, and fifty dragoons, marched by the way of *Briechen*; but the ſnow was ſo deep, that the march proved very tedious to thoſe detachments, ſince they were obliged to ſummon in the Country-people, to clear the roads. On the 5th the whole army marched; the Duke with the cavalry, and train by the road of *Briechen*, and the infantry with General *Cadogan* by the way of *Aberbrothick*.

In this day's march they had intelligence, that the Pretender had made his eſcape, both from his own people and the King's army, the morning

The Pretender leaves Scotland.

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his countrymen. Lieutenant-General *Sheldon*, Vice-Chamberlain, had the ſame orders; as had alſo Colonel *Clepham*, who had left the enemy. Lord *Edward Drummond*, who was alſo Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, happened to be with Lord *Tinmouth*, at five miles diſtance, and ſo could not go with the Chevalier, as he intended they both ſhould; but he wrote to them to follow in a ſmall ſhip, that was then in the harbour; but the maſter of this ſhip was frightened, and went away without carrying any body.

The Chevalier then ordered a Commiſſion to be drawn for Lieutenant-General *Gordon* to command in chief, with all neceſſary power inſerted; and particularly one, to treat and capitulate with the enemy. He left alſo the ſaid General the reaſons of his leaving this Kingdom, and all the money, that was in the Pay-maſter's hands, or that he had himſelf (ſave a ſmall ſum for defraying his own and company's charges) and left orders for a ſum of money (if there ſhould be any left after paying the army) to be given to the poor people, who ſuffered by the burning of *Auchterardire*, and ſome villages about it, which had been thought neceſſary to be done, to prevent the enemy's march, though very much againſt his inclination; which made him delay from time to time, until the enemy was actually on their march; and the Chevalier left a letter with General *Gordon* for my Lord *Argyle*, to be delivered when the ſaid money ſhould be given, deſiring, that it ſhould be diſtributed accordingly.

About nine o'clock the Chevalier went on board the ſhip, which was about a mile at ſea. Lord *Mariſchal* and Colonel *Clepham* come ſome time after to the ſhore; but by an accident found no boat, and ſo could not go off; though, as the boat-man, who carried the Chevalier, aſſured us, he ſtaid for them till near eleven o'clock, but could ſtay no longer, becauſe of the nine men of war, that were cruiſing thereabouts; and it was great good luck, that the ſhip, having ſtaid ſo long, got out of their reach before it was day-light.

As ſoon as the Chevalier parted, we marched, and we are now a good way advanced towards the Highlands; for there was no ſtand could be made at *Aberdeen*; nor could we think of going to *Inverneſs*, that being ſtill in the enemies hands. Some went to *Peterhead*, and thought to have got off in a ſhip they found there; but we hear they were ſoon forced back by a man of war: So it is like they may join us again, if they are not intercepted by the enemy.

I muſt add here one thing, which, however incredible it may appear, is, to our coſt, but too true; and that is, that, from the time the Earl of *Mar* ſet up the Chevalier's ſtandard to this day, we never received from abroad the leaſt ſupply of arms and ammunition of any kind; though it was notorious in itſelf, and well known, both to friends and enemies, that this was what from the beginning we mainly wanted; and, as ſuch, it was inſiſted upon by the Earl of *Mar* in all the letters he writ, and by all the meſſengers he ſent to the other ſide. Several ſhips came with officers, and ſome ſmall ſums of money, after the bat- of *Sheriff-moor*; and three or four ſhips more came after the Chevalier's arrival. But, even when he was with us in perſon, no powder was ſent, nor a ſword nor muſket; ſo that, when we marched from *Perth*, we had not three hundred weight of powder for the whole army, nor ſhould we have wanted men, had we had arms to put in their hands. How the main point came to be ſo intirely neglected by thoſe, who had the management of the Chevalier's affairs in their hands on the other ſide, is yet a myſtery to us: And it ſurprizes us the more, that thoſe, who came lately over, aſſure us, that both arms and ammunition might have been gotten from private hands, without having the obligation to any foreign Prince. So whether this unaccountable omiſſion proceeded from mere negligence, want of money, or from a jealouſy in ſome, who were perhaps unwilling, that we ſhould be the inſtruments of this great work, and that it ſhould ſucceed in our hands, or ſome other by-reaſons, is what time may diſcover.

Thus I have given you true matter of fact, and a ſincere account of our unfortunate condition. Whatever may now be our fate, we have ſtill one ſolid ground of comfort, that the Chevalier hath (as we hope) got ſafe out of the reach of his enemies; for in the ſafety of his perſon is all our hopes of relief; and we look on him as the inſtrument reſerved by God, (and he now ſeems the only one in the ordinary courſe of

715. ing before, on board a *French* ſhip, called the *Maria-Tereſa* of *St. Malo*, then lying in the road of *Montroſe*.

It has been already obſerved, that the abandoning *Perth*, and diſperſing the Rebel army as ſoon as they could get out of the reach of the King's army, had been reſolved ever ſince, if not before, the Pretender's arrival in *Scotland*; but that it was neceſſary to conceal this deſign from the groſs of the army, as well as that the Pretender, and ſome of the chief Leaders of this undertaking, intended to make their eſcape to *France* the firſt opportunity. However, the army's abandoning *Perth* ſo precipitately, as to leave their waggons and artillery behind them, and then pointing their march to the ſea-ſhore, eſpecially to *Montroſe*, where it was known that ſeveral *French* ſhips lay, raiſed jealouſies in the heads of the army of what was really their intent, and produced conſiderable murmurings, which the Earl of *Mar* could not appeaſe, but by countenancing the march from *Montroſe* to *Aberdeen*, where he gave out they deſigned to make a ſtand. The army was made to believe, that the Pretender was to go along with them; and, to amuſe them, his horſes and ordinary body-guard were drawn up before the door of the houſe, where he lodged. This removing all jealouſy, the army became tractable again, and proceeded on their march. But the Pretender, inſtead of going on with them, left his attendance in their uſual waiting, ſlipped out of a back-door, and went on foot to the Earl of *Mar*'s quarters, and from thence to the water-ſide, where a boat waited for them, and carried them on board with only three ſervants. The ſame boat returned, and took in the Earl of *Melfort*, the Lord *Drummond*, Lieutenant-General *Bulkley*, *Sheldon*, and others, to the number of ſeventeen in all, being perſons of the firſt rank, either in his houſhold or army, or originally privy to his deſign. 1715.

When they were all on board, the veſſel ſet ſail, ſteering to the coaſt of *Norway*, to keep clear of the *Engliſh* cruiſers. They had a freſh gale at Weſt South Weſt, and made land the next evening; and, coaſting along the *German* and *Dutch* ſhores, they arrived in five days at *Gravelin* in *France*; and the ſame ſhip returned in twelve days from her firſt ſetting out, both to give intelligence of the Pretender's ſafe landing, and to take in another party of Gentlemen, which was done about *Frazerſburgh*, after the main of their army was diſperſed in the hills.

The Earl *Mariſchal* and the Lord *Tinmouth*, ſon of the Duke of *Berwick*, were about five miles from *Montroſe*, when the Pretender imbarked; and ſo were left to ſhift for themſelves with ſeveral others. But it will appear from the ſequel, that both the Earl *Mariſchal* and General *Gordon* were in the ſecret, though they pretended to make the army believe otherwiſe, to ſecure themſelves from their reſentment, and only

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of Providence to reſcue theſe nations in due time from their oppreſſion, and the lawleſs dominion of *E.* ——

Now if we look back a little, and conſider our affairs from the beginning of this laſt attempt, I believe it will be found, that no Nation in our circumſtances, and ſo deſtitute of all kind of ſuccour from abroad, ever made ſo brave a ſtruggle for reſtoring their Prince and Country to their juſt Rights. And when it comes to be known to the world (as ſome time or other it may) what encouragements there were at home and abroad, reaſonably to make us expect and hope for ſucceſs in this great, good, and neceſſary work, it will not appear a chimerical, raſh, or ill-grounded undertaking; and it's not proving ſucceſsful as plainly appears by what has been already ſaid, and what follows, is not owing to the Chevalier, or his faithful friends on this ſide.

When the Earl of *Mar*, by the Chevalier's command, came down to *Scotland*, he found the people there more forward to take arms, than his inſtructions allowed him to conſent to; and it was not without difficulty, that we could allay their firſt heat. But the Chevalier not going into *England*, nor the Duke of *Berwick* coming to *Scotland*, as was generally expected, abated very much of that forwardneſs; ſo that, when the Government ſummoned thoſe they ſuſpected to appear, and give bail for their good behaviour, many of them ſeemed inclined to comply. The Earl of *Mar*, in purſuance of his inſtructions, found it then high time, for preventing this ſtep, to appear openly; and it was not without difficulty, that he could perſuade ſome to join with him, they apprehending great uncertainty of ſucceſs in this affair, by no account being come of the Chevalier, or the Duke of *Berwick*'s arrival, nor of money, arms, ammunition, or officers, though others were all along very forward. Upon the reſolution of taking arms, he ſent a Gentleman to give the Chevalier an account of it.

It was near a month after the Earl of *Mar* ſet up the Standard before he could procure a Commiſſion; and it is no ſmall proof of the people's zeal for their Country, that ſo great a number followed his advice, and obeyed his orders, before he could produce one. It muſt be owned, and it is the leſs to be wondered at, that, his authority being thus precarious, ſome were not ſo punctual in joining him, and others performed not ſo effectually the ſervice they were ſent upon; which had they done, not only *Scotland*, but even part of *England*, had been reduced to the Chevalier's obedience before the Government had been in a condition to make head againſt us. But, as it was, moſt of thoſe, who had promiſed, and ſome, who had not, joined the Chevalier's Standard at *Perth* about the end of *October*; at which time the Earl of *Mar* ſent two Gentlemen, to give the Chevalier an account of the condition they were in, of what they had, and what they wanted, and to haſten his own, the Duke of *Ormond*'s, and the Duke of *Berwick*'s coming into *Britain*.

About this time there was a riſing of ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen in the South of *Scotland*, who, marching over the borders, were joined by ſome in the North of *England*; and, they all together marching back into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Mar* ſent over the *Firth* of *Forth* fifteen hundred foot to join them. This occaſioned the Duke of *Argyle*'s leaving *Stirling*, and going with a part of his army to *Edinburgh*. Now had the *Scots* and *Engliſh* horſe, who were then in the South of *Scotland*, come and joined the fifteen hundred foot, as was expected; had the Highland Clans performed, as they promiſed, the ſervice, they were ſent upon in *Argyleſhire*, and marched towards *Glaſgow*, as the Earl of *Mar* marched towards *Stirling*, he had then given a good account of the Government's army, the troops from *Ireland* not having yet joined them, nor could they have joined them afterwards. But, all this failing by ſome croſs accidents, Lord *Argyle* returned with that part of his army to *Stirling*; and the Earl of *Mar* could not, with the men he then had, advance farther than *Dumblain*; and for want of proviſions there, was ſoon after obliged to return to *Perth*.

But immediately after we had got proviſions, and that the Clans and my Lord *Seaforth* had joined us, we marched again towards the enemy; and, notwithſtanding the difficulties the Earl of *Mar* had upon that occaſion with ſome of our own people, he gave the enemy battle; and, as you ſee in our printed accounts of

1715. only ſtaid behind to conduct the army to a place, where they could with ſafety diſperſe them: Which they did ſo effectually, that though the Duke of *Argyle* uſed his utmoſt endeavours to come up with them, yet he could never overtake one party of them, and did not, in all the purſuit from *Perth* to the *Highlands*, take a hundred priſoners. They kept ſo cloſe together, and marched with ſuch expedition into the mountains, that it was in vain for the Duke to purſue them any farther.

When the Pretender went away, he appointed General *Gordon* to command in chief. When that General arrived in the army at *Aberdeen* (where they were but coldly received, in compariſon of their former reception) he produced a paper of inſtructions, which he had from the Pretender, and which, he ſaid, he was commanded not to open till he came to that City. In this paper the Pretender complains chiefly of diſappointments from abroad; and mentions the neceſſity he was under, for his own preſervation, to leave the Country. He thanks them for their ſo chearfully undertaking ſo hazardous an enterprize, which, he ſays, would not have been liable to the preſent diſappointments, if their endeavours had been as well ſeconded by others, who had, by large promiſes, flattered him with their aſſiſtance. He recommends to them to conſult their own ſafety, and to keep together till they arrived at ſuch places, where they might ſeparate without becoming a prey to the enemy, and promiſes to let them hear from him ſhortly.

It was the 6th of *February* when they arrived at *Aberdeen*, the third day after the Pretender imbarked. Here they ſtaid but one night, and, in that interval procured three veſſels to carry over about two hundred Gentlemen, who deſigned to make their eſcape that way. Theſe veſſels received private orders to meet them to the North of *Aberdeen*, about *Peterhead*, *Buchan-Roſs*, and other parts, where they took in their intended cargo; but one of them, falling in with the King's Cruiſers, put in for the ſhore, where the Gentlemen landed again, and followed the Rebel army through by-ways. The other two veſſels, with about a hundred and forty Gentlemen, arrived ſafe in *France*.

On the 7th, the Rebels reſolved to leave *Aberdeen*, and began their march early in the morning, and had evacuated the place by two in the afternoon. General *Gordon*, with the foot, formed the van, and the Earl *Mariſchal*, with about a thouſand horſe, formed the rear to prevent ſurprize. They marched to the left directly Weſt through *Strath-Spey*, and *Strath-Down*, to the hills of *Badenoch*, where they quietly diſperſed the common people moſtly to their homes, but with a reſolution to be ready to take up their arms on the firſt notice they ſhould have from General *Gordon*.

About this time ſeveral Gentlemen, who had betaken themſelves to the hills about *Lochaber*, received

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of it, had not our left-wing given way, which was occaſioned by miſtake of orders, and ſcarcity of experienced officers, that being compoſed of as good men, and marched as chearfully up to the field of battle as the other, our victory had been compleat; and, as it was, the enemy, who was advanced on this ſide the river, was forced to retire back to *Stirling*.

Amongſt many good qualities, the *Highlanders* have one unlucky cuſtom, not eaſy to be reformed; which is, that generally after an action they return home. Accordingly a great many went off after the late battle of *Sheriff-Moor*; ſo that the Earl of *Mar*, not being in a condition to purſue the advantage he had by it, was forced to return to *Perth*, waiting there, not without impatience, both for the return of the *Highlanders*, and for money, arms, and ammunition, he had ſo often aſked, and ſtill expected from abroad. But the *Highlanders*, learing nothing of the Chevalier, or the Duke of *Berwick*'s coming, nor of the ſupplies, did not return to the army, as they had promiſed: And the Gentlemen of the army, who had been long from home, living ſtill at their own charges, which they could not well longer ſupport, went alſo moſtly home, ſome without leave, and others after a leave, which the Earl of *Mar* ſaw well enough would be to no purpoſe to refuſe. Some indeed never thought of quitting the army, and others returned ſoon to it; but our number was never again near ſo great, as it had been before the battle. About this time we had the news of the fatal affair at *Preſton*, which was no ſmall diſcouragement to the army; ſo that ſome, who had been caballing privately before, began then to ſpeak openly of capitulating with the enemy, and found others more eaſy to join with them.

We had, at the ſame time, another piece of bad news; which was, that *Simon Frazer* of *Beauford* (by ſome called Lord *Lovat*) had joined Lord *Sutherland*; and that they, with the help of ſome other diſaffected people thereabouts, had retaken *Inverneſs*. Upon this news, moſt of the name of *Frazer*, who had joined the Chevalier's army with *Frazerdale*, went now away, andjoined *Beauford*, or Lord *Lovat*, their Chief.

This obliged the Earl of *Mar* to ſend Lord *Seaforth* North to get his men together, who had moſtly returned home after the battle, and, in conjunction with the Chevalier's friends in that Country, to endeavour to recover *Inverneſs*.

In the mean time thoſe, who were for capitulating with the enemy, preſſed the Earl of *Mar* ſo hard to conſent to it, that to prevent ſome people's making private ſeparate treaties, which he found they were about, he was at laſt forced to comply ſo far with them, as to ſend a meſſage from the whole army to my Lord *Argyle*, to know, *if he had power to treat with them?* That Lord returned with great civility this anſwer, *That he had no ſufficient power to treat with them in a body, but that he would write to Court upon the ſubject.* To which it was replied, *That, when he ſhould let them know he had ſufficient power, they then would make their propoſitions.* By which the affair was put off at that time, and we were ſince informed, that the Lord *Argyle* never received thoſe powers; and that even his former powers, which he ſent up to be inlarged, were never returned to him.

Much about this time the Marquiſs of *Huntly* having, for ſome time, preſſed his going home with his horſe, the Earl of *Mar* conſented to it, and gave him a Commiſſion, in conjunction with my Lord *Seaforth*, for reducing of *Inverneſs*, and thoſe, who oppoſed the Chevalier's intereſt in that Country, which we then hoped would be ſoon done.

After this, ſome, though but few, were diſcovered to have private dealings with the enemy; and ſome others went home, and never returned to the army; but a good number of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and all the Heads of the Clans, ſtill remained with the army at *Perth*.

We had about this time the long wiſhed-for news of the Chevalier's being landed; and that put an end, for the preſent, to any further talking of capitulations.

I have now given you a true, and, I hope, a ſatisfactory account of the condition we have been in, ever ſince our firſt taking arms; of the bad condition, in which the Chevalier found us at his arrival; and of the reaſons, that obliged him at laſt to leave us.

5. received advice, that two *French* frigates lay at the *Orkneys* in *Pentland Frith*, till they ſhould come aboard. Upon this the Lord *Duffus*, Sir *George St. Clair*, and Lieutenant-General *Eclin*, with about one hundred and ſixty Gentlemen more on horſeback well armed and mounted, made a ſally from the hills, and, croſſing in a body the Shire of *Murray*, came down to the ſea-coaſt, near a place called *Bruch*. Here they quitted their horſes to their ſervants; and ſuch, as they had no uſe for, they killed to prevent their falling a prey to the King's forces; then went on board ſome ſmall boats to purſue their way to the *Orkneys*; but, finding theſe boats too ſmall and dangerous for that boiſterous ſeaſon of the year, they put in again at *Dumbeth*; where they hired two large barks, in which ſixty of them got ſafe to the frigate of twenty-ſix guns. The others preſſed another *Scots* veſſel to carry them to the other frigate. When they arrived off that coaſt, the country people were alarmed, and afraid, that they were come with a deſign to plunder them, and ſeemed inclinable to fall upon them. But, the *French* ſhip coming in to their aſſiſtance, the people were ſoon ſet right as to their miſtake, and aſſiſted them in getting on board the *French* ſhip. Both the ſhips ſet ſail, and landed them at *Gottenburgh*, in the King of *Sweden*'s Dominions, who was then ſetting out with an army on his expedition to *Norway*, and received their offer of entering into his ſervice very courteouſly. But the Lord *Duffus*, going to *Hamburgh*, was there ſeized at the ſuit of the *Britiſh* Envoy. 1715.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Argyle* was on his march to *Montroſe*, where he arrived on the 6th of *February*; and at *Aberdeen*, with five hundred men, on the 8th; but, the reſt of the army not being come up, the purſuit could not be continued: Only he diſpatched General *Evans* with two hundred dragoons to harraſs their rear, or endeavour to divide their horſe from the foot; and, at the ſame time, to give chace to the two hundred Gentlemen, who had ſeparated from the reſt, to take ſhipping at *Frazerſburgh*; but the General ſucceeded in neither.

While the Duke of *Argyle* was in chace of the Rebel army by land, the men of war were as induſtrious to annoy them by ſea, and hinder their eſcape. But they had not the fortune to meet

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There remains yet to anſwer one queſtion, which you may naturally aſk, as moſt people do, on this ſubject; and that is, Why the Chevalier delayed his coming ſo long?

To anſwer this queſtion to your ſatisfaction, I muſt tell you, that I have what I ſhall here relate, from perſons of unqueſtionable veracity, who were then upon the place, eye and ear witneſſes of what paſſed; and ſo you may ſafely rely upon it.

You have certainly heard, what was generally ſaid, of the Chevalier's ſiſter's inclinations towards him, whilſt ſhe was in poſſeſſion of his Throne. But, whatever there was of truth in that, what I am well aſſured of is, that he was at laſt ſo little ſatisfied with what was ſaid to him from thence, that he was fully reſolved, whilſt ſhe was yet alive, to have gone into *Scotland*; and, in order to that, had already prepared a declaration, or manifeſto, to have been there publiſhed upon his arrival. How he was hindered from putting this deſign in execution by ſome real friends, that were themſelves impoſed upon, and by other pretended friends, who were at the bottom real enemies, is a myſtery, which time may diſcover.

Upon the firſt news of his ſiſter's death, he immediately took poſt, and reſolved to endeavour, at any rate, to get into ſome part of his Dominions; but was ſtopped by thoſe, who had power to do it effectually. Being then forced back to *Lorrain*, he made and publiſhed his proteſtation, which it is likely you have ſeen, and which, I can aſſure you, was drawn intirely by himſelf.

From that time, as before, he had nothing in his thoughts, but how, and when, he could aſſert his own right, and deliver his people. He ſaw little ground to hope for ſuccour from any foreign Prince, and had only the affections of his people, and the advice of his friends on this ſide the water, to rely upon. Their intereſt ſeemed now more than ever linked to his; and they being upon the place, and conſequently beſt able to judge of the fitteſt time for his coming to them, it muſt be allowed, that it has been no ways prudent nor adviſeable in him to act contrary to their opinion: And yet it is moſt certain, that it was only by following their advice, contrary to his own judgment and inclination, that ſo much time was loſt. Some of them in *England* inſiſted upon having a certain number of regular troops to make head at firſt, without which, they ſaid, nothing was to be attempted: And though he ſent them word over and over, that, after all the endeavours he could uſe, he found it abſolutely impoſſible to obtain any troops; yet they inſiſted for ſeveral months in this opinion, and by that means the moſt favourable time, he ever had, was loſt. Other friends there pretended, that the diſpoſition of the people would ſtill grow more favourable towards him; and that there was no danger, but advantage, by delaying.

Thus, though he had ſeveral times fixed a day for his departure, he was ſtill forced to delay, that he might not act contrary to the advice of his friends; and at another time, becauſe he found, that his enemies had diſcovered his deſign, and taken infallible meaſures to intercept him. But, as ſoon as his friends began to ſee and own the miſtakes they had been in, he, without any regard to the many dangers he had to go through, ſet out from *Commercy* the 28th of *October*, and went *incognito* through a great part of *France* to the coaſt of *Bretagne*; and to avoid falling into the hands of many, who were placed upon the common road to intercept him, he was obliged to croſs the Country through bye-ways, with only three people with him. His deſign was to go to *England*, if things appeared favourable there; or, if they did not, to go to *Scotland*.

When he arrived at *St. Malo*'s, he found the Duke of *Ormond* returned from the coaſt of *England*, to which he had gone ſome days before, in hopes to have found friends ready to join him; but, that having failed, by ſome accidents of diſcoveries, he was forced to return. Upon this he reſolved to go into *Scotland*; and, it not being thought ſafe for him to go through the *Britiſh* channel, he had been adviſed to go round *Ireland*; and, by a meſſage from his friends in *Scotland*, it was propoſed to him to land at *Dunſtaffnage*, which was at that time in their poſſeſſion; but ſoon after the enemy came to be maſters of it, by the Clans not performing what they were charged with in *Argyleſhire*, as is aforementioned. His friends immediately informed him of this change by a ſecond meſſage; and this confirmed him in the reſolution he had himſelf before taken, of changing all his meaſures, and, in place of taking that long tedious way, which was indeed the ſafeſt, to take a much ſhorter, though a more dangerous way for being intercepted by the enemies ſhips. He ſent therefore immediately to prepare a ſmall ſhip privately for him at *Dunkirk*; which was accordingly done, though not without difficulty.

He was a ſecond time obliged to traverſe a great part of *France*, and that on horſeback, in the very coldeſt time of this hard and ſevere winter; expoſed to greater danger than in the *Forth*, from the greater

1715. meet with one ſhip belonging to the Rebels; though they were not remiſs in their duty (1).

With all this diligence both on ſea and land, it was ſtrange that any eſcaped: But it was much more ſo, that not one of them ever fell into the hands of their purſuers, but arrived every man ſafe in *France*; where they were hunted by the Earl of *Stair*, the *Britiſh* Ambaſſador at the *French* Court, whoſe intelligence was ſo good, that there was ſcarce one ſtep taken by the Pretender, or any of his moſt ſecret friends, without his knowledge; by which means he diſappointed the Pretender of the greateſt part of the ſupplies he expected from *France*, and watched his perſon ſo narrowly, that he kept him a conſiderable time on that ſide of the water, to the general diſappointment of the Rebels. By his repeated memorials to the Regent of *France*, he kept him in conſtant obſervance of the treaty of *Utrecht*; at leaſt any violations, that were made, were only by connivance; in which caſes the Earl was never ſilent, as appears by two memorials; the one writ while the Pretender was in *Scotland*, and the other after he had abandoned it (2). 1715

The facts contained in the firſt memorial were too well vouched, for the Regent to deny them; and it was difficult to find any evaſion to reconcile them to the engagements of the Court of *France* in the treaty of *Utrecht*; for which reaſon he did not incline to give any anſwer. But the affairs of the Pretender taking a different turn, and he being obliged to leave *Scotland*, and

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number of thoſe, who lay in wait for him on all the great roads, which obliged him to travel by unfrequented roads, where there was accommodation bad enough; and yet all this time, in that terrible cold, he never had the leaſt ailment or indiſpoſition.

It was about the middle of *December* (our ſtyle) before he could reach *Dunkirk*. He was there informed, that there was a man of war then lying in that very road; and that there were a great many more cruizing on the coaſts of *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, all of them in waiting for him: But he, without any regard to theſe dangers, went immediately on board this ſmall ſhip with only three ſervants, and, conducted by good Providence, arrived ſafe at *Peterhead*, where he landed the 22d of *December*, *O. S.*

Having, I hope, now fully ſatisfied your curioſity, I have only to add, that though it hath pleaſed God to permit, that this attempt, though never ſo juſt, had not the wiſhed for ſucceſs; we have ſtill reaped by it one great advantage, which is, that we have ſeen with our own eyes, and perſonally known our lawful Sovereign, and, to our unſpeakable ſatisfaction, diſcovered in him all the great and good qualities, that are neceſſary for making a people every way happy.

The time may, and, I hope, will yet come, when God, in his mercy, will open the eyes, and turn the hearts of thoſe Nations to a ſenſe of their duty, and not permit ſo accompliſhed a perſon to be always unfortunate. But, however it ſhould pleaſe Providence to diſpoſe of him, this I can aſſure you, and you may rely upon it, that, as his right is indefeaſible, he is firmly reſolved, by the help of Almighty God, to aſſert it, when ever he finds a fit opportunity, and never to depart from it but with his life.

(1) This appears from the following journal of their proceedings publiſhed at *Edinburgh*:

'*Feb.* 22. The Royal *Anne Galley*, *Pearl*, *Port-mahon*, *Deal-Caſtle*, and *Phenix* are returned from cruiſing. It appears from the journal of Captain *Stewart*, that he had intelligence early of the Pretender's having put to ſea from *Montroſe* in a clean tallowed *French* Snow, which rowed out of the harbour, and cloſe in a long ſhore, a good while with her ſails furled.

The *Port-Mahon* lay all that night within two leagues of the harbour's mouth; but it was ſo very dark, there was no ſeeing a ſhip at a quarter of a mile's diſtance. Captain *Stewart* and the *Pearl* were off *Aberdeen*; and when the rebels marched out of that town, having notice of their marching Northward, and that Lord *Tinmouth* and others were contriving to make their eſcape from *Peterhead* or *Frazersburgh*, he immediately diſpatched away the *Pearl* and *Phenix* to lie off theſe places, which effectually diſappointed them. He lay himſelf at *Aberdeen*, till the Duke of *Argyle* arrived there. The winds afterwards blowing hard Southerly, he diſpoſed the ſhips moſtly on the South-coaſt of the *Murray Firth*; ſent by the *Deal-Caſtle* a letter to the Earl of *Sutherland*, to appriſe him of the flight of the Rebels, and to prepare to receive them, in caſe they ſhould make a puſh at *Inverneſs*; and traced Lord *Tinmouth* and his Aſſociates as far as *Port-Sary*; where ſeeing a ſhip of war ready to intercept them, they deſpaired of ſucceſs on the coaſt, and therefore they joined the Clans on the 10th inſtant, and took to the mountains. All the ſhips kept the ſea diligently, when wind and weather would permit, and obſerved the motions of his Majeſty's army ſo carefully, that the Duke of *Argyle* did not paſs through any ſea-port town without finding ſome ſhip ready to put in execution any ſervice his Grace might have had to propoſe. On the 21ſt Sir *John Jennings* had advice from my Lord *Lovat*, that a veſſel with the Pretender's plate, and other effects on board, and a conſiderable ſum of money for his uſe, had lately put into the *Lewis*; and that many of the Chiefs of the Rebels were making off towards the *Iſle of Skie*, and other North-Weſt-Iſlands: Whereupon he immediately ordered the *Drake-Sloop* thither, with inſtructions to cruiſe about the *Orkneys*, if the wind ſhould then be contrary; and by expreſs directed Captain *Stuart* of the *Aldborough* to diſpatch the *Happy Sloop* thither, and to cruiſe himſelf with the *Lively* for fourteen days about the iſlands of *Iſlay*, *Mull*, and *Canna*, to endeavour to intercept the Rebels or any veſſels for their relief.'

(2) The firſt memorial, dated in *January* 1715-16, was in the following terms:

'The underwritten Earl of *Stair*, Miniſter of the King of *Great-Britain* at the Court of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, repreſents to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of *France*, that although his Royal Highneſs has ſeveral times aſſured the ſaid Earl, that he would faithfully and punctually obſerve the treaty of peace concluded with *Great-Britain* at *Utrecht*, and that he would not ſuffer any arms, ammunition of war, officers, or ſoldiers, to ſail from any harbour of *France*, for the ſervice of the Pretender; and that his Royal Highneſs had accordingly ſent ſtrict orders to all the harbours in the Kingdom for that purpoſe; it is nevertheleſs apparent, that things of this nature are daily imbarked, and ſhipped off in the Ports of *France*, without any oppoſition on the part of the Officers commanding there. The late Duke of *Ormond* and the Pretender have frequently gone on board ſhips at *St. Malo*, that were known to be loaden with arms and ammunition for the ſervice of the Pretender; and that with ſo little circumſpection, that they have been attended with a whole troop of horſe, with their officers of the regiment of *Nugent*, all of them in their regimental cloaths, arms, and accoutrements, without meeting with any oppoſition from the commanding Officers of the moſt Chriſtian King at *St. Malo*. The Pretender, finding it not adviſeable to venture to imbark there, ſet out through *Normandy* to imbark at *Dunkirk*; and the late Duke of *Ormond*, not finding it ſafe to land in *England*, returned to *Morlaix*. During his abſence, his Royal Highneſs did the Earl of *Stair* the honour to tell him, that he would cauſe the ſaid troopers of the regiment of *Nugent* to be puniſhed as deſerters, if they returned to *France*; and the Marſhal *d'Uxelles* aſſured him, that he would cauſe them to be hanged. They are now returned, and have joined their regiments: The Sieur *Beſach* and his company, the

715. and being again arrived in *France* ſome days after the firſt memorial was delivered, the Earl of *Stair* preſented a ſecond, to prevent his or any of his Adherents being ſheltered in that Court (1).

The Pretender, upon his return to *France* from *Scotland*, being perſuaded, that the Lord Viſcount *Bolingbroke* (who had entered into his ſervice as Secretary of State to him, and continued 1715.

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the arms and ammunition, which the late Duke of *Ormond* had with him for his enterprize, are ſtill at *Morlaix*, and have been removed only from one ſhip to another. The commanding Officer is ſo far from commanding thoſe arms to be ſtopped, that he refuſed to cauſe the ſhip to be ſearched, though he was deſired to do ſo by Captain *Campbell*, Commander of the *Engliſh* man of war lying in the harbour of *Morlaix*.

Several ſhips, with arms, ammunition, money, and officers for the ſervice of the Pretender, are ſailed, within theſe ſix weeks paſt, from *Dieppe* and *Havre de Grace*, which are actually arrived in *Scotland*. And laſtly, a ſhip ſailed the 17th of this month from *Havre de Grace*, in ſight of an Officer of the King of *Great-Britain*, who having repreſented to the Marquiſs *de Roveray*, that there were twenty Officers, both at *Havre* and *Harfleur*, ready to go on board to follow the Pretender to *Scotland*; and deſired the Marquiſs to give orders to prevent their imbarkation, the Marquiſs anſwered, That what he ſaid might poſſibly be true; but that he could not hinder the Officers from going on board, having no orders from Court ſo to do. The Earl of *Stair* has ſeveral times repreſented to his Royal Highneſs the Regent, and to the Marſhal *d'Uxelles*, that ſeveral Generals, Colonels, and other Officers, who are actually in the ſervice of *France*, deſigned to go over to *Scotland*, and join the Rebels, and even has given a liſt of them to the Marſhal; which Generals, Colonels, and Officers are ſtill at *Boulogne*, *Calais*, *Dunkirk*, and other places thereabouts, ready to imbark for *Scotland*, having been detained only by the contrary winds and great froſts; the Commanders of the ſaid places alledging, that they have no orders from Court to hinder the ſaid Officers from imbarking. The ſaid Earl of *Stair* finds himſelf obliged to repreſent theſe things to his Royal Highneſs, that he may ſee, whether his orders have been punctually executed, and conſider whether *Great-Britain* has reaſon to believe, that the treaty of *Utrecht* is faithfully executed. His Royal Highneſs is deſired, at the ſame time, to caſt an eye on the ſaid treaty. Furthermore, the ſaid Earl of *Stair* finds himſelf obliged to notify to his Royal Highneſs, that the ſaid late Duke of *Ormond*, and ſeveral other Conſpirators againſt their King and Country, ſet out ſome days ſince towards *Bourdeaux* and *Bayonne*; and that they have aſſembled on the coaſt of *Gaſcoigne* a great quantity of arms and ammunition, with ſhips to make a deſcent (as the Court of *St. Germain*'s give out) in *Ireland*, and cauſe a Rebellion there, which that Court flatters themſelves will not only be ſupported with money, but alſo with troops from *France*. The Earl of *Stair*, who has ſo ardently deſired to eſtabliſh and maintain a good ſincere friendſhip between the King his Maſter and his Royal Highneſs, finds himſelf very uneaſy to have repreſentations to make about matters of ſo great importance, which are of ſo nice a nature, and tend to alienate the affection of the two Nations from each other, and provoke them ſo far, that diſmal conſequences may enſue thereupon, if ſpeedy care is not taken to prevent them.'

(1) The ſecond memorial ran thus:

'The Earl of *Stair*, Miniſter of the King of *Great-Britain*, to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, by expreſs order from the King his Maſter, notifies to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of *France*, the flight of the Pretender, and the diſperſion of the Rebels in *Scotland*; which his Majeſty is perſuaded will be very acceptable to his Royal Highneſs, by reaſon of their near relation, and the ſtrict friendſhip, which his Majeſty has carefully cultivated with his Royal Highneſs.

The treaty of *Utrecht* being ſo lately concluded, the King thought himſelf ſure, that his Royal Highneſs, Regent, would have taken proper meaſures to hinder the Pretender from ſetting foot again in *France*. But ſince the Pretender has found means to return thither, his Majeſty perſuades himſelf, that his Royal Highneſs will oblige him, as ſoon as he has notice of it, to quit the Kingdom.

His Royal Highneſs has too much reaſon and penetration not to ſee the whole weight and juſtice of this demand. *Great-Britain* cannot be either ſafe or quiet ſo long as perſons, who have conſpired and undertaken with an armed force the ruin and ſubverſion of their Country, are received and ſupported in its neighbourhood; nor can *France* itſelf be ſure, that they ſhall not be again expoſed to bear the blame of their evil practices.

The King of *Great-Britain* and the Nation thought themſelves very ſafe on the ſide of *France* by the ſolemn treaty of *Utrecht*, which for ever excludes the Pretender from *France*, and obliges *France* to give him no ſuccours, nor ſhips, nor arms, nor ammunition, nor money, nor officers, nor ſoldiers, nor councils, directly or indirectly. Theſe Gentlemen came over, and demanded refuge and protection in *France*, where they are no ſooner arrived, but, taking advantage of the conveniency of the neighbourhood, and the facility of correſpondence by letters, they plot and contrive a black and deteſtable Treaſon againſt their Country, which, upon the faith of the treaty, was diſarmed and defenceleſs. And, notwithſtanding the treaty, they find means to get entrance for the Pretender into *France*, and by their intrigues procure him ſhips, arms, ammunition, officers, ſoldiers, and money; with which aſſiſtance the Pretender did actually invade *Britain*, where he occaſioned infinite damage to the Nation.

His Royal Highneſs may imagine, whether *Great-Britain* can be eaſy in a ſituation ſo troubleſome as they would find themſelves in, having theſe Rebels in their neighbourhood, ready to carry fire and ſword into the heart of their Country. In this ſituation *Great-Britain* would be obliged to keep always in arms, tormented with continual ſuſpicions and inquietudes; a condition much worſe than an open war. For a people, which love to live in peace with all their neighbours, and is jealous of the preſervation of their laws and liberties, his Royal Highneſs may ſee by the unanimous addreſſes of both Houſes of Parliament to the King, with what an eye the Nation beholds this boiſterous and unſettled ſituation. The King hath the happineſs of his ſubjects too much at heart, not to come with eagerneſs into their ſentiments and intereſts; and he flatters himſelf, that upon this account his Royal Highneſs will not refuſe him ſo juſt a proof of his friendſhip, and of the deſire he hath to maintain a good underſtanding between the two Nations.

For the ſame reaſons the King of *Great-Britain* hopes, that his Royal Highneſs will be pleaſed to join effectual inſtances with thoſe of his Majeſty, to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to the end the ſaid Duke may not permit the Pretender to return into his Dominions.

The Earl of *Stair* is ordered likewiſe to put his Royal Highneſs in mind of the Declaration he made, that the Officers in the ſervice of *France*, who ſhould follow the Pretender in the Invaſion of *Great-Britain*, ſhould be broke; and the King is perſuaded, that his Royal Highneſs will not ſuffer the general Officers, Colonels, and others, who have followed the Pretender in the Rebellion, ever to be employed again in the ſervice of *France*; and that if it happen, that ſome of the ſaid Officers ſhould return, or be already returned into *France*, his Royal Highneſs will puniſh them in ſuch a manner, that it may appear his Royal Highneſs and this Government do loudly diſapprove of their proceeding formally, contrary to the treaty of *Utrecht*.

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1715. nued in *France*, in order to ſend ſupplies to him into *Scotland*) had been faulty in the execution of his office, ſent the Duke of *Ormond* to him for the Seals, and removed him from all employments under him. This occaſioned a controverſy (under his direction) by letters between his Secretary Mr. *Brinſden*, and Mr. *James Murray*, afterwards made Earl of *Dunbar* by the Pretender (1).

The death of Lewis XIV.

During theſe proceedings, *Lewis* XIV. of *France* died at *Verſailles* on the 1ſt of *September*, *N. S.* 1715, in the 77th year of his age almoſt compleated (having been born on the 5th of *September*, 1638) and in the 73d year of his Reign, which began *May* 14, 1643. His death produced a ſort of Revolution in the Government of *France*. The King, by his will, had placed the Adminiſtration of the Government in a Council, of which the Duke of *Orleans* was chief. But the Duke was not, by his authority, 1715. to decree any thing, or iſſue any order in the name of the Minor, without the advice and conſent of the Council. The day after the *The Duke of Orleans made Regent.* King's death the Duke of *Orleans* (attended as the Kings of *France* uſually are on the like occaſions) came to the Parliament of *Paris*, and, after the King's will was opened and read, complained of a diſpoſition ſo contrary to the laws of the Realm, and ſo prejudicial to his right. He therefore moved, that the will ſhould not be regiſtered, but that the Parliament ſhould adjudge the Regency to him without any reſtriction. They immediately complied with his motion, and adjudged the Regency to him, with power to nominate ſuch ſubordinate Councils for preparing all affairs to be laid before him, as he ſhould think fit. *Lewis* XIV. was ſucceeded by his Great Grandſon *Lewis* XV, ſon of the Duke of

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To the end there may be no miſtake in ſo nice and important a matter, the Earl of *Stair* hath orders to demand an anſwer in writing to his memorial, which he is earneſtly deſirous may be ſuch, as may contribute towards the reſtoring of a good underſtanding between the two Nations.'

The Regent's anſwer to this memorial was as follows:

'His Royal Highneſs, being unfeignedly deſirous of advancing the glory and proſperity of the King of *Great-Britain*, heard with ſo much the greater pleaſure of the ſucceſs of his arms in *Scotland*, becauſe, at the ſame time that this event ſecures the tranquillity of the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, it will put a ſtop to the falſe reports, that have been ſpread without foundation by the enemies of the public peace, with deſign to alter the truth and friendſhip, which the King is deſirous to preſerve with the King of *Great-Britain*, and which hath always been one of the principal objects of his Royal Highneſs's views. And, as he will punctually fulfil the treaty of *Utrecht*, he hath already employed the authority he is intruſted with to make the Chevalier *de St. George* depart the Kingdom, and will continue to make uſe of the ſame authority to oppoſe his coming into it again at any time, or under any pretence whatſoever.

As for the fugitives, who are come into this Kingdom from *England*, or who may hereafter come over, though no body is ignorant what the laws of refuge are in foreign States, his Royal Highneſs being deſirous to convince the King of *Great-Britain* how far the King is from ſuffering any perſon whatſoever to abuſe the ſanctuary of his Kingdom, as to maintain in *Great-Britain* an intelligence capable of diſturbing her tranquillity, he will, in concert with the King of *Great-Britain*, enter into any meaſures, which ſhall be thought proper for preventing ſuch an abuſe, and for keeping up a good underſtanding, by removing every occaſion of diſtruſt. And, to ſhew beſides how far his Majeſty is from bearing with the raſhneſs of thoſe, who dare to act contrary to his intentions, he has cauſed the ordinances to be ſtrictly executed againſt ſuch of the Officers of his troops as went out of the Kingdom without his leave.

If it be true what the Earl of *Stair* ſays, that *England* was diſarmed upon the faith of treaties, it is no leſs certain, that no perſon whatſoever can ſay with truth, that ever his Majeſty had a mind to take that opportunity to diſturb it, nor that he hath granted any ſuccours to the Chevalier *de St. George*. It is well known on the contrary, that his Royal Highneſs hindered the ſuſpected armaments and imbarkations, when he had notice of them; and nothing better proves, that the Chevalier *de St. George* was not aſſiſted by *France*, than the condition he was in in *Scotland*, deſtitute of all things neceſſary for ſuch an enterprize.

His Majeſty ſees, with pleaſure, the marks of a perfect intelligence between the King of *Great-Britain* and his Parliament, ſince this muſt be the moſt ſolid foundation of the glory of that Prince, and the happineſs of his Subjects. His Royal Highneſs will always have a great concern therein. As he very truly deſires to keep his *Britannic* Majeſty's friendſhip, ſo he will omit nothing, that may ſhew him how glad he is of the teſtimonies he receives thereof; neither will he interpoſe, directly or indirectly, to hinder the Duke of *Lorrain* from granting, upon the inſtances of the King of *Great-Britain*, what he ſhall be pleaſed to aſk of him with relation to the Chevalier *de St. George*'s reſidence in his territories. And, as he hath a real concern for the ſatisfaction of his *Britannic* Majeſty, he will ſee, with a great deal of pleaſure, whatever may contribute towards it. But his Royal Highneſs is perſuaded at the ſame time, that the King of *Great-Britain* will not deſire him to take any meaſures with a Prince, over whom the King hath no authority, which cannot be grounded on any ſolid foundation, and which would add nothing to the rendering effectual the powerful inſtances of his *Britannic* Majeſty. An anſwer, conceived in terms ſo plain and particular, ought to evince to all mankind, what are the true intentions of the King; and leaves no manner of doubt or obſcurity in relation to the ſincere deſire his Royal Highneſs has always had carefully to preſerve the amity of the King of *Great-Britain*, and to contribute in whatever depended upon the authority he is intruſted with, to the eſtabliſhment and preſervation of a good correſpondence and perfect friendſhip between the King and that of *England*.'

(1) Theſe letters were printed at *London*, 1735, in 8*vo*. but immediately ſuppreſſed. As they contain ſeveral curious particulars, it may not be improper to inſert them at large, with the prefixed charge againſt the Lord *Bolingbroke*, ſent from *London*, *March* 16, 1716, by the Agents of the Pretender, in relation to the affairs of *Scotland*, during the Rebellion of the late Earl of *Mar*, as contained in the following letters between his Lordſhip's Secretary and Mr. *Murray*. By the aſteriſm [*] is to be underſtood the Pretender.

The articles againſt Lord *Bolingbroke* are as follow:

I. Lord *Bolingbroke* was never to be found by thoſe, who came to him about buſineſs. If by chance, or ſtratagem, they got hold of him, he affected being in a hurry, and, by putting them off till another time, ſtill avoided giving them any anſwer.

II. The Earl of *Mar*, by ſix different meſſengers, at different times, acquainted Lord *Bolingbroke*, before the * came from *Dunkirk*, of his being in diſtreſs for want of arms and ammunition, and prayed a ſpeedy relief; and though, the things demanded were in my Lord's power, there was not ſo much as one pound of powder

715. of *Burgundy* (who was Dauphin after the death of his Father) and of *Maria Adelaida* of *Savoy*. *Lewis* XV. was born the 15th of *February* 1710, and was between five and ſix years old when his Great Grandfather died. He was the third ſucceſſive Minor that came to the Crown of *France*, ſince the death of *Henry* IV.

The Duke Regent was Son of the Duke of *Orleans*, brother of *Lewis* XIV, and was then in the 41ſt year of his age. He was married, in 1692, to one of the late King's natural Daughters.

He began his Regency with an act of juſtice and prudence. The edicts of the Kings of *France* formerly had not the ſanction of laws, before they were regiſtered in the Parliament of *Paris*, whoſe undoubted right it was to examine them; and, in caſe they contained any thing againſt the laws of the Realm, to remonſtrate againſt them. But the late King had deprived the Parliament of that liberty in the year 1667, ſince which time they had been compelled to regiſter all his edicts, without being permitted to make any repreſentation againſt them. The Regent reſtored this privilege to them by an edict, which was regiſtered a few days after the King's death. At the ſame time he cauſed to be regiſtered a declaration, containing a ſcheme of Government to be obſerved in the Kingdom during the King's minority. Purſuant to which he named, beſides the Council of Regency, ſix other Councils, and, by that means, a new way of Adminiſtration in the Government was introduced. 1715.

By the death of *Lewis* XIV, the affairs between *Great-Britain* and *France* ſtood upon a very different foot than before. The Regent, by virtue of King *Philip*'s renunciation, and the death of all the Princes in *France*, ſprung from *Lewis* XIV, was become next heir to the minor King, and conſequently it was his intereſt to cultivate the friendſhip of ſuch States as were likely to ſupport his title againſt the King of *Spain*, and particularly of *England*. It was his buſineſs to ſeek all means for weakening the only Prince in the world, that had any right to diſpute his Succeſſion, or oppoſe his views. Hence his Acceſſion to the quadruple Alliance; his promoting, or at leaſt conniving at the deſtruction of the growing naval power of *Spain* in 1718; his ſtipulation in favour of *Don Carlos*, in order not only to divert *Spain* from forming deſigns againſt his power in *France*, but to weaken *Spain* by increaſing her expences. To theſe meaſures the Regent was carried, in order to divert and weaken King *Philip*, and King *George*

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powder ſent in any of the ſhips, which by his Lordſhip's direction parted from *France*.

III. The * himſelf, after his arrival, ſent General *Hamilton* to inform him, that his want of arms and ammunition was ſuch, that he ſhould be obliged to leave *Scotland*, unleſs he received a ſpeedy ſupply. Lord *Bolingbroke* amuſed Mr. *Hamilton* twelve days together, and did not introduce him to any of the *French* Miniſters, though he was referred to them for a particular account of affairs, or in all that time ſo much as communicated his letter to the Queen or any body elſe.

IV. The Count *de Caſtel Blanco* had for ſeveral months at *Havre* a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition, and did daily ask his Lordſhip's orders how to diſpoſe of them, but could never get any even to the hour the * landed in *France*.

V. The *'s friends at the *French* Court had, for ſome time paſt, no very good opinion of his Lordſhip's integrity, and a very bad one of his diſcretion.

VI. For at a time, when many Merchants in *France* would have carried privately any quantity of arms and ammunition into *Scotland*, my Lord deſired a public order of the Regent for the imbarkation; which, being a thing not to be granted, is ſaid to have been done, in order to beg a denial.

VII. The * wrote to his Lordſhip by every occaſion, after his arrival in *Scotland*; and, though there were many opportunities of writing in return, yet from the time he landed there, to the day he left it, he never received one letter from his Lordſhip.

The Lord *Bolingbroke* in his *firſt letter*, after he received theſe articles, wrote as follows:

'The * and Earl of *Mar*, and the others, who came from *Scotland*, are ſo much in want of any excuſe for their flight, that they have thought fit to have my Lord *Bolingbroke* diſcharged the *'s ſervice in the moſt abrupt and injurious manner, under the pretence, that the want of powder, which he delayed to ſend, forced them to abandon *Scotland*. His Lordſhip ſays publickly, 1. That he is able to prove, that, if they wanted powder, it was not by his fault. 2. That, according to what the * and Earl of *Mar* both ſay in their letters, they muſt have come away as they did, had they had all the powder in *France*. 3. That, if they had pleaſed to have ſtaid in *Scotland* a few days longer, they would have received near ten thouſand arms, and above thirty thouſand weight of powder, and other ſtores in proportion. And, laſtly, That the true reaſon flows from another ſource, and that he knew and ſpoke of the deſign to diſcard him, long before the want of powder was ſo much as talked of. That he is unwilling to enter into the particulars of thoſe general heads for reaſons, that may be eaſily gueſſed, ſince he is perſuaded, that he ſhall neither paſs for a *Driveller* nor *Traitor* among his friends.'

The ſecond letter was wrote by Lord *Bolingbroke*'s Secretary, in the following terms:

April 4, 1716.

I have communicated to his Lordſhip what you wrote to me; and it is by his Lordſhip's order, that I give you the following anſwer:

The charge, that you have ſent over, is ſo full of improbable lies, that his Lordſhip can hardly imagine it can have any other effect, but the ſhame and confuſion of thoſe, that brought it; which is the effect of that villainous and ungrateful treatment, that thoſe people have given, and my Lord has met with in this Country, where they are equally deſpiſed for their folly, and deteſted for their immorality, by all the people of conſideration.

My Lord has hitherto had two other reaſons for his ſilence:

The firſt is, That he cannot very fully explain the articles of his not ſending arms and ammunition into *Scotland*, without betraying the ſecret of thoſe, by whom he has been truſted, and under whoſe protection he lives.

And the ſecond is, That he cannot give the true reaſon of the ill uſage he has received, without expoſing ſome characters in ſuch a light, as will ſhock every body. However, you ſhall have as much as can be at preſent given of the ſtate of things on this ſide of the water; of the method *Engliſh* buſineſs is put into; and of the hands, that are truſted with it. After which you will pity my lord, and not blame him.

When he returned laſt Summer out of *Dauphiné*, and at the deſire of his friends engaged in this buſineſs, he found himſelf immediately expoſed to a daily ſtruggle with difficulties of three ſorts. The *firſt* ariſing from the rivetted prejudices of *one perſon*. The *ſecond*, from the impoſſibility of keeping the Queen, and the whole

1715. *George* undoubtedly went into all his ambitious views, as the only means to retrieve the fatal miſtakes of the treaty of *Utrecht*. But the fruits of all theſe proceedings were entirely loſt by the death of the Regent, and the birth of a Dauphin, and inſtead of facilitating the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Orleans*, and thereby dividing the Houſe of *Bourbon* for ever, they proved the foundation of all the expenſive diſputes, which ſubſiſted many years between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, as will appear in the courſe of the Hiſtory.

Proceedings of the Iriſh Parliament.

A Parliament having been called in *Ireland*, and the Duke of *Grafton* and the Earl of *Galway* (who had been appointed Lords Juſtices, upon the Earl of *Sunderland*'s reſignation of the poſt of Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom) being arrived at *Dublin*, the two Houſes met there on the 12th of *November*, and Mr. *Connolly* was choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. The Peers began with a bill for recognizing the King's title to the Crown, and the Commons with ſeveral bills for the further Security of his Perſon and Government; namely, a bill to attaint the Pretender, and give a reward of fifty thouſand pounds for his head; and for attainting the Duke of *Ormond*, giving the Crown his eſtate, and ten thouſand pounds reward upon his head. 1715.

Theſe bills were followed by a retroſpect upon the Councils of the late Reign; and a reſolution was unanimouſly paſſed againſt thoſe, who adviſed the Queen to prorogue the late Parliament, at a time, when a bill to attaint the Pretender was depending; and they were voted to be enemies to the Succeſſion, and favourers of the Pretender and Popery. They proceeded, in the next place, to bring in a bill to prevent tumults, rebellious and riotous aſſemblies. All theſe bills, together with the Supplies demanded, went through the Houſes in the uſual forms, without the leaſt oppoſition; and, being ratified in *England*, received the Royal aſſent. But they did not end here: For, on the 17th of *November*, the Commons, while the public accounts, which were ordered to be laid before them, were preparing, entered into an inquiry, which brought a great many of their Members on their knees. The laſt Houſe of Commons, in the Queen's time, had addreſſed her againſt Sir *Conſtantine Phipps*, at that time Lord-Chancellor of *Ireland*, and one of the Lords Juſtices of the Kingdom, deſiring her to remove him from his employments. But, as this addreſs ſeemed not to be very

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whole rabble of the Court of *St. Germain*'s, from meddling in buſineſs. And the *third*, from the cabals of *French* and *Engliſh*, men, women, and children, people for the moſt part of no name in the world, or elſe of very bad characters, who had been let into the moſt ſecret parts of buſineſs, and expected to continue ſo.

To get over the firſt of theſe difficulties, my Lord ſaw would be the work of time; but he ſaw likewiſe, as the latter was begun, the harder it would prove; and that any yielding to thoſe prejudices increaſed, and ſtrengthened them. He therefore began upon the firſt, and continued upon every occaſion to combat them with great decency, but with great firmneſs, contrary indeed to the opinion of others, who imagine it will be time enough to talk of thoſe things, when his Lordſhip thinks it will be too late.

As to the people of the Court of *St. Germain*'s, my Lord knew enough of *England*, and *France* too, to know they would be a load upon buſineſs, but no help to it. In *England* they are odious, and in *France* in contempt. The *firſt* is not very ſtrange; for you may depend upon it, that twenty-eight years experience had not made them wiſer in any degree. And the latter is ſo true, that my Lord affirms, that he never yet ſpoke of *Engliſh* buſineſs to any man of figure on this ſide the water; but, before he would give any anſwer, he exacted, that the Court of *St. Germain*'s (no one perſon excepted) ſhould not know any thing of it.

With this ſet of people, and a whole tribe of *Jeſuites*, my Lord therefore avoided all ſorts of commerce before the Duke of *Ormond* arrived. He would not ſo much as ſee any of them, before his Grace came, and thought fit to open his door to them. My Lord could no longer avoid ſeeing them; but he never would enter into any familiarity with them. He choſe three or four perſons of ſenſe and activity. Some of them were Proteſtants, and others were very indifferent *Roman* Catholicks. Thoſe he employed were as many as he wanted. During the time, that my Lord, much againſt his will, was obliged to reſide at *St. Germain*'s, he obſerved the ſame conduct, and never aſſociated with any one man there but the Duke of *Berwick*, who is not to be reckoned of the Court, though he has lodgings in the houſe, who has a hundred times more capacity and credit than all the reſt put together, in concert with whom my Lord all along acted, and by whoſe judgment he is willing to ſtand or fall.

With the other cabal of people, that I mentioned in the third place, my Lord had at firſt ſome little communication, for he was thrown into their hands; but, as ſoon as he knew of their perſons, and informed himſelf of their characters, he broke all meaſures with them, and the rather as they were made uſe of as people, who intended to do nothing, only to amuſe thoſe on this ſide the water, and by that means our friends on the other ſide: And for this uſe they were indeed very proper, ſince they are ſo inconſiderable, that they may be at any time diſavowed, without the leaſt conſequence.

But the thing, that principally ſhocked my Lord, was to find the ſource of all buſineſs, and even the heads of the beſt and deareſt friends, truſted to the keeping of a multitude of people, ſome of whom, both men and women, of the vileſt characters.

The third letter was as follows:

April 8, *N. S.* 1716.

It is eaſy to imagine all thoſe neſts of hornets flew about my Lord's ears immediately, and that with the greater ſpirit, becauſe the Duke of *Ormond* obſerved a quite contrary conduct. It was more than ſix weeks before the return out of *Scotland*, and conſequently long before the ſix articles mentioned in your letter were prepared, or any other of the pretences againſt my Lord invented, that we knew of the union of the ſeveral cabals, in order to get rid of him; and that he ſpoke to ſeveral of his acquaintance of it. He was not much concerned at it, being from the firſt reſolved to ſerve upon a *Proteſtant* and *Engliſh* bottom, or not to ſerve at all. And he confeſſes, that he did not imagine, that the Duke of *Ormond*, for whom he has always had a very particular reſpect, would ever have been drawn in, to put himſelf at the head of a party on this ſide the water, and indirectly (for he is far from deſigning any ſuch thing) to do the work of the factions abovementioned. My Lord knew indeed, and knew with great ſorrow, that his Grace gave ſo much ear to them, and ſuffered the ſtories, they had told him, to make ſo great an impreſſion upon him.

When the reſolution was taken of leaving *Scotland*, and the principal perſons returned hither, it was judged a proper time to make the utmoſt effort againſt my Lord; and perhaps there were people, who thought that the loading of him would excuſe the precipitation, wherewith *Scotland* was abandoned, if that precipitation needed any excuſe. Then were theſe articles againſt

very acceptable to the Queen, or to the counſels of that Reign, there were many counter-addreſſes procured, and ſent up from the ſeveral Counties and Towns in *Ireland*, in favour of Sir *Conſtantine*, deſiring he might not be removed, notwithſtanding the addreſs of the Commons. This the Houſe eſteemed a breach of the privilege of Parliament, and reſolved to ſhew their reſentment againſt theſe Addreſſers, eſpecially ſuch as were Members of the ſitting Parliament. Accordingly, they appointed a Committee to inquire who had ſigned theſe addreſſes, and many were cenſured or brought to acknowledgment upon that account. Then they addreſſed the Lords Juſtices for a proclamation againſt the Popiſh inhabitants of *Limerick* and *Galway*, who, preſuming upon the conſtruction they thought fit to put upon the articles of capitulation made with King *William*, for the ſurrender of thoſe places, had claimed an exemption from the penalties and proceſs upon the other laws againſt Papiſts: Upon complaint whereof to the Houſe this addreſs was founded.

Whilſt the bills were ſent to *England* to be ratified, the Parliament adjourned to the 6th of *January*. Upon their meeting on that day, the Lord Viſcount *Dillon* came into the Houſe of Peers, and, delivering his writ, took the oath of allegiance; but being aſked, Whether he could take the other oaths? He ſaid, *He would conſider of it*, and then withdrew. Upon this the Lords reſolved, That no Peer ſhould have Parliamentary privilege, till he had taken and ſubſcribed the other oaths, in the act to prevent *the further growth of Popery*. This done, the Lords entered into an aſſociation to defend the King, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, againſt the Pretender, and all his open and ſecret Abettors. The Commons likewiſe entered into the like aſſociation; and alſo reſolved, That, whatever forces the King ſhould think fit to raiſe, or what expences he ſhould think neceſſary for the defence of the Kingdom, they would inable him to make good the ſame. It was ſtrongly reported, that, the day the aſſociation was brought into the Houſe of Peers, two Lords, one of whom was the Earl of *Angleſey*, imbarked for *England*, to avoid ſigning it. The Archbiſhop of *Armagh* and the Biſhop of *Corke* refuſed alſo to ſign. Soon after the Commons reſolved, That whoever adviſed the diſbanding or breaking a great part of the army, immediately after the unſeaſonable prorogation of the late Parliament, when a bill to attaint the Pretender was under conſideration, were enemies to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and deſigned to bring in the Pretender and Popery. After which it was voted, That the Earl of *Angleſey* was one of the principal Adviſers to break the army, and prorogue the late Parliament, and was therefore an enemy to the 1715.

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gainſt my Lord formed, and falſe reaſons invented, where the true ones were not to be owned. My Lord was diſcarded with all the circumſtances of provocation poſſible: He was treated, as far as it lay in the power of thoſe, whom he ſerved, with an affectation of indignation and contempt: As ſoon as the ſtep was made, the tongue of every fellow, that could be encouraged to ſlander, was let looſe.

Having thus given a general view of the ſtate of things on this ſide the water, and the true account of the animoſities againſt my Lord, I ſhall, in very few words, refute the ſix articles you ſent me over.

That my Lord was ſeldom to be found, with any direct anſwer to their buſineſs, is true, if by people is meant any ſuch, as, in the former part of what I have writ, are deſigned; if by people is meant any one man, who could be of uſe, or was, or fit to be truſted, the accuſation is falſe. My Lord never looked upon himſelf to be under any obligation of converſing, in order to carry on buſineſs, with a ſet of people, againſt whom he would have done his utmoſt to have ſhut the door, if the buſineſs had gone proſperouſly on.

As to the ſecond it is true, that my Lord *Mar* wrote for arms, for ammunition, for money, for officers, and laſt, for a body of troops; but, till the arrival of Mr. *Hamilton*, my Lord did not underſtand there was any particular want of powder, more than of any other ſpecies. My Lord uſed his beſt endeavours to procure all that was deſired, as well as other aſſiſtances, much more conſiderable, which had never been aſked for, or thought of, and which would have been procured, had the buſineſs of *Scotland* kept alive a little longer, and had other people done their parts as my Lord did his. Moſt of the veſſels ſent to *Scotland* were barks, fit only to carry paſſengers, and not capable of tranſporting arms and ammunition. By theſe conveyances however ſeveral ſums of money were ſent, and particularly ſixty thouſand livres in gold at one time, of which ſo good care was taken, that every farthing of it was loſt: Arms and ammunition were to be got but two ways. They were either to be bought and ſent into *Scotland*, or ſuch quantities, as had been before promiſed, were to be made uſe of. That there was not one farthing to buy them with, is ſo true, that my Lord may appeal to thoſe of *St. Germain*'s, who had the management of the money, upon this head. The little caſh, that was procured, was either ſent in ſpecie to *Scotland*, or employed in anſwering the bills, that were conſtantly drawing from the coaſts. And beſides, if money had not been wanting, the neceſſary orders for buying, conveying to the coaſts, and imbarking, could not have been procured. My Lord imagines, when the Duke of *Ormond* reflects, he cannot but be ſenſible of this truth, ſince he cannot be ignorant, that a quantity of arms, he thought himſelf ſure of in *October*, were in *February* ſtill in the ſame place, and no nearer being ſent than the firſt day. As for ſending ſuch arms and ſtores, as were already provided, my Lord knew of but two parcels; one, and that a ſmall one, might have been in *Scotland* in *October* or *November*, had the directions given by my Lord been purſued. Why they were not, he will not ſay; but the fault is, that thoſe arms and ſtores are at this hour rotting in a magazine at *Morlaix*, where they have lain theſe five months. As to the other parcel of arms and ſtores, it is that, which you call Count *Caſtel Blanco*'s, and contains a very large quantity of both. This *Caſtel Blanco* is a *Spaniard*, who, by the merit of marrying Lord *Melfort*'s daughter, ſets up for a manager of *Engliſh* buſineſs. But that thoſe arms and ſtores belonged to him, is no more true, than that other report, equally current, of his having advanced one million and ſeven hundred thouſand livres for the ſervice of *England* and *Scotland*. His name had indeed been made uſe of for buying thoſe arms and ſtores in the late King of *France*'s time; and his name was to have been made uſe of again, if, at laſt, on that pretence, the *French* King would let them go; which is ſtill a doubtful point; and to cover them as arms and ſtores going for *Spain*, and intended for the *Weſt-Indies*. It is ſilly to ſay, that orders from my Lord were wanting to ſend them. Theſe orders muſt have been of another kind; and ſuch orders could not be got ſooner, or in any other manner than they were got. This is a point my Lord cannot ſpeak plain upon; and it muſt therefore reſt here, whether this *Caſtel Blanco*, one Mr. *Franc*, and ſuch other meddling people, deſerve the beſt credit. I think it proper, however, to add, that in a fortnight's time, after there was the leaſt appearance of being able to

1715. the King and Kingdom. This was followed with an addreſs for the Earl's being removed from the King's Council and Service; which was complied with. The Lords Juſtices alſo thought fit, at that juncture, to ſecure ſeveral ſuſpected perſons, as the Earl of *Antrim*, the Earl of *Weſtmeath*, the Lord *Nutterville*, the Lord *Cahir*, the Lord *Dillon*, and ſome others, and then adjourned the two Houſes to the 8th of *March*.

The Parliament meets, Jan. 9. Pr. H. C.

The Parliament met in *England* on the 9th of *January*, when the King made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech.

" THE zeal and affection to my Govern-
" ment, and the vigilant care for the ſafe-
" ty of the Nation, which you have ſhewn in
" your reſpective Counties, have not only fully
" anſwered my expectations, but give me aſſu-
" rances, that you are met together, reſolved
" to act with a ſpirit becoming a time of com-
" mon danger, and with ſuch a vigour, as will
" end in the confuſion of all thoſe, who have
" openly engaged in this Rebellion, and in the
" ſhame and reproach of ſuch, as by ſecret and
" malicious inſinuations have fomented, or, by
" an avowed indifference, encouraged this trai-
" terous enterprize.

" It is, I doubt not, a great ſatisfaction to
" you, to have obſerved, that the powers,
" you intruſted me with for the preſervation of
" the public ſafety, have been employed in the
" moſt proper and effectual manner, and made
" ſtrictly ſubſervient to thoſe purpoſes only, for
" which you intended them. And you muſt
" have had the pleaſure to reflect with me,
" that as the meaſures taken for our defence
" have been juſt and neceſſary; ſo it has pleaſed
" the Divine Providence to bleſs them with a
" ſeries of ſuitable ſucceſs. And I cannot but
" take this opportunity of doing juſtice to the
" officers and ſoldiers of the army, whoſe brave
" and faithful diſcharge of their duty has diſap-
" pointed our enemies, and contributed ſo much
" to the ſafety of the Nation.

" I did hope, that the detecting and pre-
" venting the deſigned inſurrections in ſome
" parts of the Kingdom, and the defeating in
" others thoſe, who had taken up arms againſt
" me, would have put an end to this Rebel-
" lion. But it is plain, that our enemies, ani-
" mated by ſome ſecret hopes of aſſiſtance, are
" ſtill endeavouring to ſupport this deſperate
" undertaking; and the Pretender, as I have
" reaſon to believe, is now landed in *Scotland*.

" It is however with pleaſure I can acquaint
" you, that notwithſtanding theſe inteſtine com-
" motions, *Great-Britain* has, in ſome meaſure,
" recovered its influence and reputation abroad.
" The treaty for ſettling the barrier for the
" *Netherlands* is now fully concluded between
" the

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to ſend away the ſtores and ſhips, and all other meaſures neceſſary were got ready and prepared, without any noiſe or the leaſt ſuſpicion, they might have been in *Scotland*, had they not been at laſt ſtopped by the *French* (which I ſtill ſay is a doubtful point) in five or ſix days time, when my Lord *Mar* and his company from *Scotland* landed at *Gravelin*; from whence orders, as I afterwards heard, were ſent to every place, to ſtop all manner of imbarkation.

What is ſaid, under the *ſecond* head, may ſerve as an anſwer to the *fourth*, as well as to the *ſecond* letter.

As to the *third* article, upon General *Hamilton*'s arrival, my Lord repreſented where it was proper all that he brought by letter and by word of mouth, the very next morning. It is therefore a ſimple lie, and worthy of thoſe, who ſcribble from this ſide of the water, to ſay, that General *Hamilton* was amuſed for twelve days, as if, during all that time, the purport of his meſſage had been kept a ſecret. It is to be ſuppoſed, that the Regent's and the * 's Miniſters would not have conferred with a man of his circumſtances, and who came on ſuch an errand; but if ſuppoſing they had not theſe ſcruples, of what uſe was it for them to ſee him, when he could tell them nothing more than they knew already? But, be that as it will, I can aſſure you, that my Lord, if he could have given him the opportunity, would, which, it ſeems, ſo much weight is laid upon.

The *fifth* article of that letter contains the moſt impudent falſhood, that ever was invented. Without money and the orders aboveſaid, no merchant could or would undertake to tranſport any quantity of arms or ammunition; and I am able to cite ſome very great bargains of this kind, which my Lord brought to bear, which failed at laſt, for want of money, and the neceſſary countenance. The latter part of the article is an accuſation of incredible weakneſs, my Lord is ſaid to have inſiſted on a public order, and to have declined making uſe of private methods for the imbarkation of arms and ammunition. I remember indeed, that, when preparation was made for ſending away the arms and ammunition from *Havre*, as if they were going for *Spain*, and a ſhip had been provided for that purpoſe by my Lord, which no man living ſuſpected, he had the greateſt difficulties imaginable to keep theſe wiſe people from imbarking part of the ſtores aboard a veſſel, which every body knew to belong to the Chevalier. As to the *ſixth* article, no body is better able to anſwer it than myſelf, ſince I entered all the letters, which my Lord writ; and there was no leſs than five diſpatched before Mr. *Hamilton* came into *France*, by whom my Lord received the firſt letter of buſineſs after the * 's landing there. Some of thoſe were loſt at ſea, and the three laſt packets were brought back to my Lord, the Gentlemen, that carried them, being arrived too late in *Scotland*.

This, Sir, I give you by my Lord's direction. He ordered me to add, that he employed the utmoſt diligence he was maſter of; and he believes it ſufficient to carry him through ſuch work as he has been concerned in of late, ſince it carried him formerly through his buſineſs of another-gueſs ſort. That he all along ſaw, there was nothing but mortification to be met with, and reputation to be loſt, among the people, with whom he had to do; and that it was impoſſible for a man to act upon the principles he brought out of *England* with him, and have kept his ground here. That he never had any correſpondence, directly or indirectly, with my Lord *Marlborough*, or any man belonging to the Court of *England*, ſince he engaged in this buſineſs. That he defies his worſt enemies to advance the leaſt ſhadow of proof of any thing of this kind. That, as he was incapable of betraying a truſt while it ſubſiſted, ſo it is with the utmoſt reluctancy, that, in his own juſtification, he is obliged to ſay what he has ſaid; and that he ſhall be very ſorry, if the ſame neceſſity oblige him to ſay more. That nothing ſhall ever oblige him to repair his fortune at the expence of betraying any man; but that, ſince he is treated in this violent manner, he thinks himſelf at liberty to give his friends a true ſtate of the fact, and to declare, that he never will, upon any account, or upon any ſollicitation, ſerve the ſame people again: That he has withdrawn himſelf almoſt intirely from the world; and that in his retreat he ſhall heartily pray for the proſperity of his Friends and of his Country; and, without very much fear of what is to come, comfort himſelf with the teſtimony of a good conſcience.

15-16. " the Emperor and *States-General* under my " guaranty. The King of *Spain* has agreed to " a treaty, by which that valuable branch of " our commerce will be delivered from the new " impoſitions and hardſhips, to which it was " ſubjected by the late treaties; and will ſtand " ſettled for the future, on a foot more advan- " tageous and certain, than it ever did, in the " moſt flouriſhing time of any of my Predeceſ- " ſors; and the treaty, for renewing all former " Alliances between the Crown of *Great-Bri-* " *tain* and the *States-General*, is brought very " near to its concluſion.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I muſt rely on your affection to me, and " your care and concern for the ſafety of the " Nation, to grant me ſuch Supplies, as may " inable me to reſtore, and to ſecure the peace " of the Kingdom; and I will order eſtimates " of the neceſſary expences to be laid before " you.

" Among the many unavoidable ill conſe- " quences of this Rebellion, none affects me " more ſenſibly, than that extraordinary burden, " which it has and muſt create to my faithful " ſubjects. To eaſe them as far as lies in my " power, I take this firſt opportunity of de- " claring, that I will freely give up all the " eſtates, that ſhall become forfeited to the " Crown by this Rebellion, to be applied to- " wards defraying the extraordinary expence in- 1715-16. " curred on this occaſion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It is matter of the greateſt uneaſineſs to me, " that the firſt years of my Reign, the whole " courſe of which I wiſhed to have tranſmitted " to poſterity, diſtinguiſhed by the fair and en- " dearing marks of peace and clemency, ſhould " be clouded and overcaſt with ſo unnatural a " Rebellion; which, however impotent and " unſucceſsful a due care may render it in all " other reſpects, does moſt ſenſibly afflict me, by " the calamities it has brought on many of my " faithful ſubjects, and by thoſe indiſpenſable " returns of ſeverity, which their ſufferings, and " the public ſafety, do moſt juſtly call for. Un- " der this concern my greateſt comfort is, that " I cannot reproach myſelf with having given " the leaſt provocation to that ſpirit of diſcon- " tent and calumny, that has been let looſe " againſt me, or the leaſt pretence for kindling " the flame of this Rebellion.

" Let thoſe, whoſe fatal counſels laid the " foundation of all theſe miſchiefs, and thoſe, " whoſe private diſcontents and diſappointments, " diſguiſed under falſe pretences, have betray- " ed great numbers of deluded people into their " own deſtruction, anſwer for the miſeries, in " which they have involved their fellow-ſubjects. " I queſtion not, but that, with the continuance " of

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The *fourth* letter was as follows:

Paris, April 14, 1716.

I hope you have received my laſt of the 9th inſtant, which, with my former, will give you a light into affairs here, and be an anſwer to the articles you ſent. There are abundance of things more my Lord could ſay to clear himſelf, but he rather chuſes to be ſilent.

Thoſe on this ſide, who firſt raiſed the ſtorm, begin to be ſenſible of their folly. My Lord all along has acted like a wiſe, prudent, and honeſt man: They quite the contrary. And would they have ſtaid a very few days longer in *Scotland* (which every body now agrees they might have done) they would have had ſuch aſſiſtances, which in all probability muſt have reſtored them.

There are many more circumſtances, which I am not at liberty to mention. All is referred to, *&c.*

A reply to the foregoing letter:

SIR,

I had the favour of yours, and return you thanks for the copies you incloſed of the letters writ by the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s orders, the firſt of which was without a date; the reſt of the 4th, 8th, and 18th of *April*. I was pleaſed to find the *'s conduct, in removing his Lordſhip, thoroughly cleared by the weakneſs of his defence. And when I read the ſcurrilous paſſages of his letters, as that he was turned out *in the moſt abrupt and injurious manner*, and had met with *villainous and ungrateful treatment*, I was filled with indignation to ſee the beſt of Princes inſulted by an unworthy Subject, a negligent Miniſter excuſing his faults at the expence of his Maſter's honour, and wiping off his own guilt by throwing it on the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Mar*, who have given ſuch unqueſtionable proofs of their P——y and Loyalty.

Though you deſire a particular anſwer to his Lordſhip's letters, I am perſuaded, that it is your opinion, that they do not deſerve it. However, to gratify your curioſity, I will put his management of the *'s affairs in ſo true a light, as muſt convince every loyal ſubject of the neceſſity of diſplacing him.

His Lordſhip's letters are not calculated ſo much to clear himſelf, as to weaken the *'s intereſt in *England*, and to diſcourage all correſpondence with him. He has given general anſwers to particular charges. There are evident marks of guilt and concern at the diſcovery of his actions in every line; and an innocent man, with his Lordſhip's pen, could have made a more plauſible defence. Before I enter into particulars, I cannot but obſerve, that his narrative of facts is as true as the accounts he gives of himſelf, that he was 'withdrawn from the world: That in this retreat he will heartily pray for the proſperity of his friends, and comfort himſelf with the teſtimony of a good conſcience.' The goodneſs of his conſcience will appear from the diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in him: And they, who are acquainted with his Lordſhip's character, muſt be ſurprized at his reflection on the immorality and bad characters of others.

The ſubſtance of his Lordſhip's apology for himſelf is, 'That, if they wanted arms and powder in *Scotland*, it was not his fault: That he had neither money to buy them with, nor could he obtain orders for imbarking them. That without money, and the neceſſary orders to the Officers of the ports, no private Merchant could or would undertake to ſhip off any quantity. That the * and Duke of *Mar* ſay in their letters, they muſt have left *Scotland*, had they had all the arms and powder in *France*: And that, if they had ſtaid a few days longer, they would have had ten thouſand arms, thirty thouſand weight of powder, and other ſtores in proportion.' And he modeſtly concludes, 'That he has all along acted like a prudent, honeſt, and wiſe man, and they (that is, the *, and Dukes of *Ormond* and *Mar*) quite the contrary.'

There are other particulars obſerved by his Lordſhip, which ſhall be remarked in their proper place; and you may be aſſured, that I will give you an impartial narrative of facts: That I will mention nothing but what the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Mar* will atteſt

1715-16. " of God's bleſſing, who alone is able to form " good out of evil, and with the chearful aſ- " ſiſtance of my Parliament, we ſhall, in a ſhort " time, ſee this Rebellion end, not only in re- " ſtoring the tranquillity of my Government, " but in procuring a firm and laſting Eſtabliſh- " ment of that excellent Conſtitution in Church " and State, which it was manifeſtly deſigned " to ſubvert; and that this open and flagrant " attempt, in favour of Popery, will aboliſh all " other diſtinctions among us, but of ſuch as " are zealous aſſertors of the Liberties of their " Country, the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and the " Proteſtant Religion, and of ſuch, as are en- " deavouring to ſubject the Nation to the re- " venge and tyranny of a Popiſh Pretender."

Proceedings of the Parliament.

The Lords and Commons preſented ſeverally very loyal addreſſes of thanks for this ſpeech. The Commons declared, they thought themſelves obliged, in juſtice to their injured Country, to proſecute, in the moſt vigorous and impartial manner, the Authors of thoſe deſtructive counſels, which had drawn down theſe miſeries upon the Nation. They began with expelling Mr. *Forſter*, General of the *Northumbrian* Rebels, and after a remarkable ſpeech, to ſhew the neceſſity of proceeding by way of impeachment, Mr. *Lechmere* impeached the Earl of *Derwentwater* of High-Treaſon, and undertook to make the impeachment good. Mr. *Pulteney* impeached the Lord *Widdrington*; Mr. *Boſcawen*, the Earl of *Nithiſdale*; Mr. *Hampden*, the Earl of *Wintoun*; the Lord *Finch*, the Earl of *Carnwarth*; the Earl of *Hertford*, Viſcount *Kenmure*; and Mr. *Wortley Montague*, the Lord *Nairn*. Then Mr. *Lechmere*, and the reſt, were ordered to carry up their ſeveral impeachments to the Lords; which being done, a Committee was appointed to draw up the articles againſt the ſeven impeached Lords. Mr. *Lechmere*, Chairman of the Committee, in leſs than two hours reported, that the articles were drawn up; which, being agreed to, were carried by him to the Lords the ſame day.

The next day, the impeached Lords were all brought to the bar of the Houſe of Lords, where the articles of impeachment againſt them were read, and they were ordered to put in their anſwer on the 16th, and, upon their requeſt, ſuch perſons, as they ſhould think proper to aſſiſt them in their defence, were allowed to come to them.

The impeachments being lodged, the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in, to continue the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act for ſix months longer; which was oppoſed by Mr. *Shippen*. He ſaid, 'It invaded the moſt valuable right of *Engliſhmen*; encouraged malicious informations, and gave a handle to thoſe in power to oppreſs innocent people.' Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* appealed to the whole Houſe, Whether the King or his Miniſtry had made an ill or wanton uſe of the power, with which the Parliament

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upon their honour: And if there wanted any additional proof, that the truth of every article might be confirmed by the teſtimony of ſeveral Gentlemen of probity, who were employed.

The printed letter from an Officer in the *'s army, after it had marched Northwards from *Aberdeen*, will inform you of the ſtate of affairs in *Scotland*; and the extreme want they were in of arms and ammunition. The Duke of *Mar*, by ſix ſeveral expreſſes, ſollicited Lord *Bolingbroke* for an immediate ſupply. In all his letters he aſſures him, that numbers of men would join him, if he had arms for them; and that he wanted powder for the few arms that he had. His Lordſhip's excuſe, that, till General *Hamilton*'s arrival, he did not know, that there was a particular want of powder, more than of any other ſpecies, is falſe and frivolous; for the want of powder was ſpecified in ſeveral letters; and his Lordſhip underſtands *Engliſh* too well not to know, that *powder* is principally intended by the word *ammunition*.

The want of money to provide arms is as groundleſs, as his other pretenſions. For, though the * did not abound in money, there was always a ſufficient ſum for that ſervice. Ten ſhillings is the price of a new muſket, and, ſince the reduction of the troops in *France*, ſerviceable arms were to be had at 20*d.* a piece; and his Lordſhip probably means ſuch ſecond hand arms by the 'great bargains he brought to bear, but failed for want of money.'

His Lordſhip declines anſwering the charge of his inſiſting on a public order, and neglecting private methods of imbarkation; and ſlides off into an idle ſtory of a ſhip at *Havre de Grace*, which, ſuppoſing it true, is nothing to the purpoſe. He knew, that a public order would not be granted; and he owns, that a connivance from the Officers might be depended upon; and therefore it may be preſumed, that his conduct in this caſe was to amuſe the *'s friends in *Scotland*, and cover his wilful neglect of them. His Lordſhip's firſt excuſe, though not mentioned in any of his letters, for not ſending arms, was, 'leſt the going of many ſhips through the channel ſhould draw the attention of the enemy's fleet that way, and endanger the *'s paſſage.' But, what reaſon can be given why arms and ammunition were not ſent in the ſhips, that went to *Scotland* before the *, or in thoſe, that followed him? Why ſome arms and powder were not put in every one of them, that parted from *France*? And as a dozen ſhips arrived ſafe, they might have carried a ſufficient ſupply of every thing, that was wanting. The ſmallneſs of the ſhips is a poor plea; for, if they were fit to tranſport paſſengers, they might alſo have carried ſome powder, and ſome arms; and ſuppoſing they could not, why were ſuch uſeleſs veſſels provided for that ſervice? Of what moment was it to ſend Officers to command men, who, as his Lordſhip knew, were neither furniſhed with powder nor arms? Beſides, thoſe ſhips, which arrived in *Scotland*, were each of them of ſufficient bulk to carry arms and ammunition.

His Lordſhip appeals to the Duke of *Ormond* for the truth of a paſſage in his third letter, 'That a quantity of arms, which his Grace thought himſelf ſure of in *October*, were in *February* ſtill in the ſame place, and no nearer being ſent than the firſt day; and that a ſmall parcel might have been in *Scotland* in *October* or *November*, had the direction given by his Lordſhip been purſued; and that theſe arms and ſtores are now rotting in a magazine at *Morlaix*.' Though his Lordſhip pretends an unwillingneſs to mention where the fault of not ſending this ſupply lay, he ſtrongly intimates, that the Duke of *Ormond* was blameable in it; and with what ſincerity that reflection on his Grace was made, will be beſt judged from a true account of the circumſtances of that affair.

The ſhip loaden with the arms abovementioned arrived in the river of *Morlaix* the 24th of *December*, when the Duke of *Ormond* returned from his ſecond attempt to land in *England*. *W——n*, the maſter of the veſſel, ſaid he was too deeply loaden, and too ſmall to undertake a voyage to *Scotland* in that rigorous ſeaſon of the year. It was then reſolved to put them on board of another ſhip, commanded by *H——s*, and the only veſſel, that could be procured in that port at that time. *H——s*'s ſhip was foul, and hauled aſhore to be cleaned. His crew were afraid of being taken at ſea, and on that account mutinied,

16. Parliament had thought fit to intruſt his Majeſty. And Mr. *Hungerford* himſelf owned, *The Government had uſed that power with great moderation.* After which, the bill paſſed both Houſes.

On the 16th of *January* a bill was brought in to attaint the Earl of *Mar*, *William Murray*, commonly called Marquiſs of *Tullibardine*, the Earl of *Linlithgow*, and *John Drummond*, commonly called Lord *Drummond*. The bill was prepared by Mr. *Smith*, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Lord *Coningsby*, and Mr. *Lechmere*, and had an eaſy paſſage through both houſes.

On the 21ſt of *January* the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and gave his aſſent to the *Act for continuing the Suſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus*. Then the Lord Chancellor read the following ſpeech of his Majeſty to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Had reaſon to believe, when I ſpoke laſt " to you, that the Pretender was landed in " *Scotland*. The accounts I have received ſince " put it beyond all doubt, that he is heading the " Rebellion there, and does aſſume the ſtyle and " title of King of theſe Realms. His adhe- " rents do likewiſe confidently affirm, that aſ- " ſurances are given them of ſupport from a- " broad. This Parliament hath on all occa- " ſions expreſſed ſo much duty to me, and ſo " true a regard for the religious and civil rights " of my people, that I am perſuaded, this da- " ring preſumption of our enemies will heighten 1715-16. " your juſt indignation againſt them, and be- " get ſuch further reſolutions, as, with the bleſ- " ſing of God, will inable me to defeat their " attempts.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" The moſt effectual way to put a ſpeedy " end to theſe troubles will be to make ſuch a " proviſion, as may diſcourage any foreign " power from aſſiſting the Rebels. I do there- " fore hope, that every ſincere Proteſtant, and " true *Briton*, will look upon the extraordi- " nary expence, which a preparation may re- " quire, to be the beſt huſbandry; ſince it " will, in all human probability, prevent that " deſolation, and thoſe calamities, which would " unavoidably enſue, if the Rebellion ſhould be " ſuffered to ſpread, and be ſupported by Po- " piſh forces from abroad.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The world muſt be convinced by all you " have already done, that you have nothing " but the honour and intereſt of your Coun- " try at heart: And, for my own part, I rely " intirely upon you, and doubt not but you " will take ſuch reſolutions at this juncture, as " will be moſt for the preſent ſafety, and fu- " ture eaſe of my people."

Both

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mutinied, and moſt of them deſerted; and, while another crew was providing, on the 3d of *January*, the *Adventure*, and the *Charles-Galley*, two *Engliſh* men of war, came into the river, and anchored near her. Information was given to the Captains, that *H——s*'s ſhip belonged to the *, and that *W——n* was loaden with arms for his Majeſty's ſervice. Whereupon *W——n*'s veſſel was unloaden in the night, and the arms were privately conveyed to a magazine. The two men of war remained in the river till the beginning of *March*; and it was impracticable for *H——s* to ſail while they were there, becauſe out of the river is narrow, and it was impoſſible to paſs the men of war unobſerved, even in the night. In the mean time, the utmoſt endeavours were uſed to remedy this accident: It was reſolved to carry the arms a few leagues by land, and an agreement was made for a ſhip, that lay out of the reach of the men of war to carry them to *Scotland*; but afterwards the owner's heart failed him, and he peremptorily refuſed to ſtand to the bargain. The truth of theſe particulars is atteſted by his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, and Captain *Cammock*'s journal; and, when his Lordſhip recollects himſelf, he cannot be ignorant of them.

Thus you ſee the true reaſons of the miſcarriage of the ſupply, that the accidents could neither be prevented nor remedied that this; 'parcel of arms might have been in *Scotland* in *October* or *November*, if his directions had been purſued,' though theſe directions were dated from *Paris* the 16th of *December*, and the ſhips, that were to carry them, arrived in the port the 24th: That his Lordſhip's exactneſs in other points may be judged of by this ſmall inſtance; and that a miſtake of two months in a fact of ſo late a date can hardly be excuſed as a failure in point of memory.

That ſhips might have been privately ſent without a public order, is evident, becauſe that quantity of arms, which Lord *Bolingbroke* ſays were ſtill rotting in a magazine at *Morlaix*, were ſent by the * to *Scotland* ſoon after his return to *France*, and a month before the date of his Lordſhip's letter, and two other ſhips loaden with arms and ſtores were alſo ſent from another port. And this was done at a time when the *'s affairs were deſperate, and without the privity and conſent of the *French* Court.

In ſhort, Lord *Bolingbroke*'s defence on every particular of this head is weak and ſuperficial. Several private Merchants would have ſupplied the * with arms, if they had been applied to by his Lordſhip. Neither the * nor the Duke of *Mar* affirm in their letters, that they muſt leave *Scotland*, though they had all the arms and ammunition of *France*. The eight thouſand arms, *&c.* lying at *Havre*, would have been ſent by a Gentleman, who was zealous for the *'s ſucceſs, if he had not been amuſed for ſeveral months, and diverted from applying for an order, by his Lordſhip's ſaying, that he would obtain one: And the ten thouſand arms, and the thirty thouſand weight of powder, which he ſays would have been ſent to *Scotland*, if they had ſtaid a few days longer, were not procured by his Lordſhip, but, by a Gentleman, who was ſent by the * from *Scotland*, and who, being convinced of his Lordſhip's former neglects, applied for a ſupply of arms elſewhere, and upon his own credit obtained it.

About the ſame time the Duke of *Ormond* procured fifteen thouſand arms with a proportionable quantity of ammunition without the privity or aſſiſtance of the Lord *Bolingbroke*.

Another remarkable circumſtance of his Lordſhip's conduct was, the variety of excuſes he made to thoſe Gentlemen, who came expreſs from *Scotland*, for not ſending arms and ammunition. In *September* and *October* he ſaid he was providing them. In *November*, that the ſending them through the channel would indanger the *'s paſſage: In *December* and *January*, that the Court of *France* would neither grant arms nor ammunition; and his Lordſhip had probably pretences in reſerve for every month in the year. What reaſon then had his Majeſty to expect a ſupply of arms after ſo many repeated delays? And with what injuſtice does his Lordſhip charge the * and the Duke of *Mar* with precipitation in leaving *Scotland*, when the neceſſity they were in of coming away was intirely occaſioned by his neglect?

His

1715-16. Both Houſes preſented addreſſes to his Majeſty, full of expreſſions of duty and affection, and the moſt hearty aſſurances of their aſſiſtance againſt the daring preſumption of the Pretender and his Adherents.

The impeached Lords plead guilty. The impeached Lords having on the 16th of *January* petitioned the Houſe of Peers for longer time to put in their anſwers to the articles of impeachment; they were allowed time till *Thurſday* the 19th, upon which day all of them, except the Earl of *Wintoun* (who upon his petition had till the 23d allowed him) were brought from the *Tower* to the bar of the Houſe of Peers, where they ſeverally pleaded guilty to the articles of their impeachment, but urged ſome things, by way of anſwer, to extenuate their guilt. The Earl of *Derwentwater*'s anſwer was in writing, as were alſo the anſwers of the Lord *Widdrington*, and the Earl of *Nithiſdale*. The anſwers of the Earl of *Carnwarth* and the Lord *Kenmure* were delivered *viva voce*; and the Lord *Nairn* delivered in a petition to the Lords in writing. Having thus pleaded guilty, the 9th of *February* was appointed for their receiving ſentence. Upon which day they were all brought to the bar of the Court erected in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and had ſentence, as in caſe of High-Treaſon, pronounced againſt them by the Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, Lord High-Steward on that occaſion.

They are condemned, Feb. 9.

The Commons having put the caſe of the Rebel Lords in a courſe of Juſtice, they turned their thoughts to the reſt of the *Preſton* priſoners, who were brought up to *London*; and, to prevent the formality of ſending them into *Lancaſhire* to be tried, they brought in a bill to remove thoſe difficulties, which obſtructed the courſe of juſtice; and, as this was only to be a temporary law, ſo the occaſion was ſpecified in the title, which was, *An act for the more eaſy and ſpeedy trial of ſuch perſons, as have levied war againſt his Majeſty during the preſent Rebellion.*

About the ſame time Mr. *Lechmere* moved for an addreſs to the King, for a proclamation, offering a general pardon to ſuch as were yet in arms in *Scotland*, who ſhould lay them down within a certain time, with ſuch reſtrictions and limitations, as the King ſhould think fit. This motion was ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. *Pulteney*, the Lord *Coningſby*, and ſome others, who repreſented the ill effects, which ſuch a proclamation might have both at home and abroad, in the preſent juncture of affairs. What had moſt weight, in this debate, was urged by Mr. *Walpole*, who contented himſelf with ſaying, he would not inquire into the reaſons of this motion, but he had been offered ſixty thouſand pounds for the life of one ſingle perſon. This gave Mr. *Lechmere* an occaſion to vindicate his integrity and honeſt intentions; but finding, what he had propoſed was not thought conſiſtent with the King's and the Nation's ſervice, he did not inſiſt upon it. The next day, Major *Stuart*, Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Argyle*, and Captain *Morton*, Aid de Camp to General *Cadogan*, arrived at *St. James's* with advice, that the Rebels

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His Lordſhip anſwers the articles of amuſing General *Hamilton* by calling it a ſimple lie. Whether his Lordſhip repreſented the contents of his meſſage, where it was proper, depends upon his own word. 'Tis probable, that the perſon hinted at by his Lordſhip would not have ſcrupled to have the ſtate of affairs in *Scotland* from the mouth of one, who was ſo fully inſtructed in it; and that ſuch an interview would have been attended with a good effect. And it may reaſonably be inferred, that his Lordſhip was faulty in that caſe, becauſe he did not communicate the *'s letters, which that Gentleman brought to the Queen or the Duke of *Ormond*, for ſeveral days after he had received them, though the * had commanded him to ſhew them to her Majeſty; and, before he went to *Scotland*, had given his Lordſhip poſitive inſtructions to act in concert with his Grace, and to communicate every particular of his affairs to him.

His Lordſhip endeavours to refute the charge of his being often denied to thoſe, who came about buſineſs, with a groundleſs and malicious diſtinction; for he was ſeldom to be found by thoſe who were ſent by the Duke of *Mar* to him, by Officers of diſtinction, who daily preſſed him to be diſpatched to *Scotland*, and even by perſons, whom he himſelf employed. And were it proper to mention names, particular inſtances might be given of his conduct in this point.

His Lordſhip, in what he falſely calls a general ſtate of things on this ſide the water, has repreſented the Duke of *Ormond* in the blackeſt terms, that malice could deviſe, 'as an aſſociate with a neſt of hornets; as heading a faction compoſed of perſons of the vileſt characters, who are deſpiſed for their folly, and deteſted for their immorality'; and he qualifies this heavy charge with a profeſſion of a very particular reſpect for his Grace, and by ſaying, 'that his Grace was drawn indirectly in to do the work of the faction here, and was far from deſigning any ſuch thing.'

With what view this virulent ſlander on his Grace was framed, may be eaſily conjectured, and to beat down his Grace's reputation, if it were poſſible, would be acknowledged by the——as a conſiderable ſervice to him. His Grace's character is too well known in *England* to ſtand in need of a juſtification, and what Lord *Bolingbroke* intended as a reflection on the Duke of *Ormond* will be acknowledged by every honeſt man here, that his Grace obſerved at *Paris* a quite contrary conduct from his Lordſhip. His Grace, it is true, opened his doors to every Gentleman, who came to wait upon him: He thought it was for the *'s ſervice to receive thoſe perſons with civility, who chearfully offered to imbark in it: That thoſe Gentlemen, who were ready to hazard their lives in the ſame cauſe with his Grace, ought not to be treated with contempt: And that his Lordſhip's conduct was imprudent and unſeemly.

The ſincerity of his Lordſhip's profeſſion of reſpect for the Duke of *Ormond* will appear from his behaviour to his Grace here; and you are not a ſtranger to the deſign, that was formed by his Lordſhip in *July* 1714, to ſet Lord *Churchill* at the head of the army. His Lordſhip laboured upon all occaſions to vilify his Grace, and to paint him in the fouleſt colours to his Majeſty. Upon his Grace's firſt expedition into *England*, he endeavoured to perſuade a Gentleman, who had promiſed to accompany him, not to go; he told him, that the Duke of *Ormond* would certainly be never heard of more; and that it was a raſh and fooliſh enterprize he was going upon: And by the diſcovery of his Grace's deſigns at that time, and his Lordſhip's conduct ſince, it may be preſumed he had good reaſons to be aſſured, that the attempt would miſcarry.

When the Duke had returned from his ſecond voyage to *England*, and waited on the coaſt of *France*, for another opportunity, Lord *Bolingbroke* wrote to him to come nearer *Paris*, and promiſed to meet his Grace, in order to concert meaſures with him. His Grace complied with the propoſal, named a place at twelve leagues diſtance from *Paris*, and was punctual to the time appointed. Lord *Bolingbroke* came about ten days after: Inſtead of diſcourſing about buſineſs, he drank to exceſs, and, early on the ſecond day after his coming, he returned to *Paris*, without ſaying any thing to the purpoſe. Though his Grace had great reaſon to reſent this

715-16 bels had abandoned *Perth*, and were flying before the King's forces: And therefore the publiſhing a proclamation for a general pardon, at ſuch a juncture, would have ſhewed a weakneſs in the Government, and encouraged foreign powers to ſupport the Rebels. About this time the Pretender ſent a letter to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, with orders to proclaim him King of *Great-Britain*; which was communicated to the Secretary of State.

Mr. Baron *Bury*, Mr. Juſtice *Eyre*, and Mr. Baron *Montague*, having been appointed to try the Rebels at *Liverpool*, there were a conſiderable number found guilty; and *Richard Shuttleworth* of *Preſton*, a Papiſt; *Roger Moncaſter* of *Garſtang*, an Attorney; *Thomas Cowpe*, *William Butler*, and *William Ackworth*, were executed at *Preſton*, on the 28th of *January*; and *John Rowbotham*, *James Blundel*, *James Burne*, *James Finch*, *William Whalley*, and *John Mac Gillivray*, were executed at *Wigan* on the 10th of *February*; *Richard Charley*, Eſq; *James Drummond*, *William Black*, *Donald Macdonald*, *Rorie Kennedy*, and *John Ord*, executed at *Preſton* on the 9th of *February*; and *Thomas Sydal*, *William Harris*, *Stephen Seager*, *Joſeph Porter*, and *John Finch*, executed at *Manchester* on the 11th of *February*.

About one thouſand of the Rebel priſoners at *Lancaſter*, *Liverpool*, and *Cheſter*, ſubmitted to the King's mercy, and petitioned for tranſportation.

In the mean time, great ſollicitations were made with the Court, and with the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, in behalf of the ſix condemned Lords, particularly in favour of the Earl of *Derwentwater*. On the 13th of *February*, the Counteſs of *Nithiſdale* and the Lord *Nairn*'s Lady, watching an opportunity, when the King went thro' the apartments of the Palace at *St. James's*, behind a window-curtain, without being preſented by the Lord of the Bed-chamber in waiting, as uſual, on a ſudden threw themſelves at the King's feet, begging mercy for their huſbands. This abrupt and irregular application could not but ſurprize the King, and thoſe about him, and therefore proved as ineffectual as thoſe, which had been made in a more becoming and artful manner. For, a few days after, a reſolution was taken in Council, to cauſe the ſentence paſſed on theſe Lords to be executed; for which purpoſe, the neceſſary warrants and orders were, on the 18th of *February*, ſent, both to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and to the Sheriffs of the City of *London* and *Middleſex*. The next morning, the Counteſs of *Derwentwater*, attended by her Siſter, and accompanied by the Ducheſſes of *Cleveland* and *Bolton*, and ſeveral other Ladies of the firſt rank, was by the Dukes of *Richmond* and *St. Albans* introduced into the King's Bed-chamber, where ſhe humbly implored his clemency for her unfortunate conſort; and then withdrew.

1715-16. *Sollicitations in behalf of the condemned Lords.*

Warrants for their execution.

It

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this uſage, he reſolved at that juncture to ſubmit to it, and complied with another propoſal of his Lordſhip's to come to *Paris*, becauſe that he thought, when he was in the ſame place with his Lordſhip, he could not eaſily find an opportunity to amuſe him longer. His Grace was for four days in *Paris*, before he had a viſit from his Lordſhip, tho' he ſent repeated meſſages to him. At length he came, when dinner was on the table. Before dinner was half done, he roſe up haſtily, and pretended urgent buſineſs to call him away. For ſome days after his Grace could not poſſibly find him out.

Can it be imagined, that ſuch inſolent treatment of his Grace could proceed from any perſon, who had not a quite different intereſt in view? And, as the * had a juſt ſenſe of his Lordſhip's behaviour to the Duke of *Ormond*, it was a ſtronger motive to induce his Majeſty to remove him.

I am not ſurprized at the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s appealing to the Duke of *Berwick*, and that he is willing to ſtand or fall by his judgment; for I believe that Duke will for the ſame reaſons appeal to his Lordſhip to clear himſelf. No part of his behaviour is more wonderful than his ſudden intimacy with the Duke of *Berwick*. He formerly mentioned, on all occaſions, that Duke with diſregard, and would neither allow him capacity for buſineſs, nor credit. But, ſoon after his Grace had diſobeyed his Sovereign's commands to go to *Scotland*, there became a cloſe union betwixt them, which ſtill continues, though the * had commanded his Lordſhip not to communicate any part of his buſineſs to him. And it may be obſerved, that his Lordſhip did not reſide at *St. Germain*'s, where he owns that he held the cloſet friendſhip, till two months after his Grace's refuſal to go to *Scotland*. If his Grace had a hundred times more capacity and credit than the reſt of the *'s ſubjects in *France*, he has loſt ſome part of his credit by his undutiful behaviour to his Royal Maſter; and a perſon, who refuſes to ſerve in his province at a time when his ſervice is required and wanted, may be reputed *not to be of that Court*, as his Lordſhip obſerves, though he has lodgings in it; and he ſhould have added, that he had at that time a conſiderable penſion from it. I am perſuaded, his aſſociaſm, as he calls it, with the Duke of *Berwick* owes its original to another cauſe, than the opinion he had of his Grace's capacity; and that his Grace was the channel of correſpondence betwixt his Lordſhip and a certain Lord in *England*. For though his Lordſhip denies his having any correſpondence with him, or any of the Court of *England*, there are good reaſons to ſuſpect him of it, as the old intimacy between them; his Lordſhip's leaving *England* upon his advice; and the viſit he paid him the evening before he left *London*; not to mention the ſneaking letter he ſent from *France* to Mr. *Stanhope*: And even his Lordſhip qualifies the denial of ſuch a correſpondence, by ſaying, that he held none ſince he engaged in the *'s buſineſs, which, by the way, was three months after his coming to *France*.

This correſpondence with a perſon, who had upon ſeveral occaſions betrayed the Church of *England*, and ſacrificed his own Country to a foreign Prince, is a pregnant inſtance of his Lordſhip's reſolution to ſerve the * upon a Proteſtant and *Engliſh* bottom, or not to ſerve at all.

His Lordſhip's aſſertion, 'That the ſource of all buſineſs, and the heads of his beſt friends, were truſted to the keeping of a multitude of people, ſome of whom were of the vileſt characters,' is as groundleſs as his other calumnies; and it may be eaſily gueſſed, for what end this ſlander was invented. And, though his Lordſhip is pleaſed to charge others with want of ſecrecy, I can aſſure you, that in the midſt of his wine he diſcovered ſecrets of the greateſt importance to ſome of the very perſons, whom he now repreſents in ſuch black characters, and that they expreſſed a concern at his imprudence.

I am confident, his Lordſhip's deſign to cut off all correſpondence with the *'s ſubjects at home will fail of ſucceſs, when they conſider they are in leſs danger by his removal; and that his Majeſty has been pleaſed to chuſe one in his ſtead, who is not only incapable of betraying a truſt, while it ſubſiſts, as his Lordſhip ſpeaks, but an inviolable obſerver of a truſt for ever, and of tried prudence and ſecrecy in buſineſs.

His Lordſhip, to heighten the charge on the conduct of buſineſs, is here pleaſed to add, that it paſſes through the hands of a whole tribe of Jeſuits, though his Lordſhip cannot be ignorant, that no perſon of

1715-16. It is very probable, the Counteſs of *Derwentwater* received no favourable anſwer from the Court; for, on the 21ſt of *February*, ſhe, with the Ladies of ſome other condemned Lords, and about twenty more of diſtinction, went to the Lobby of the Houſe of Peers to beg their interceſſion: But the Lords did not then think fit to take notice of their petitions. The next morning, the Ladies in diſtreſs, with a ſtill greater attendance than the day before, went to *Weſtminſter*, to petition both Houſes of Parliament, where, by this time, not a few Members appeared inclined to mercy. Sir *Richard Steele*, among the reſt, offered one of theſe petitions, and made a long ſpeech upon that ſubject, and was ſeconded by Mr. *Farrar*, Mr. *Shippen*, and ſome others; but they were oppoſed by all the leading Members of the prevailing ſide; and, though a great many, who uſed to vote with them, went over on this occaſion to the other party, yet a motion being made, and the queſtion put for adjourning to the 1ſt of *March*, the adjournment was carried by a majority of ſeven voices only, a hundred and ſixty-two, to a hundred and fifty-five.

The Ladies of the condemned Lords were more ſucceſsful with the Peers than with the Commons. The Duke of *Richmond*, a near relation of the Earl of *Derwentwater*, and one of the Lords allowed by the Houſe to aſſiſt him, could not refuſe preſenting a petition in his favour, but at the ſame time he declared, he would be againſt it. The Earl of *Derby*, out of pity for the numerous family of the Lord *Nairn*, charged himſelf with a petition in his behalf, as other Lords did, upon the like or different motives, with other petitions. The queſtion being put, Whether theſe petitions ſhould be received and read, there aroſe a great debate, in which the Lord *Townſhend*, and ſeveral other Lords, who upon all occaſions had given undoubted proofs of their affection to the preſent ſettlement, were againſt it, but, the Earl of *Nottingham*, to their great ſurprize, declaring for it, his weight, as Preſident of the Council, drew to that ſide ſeveral Peers; ſo the queſtion was carried by nine or ten voices. After the reading of the petitions, the next queſtion was, Whether, in the caſe of an impeachment, the King has any power to reprieve? This being alſo carried in the affirmative, the ſame was followed by a motion for an addreſs, to deſire the King to grant a reprieve to the Lords, who lay under ſentence of death. This was oppoſed by the firmeſt friends of the Government; and even an Earl, who was for the two firſt queſtions, repreſented, 'That though clemency was one of the brighteſt virtues, that adorn and ſupport a Crown; yet, in his opinion, the ſame ſhould be exerciſed with diſcretion, and only on proper objects:' And therefore moved, 'That they ſhould addreſs the King to reprieve ſuch of the condemned Lords, as ſhould deſerve his mercy.' This, after ſome further debate, was carried. Then the Earl of *Stamford* moved, That the time of reſpite be left to the King, which was readily agreed to; and then the addreſs with theſe amendments was carried by a majority of five voices only. To this addreſs the King anſwered, 'That on this, and all other occaſions, he would do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of his Crown, and the ſafety of his people.'

This wiſe and reſolute anſwer proved, the next day,

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that order was ever employed in buſineſs by the * or Queen.

His Lordſhip's inſinuation, of the rivetted prejudices of *one perſon*, has the ſame malicious view; and tho' his Lordſhip affirms, that, from the very firſt, he began to combat them with great decency and firmneſs, it is certain he never ſpoke of his having ſuch a deſign, till a few days before the * had fixed his departure for *Britain*. And it muſt be owned, that ſeveral worthy men, who were then at *Paris*, thought it an improper time to preſs his Majeſty on that head, when he had not leiſure to inquire into it; and that his Lordſhip was not the moſt proper perſon to talk of religion.

Another ſlander, in his Lordſhip's letter, is, that he was 'diſcarded with all the circumſtances of provocation poſſible, and treated, as far as it lay in the power of thoſe, whom he ſerved, with an affectation of indignation and contempt'; for the * diſmiſſed him by a letter, without aſſigning any reaſon for his pleaſure, and commanded the Duke of *Ormond* to carry it. His Majeſty, in tenderneſs to his Lordſhip, of whom he had once a good opinion, took this courſe; and, beſides, he thought it below his Royal dignity to deſcend to a paper quarrel. And, if his Lordſhip had followed the advice that was given him, to lie quiet, his Character would not ſo ſoon have been expoſed in its true light.

I could give many other inſtances of his Lordſhip's neglect of the *'s buſineſs, at a time, when he had the ſole management of it; and to name but one: His Lordſhip for ten days neglected to ſend the Duke of *Mar*'s new commiſſion, to command in *Scotland*, which was ſo much wanted, upon an idle pretence of ſending a long and trifling memorial in cyphers along with it.

His Lordſhip's behaviour to his equals and inferiors was not only contemptuous, but his treatment of the Queen was inſolent to the laſt degree. To inſult Majeſty in diſtreſs aggravates the crime; and ſuch a carriage to the *'s mother is an evident proof of want of duty to his Majeſty. And though his Lordſhip's friends induſtriouſly reported, that he was diſmiſſed by her advice, and from thence drew malicious inferences; you may be aſſured, that it was the concurrent opinion of the Duke of *Ormond*, and all the *'s friends here, to diſplace him, and that her Majeſty had no hand in his removal.

What the principles were, his Lordſhip ſays, he brought out of *England* with him, I don't know, having never had reaſon to believe, that he gave himſelf much trouble about any. That they were not the principles of the Tories, is plain, from his repreſentation of that party to the *French* Court, and his expreſſions in converſation, that he never expected much good from the Tories.

His Lordſhip concludes, that there are abundance of things more, that he could ſay to clear himſelf, but, by the ſcurrility of his letters, it may be preſumed, that he has omitted nothing, in tenderneſs to any perſon whatſoever. And the reaſon given for ſaying no more, that thoſe on this ſide, who firſt began the ſtorm, are ſenſible of their folly, is notoriouſly falſe. And, as his actions are better underſtood here, than they poſſibly can be on your ſide, every honeſt man in *France* is thoroughly convinced of his ill conduct, and that his Majeſty had juſt and wiſe reaſons to remove him.

This letter has ſwelled to a greater bulk than at firſt I imagined. Upon the whole, I leave you to judge, whether the *, the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Mar*, or his Lordſhip, deſerve moſt to be credited. And, if ſo many inſtances of his miſmanagements have been proved, it may be concluded, they would appear more clearly, if it were ſeaſonable to ſpeak plain upon ſeveral of them. I have avoided all unneceſſary bitterneſs of expreſſion againſt his Lordſhip, and the leaſt imputation of flattery to others; and I ſhall embrace every opportunity of ſhewing you, that I am, &c.

day, a great mortification to the Jacobite and diſcontented party, who were extremely elated by the inclinations to mercy, which appeared in both Houſes, and which occaſioned various reflections. Whatever was the ſecret ſpring of theſe inclinations, it is certain, that in the Council, held the ſame evening, about the execution of the condemned Lords, there was a conteſt between the Earl of *Nottingham* and ſome other Lords, and, four days after, that Earl was removed from being Preſident of the Council, the Earl of *Aylesford*, his brother, from being Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; the Lord *Finch*, ſon to the Earl of *Nottingham*, from being one of the Lords of the Treaſury; and the Lord *Guernſey*, his couſin-german, from being Maſter of the *Jewel-Office*. This change, however ſudden, was not unforeſeen by men of obſervation; and it juſtified Mr. *Hampden*'s reflection, not many days before, in the Houſe of Commons, on a *Motley* or *mixed Miniſtry*.

Purſuant to the reſolution taken in the Council, orders were diſpatched for executing the next morning the Earls of *Derwentwater* and *Nithiſdale*, and the Lord *Kenmure*; and for reſpiting the Lord *Widdrington*, the Earl of *Carnwarth*, and the Lord *Nairn*, till the 7th of *March*. The ſame evening the Earl of *Nithiſdale* found means to make his eſcape out of the *Tower* in a woman's apparel brought to him by his mother, who came to viſit with ſome relations. The next morning, early, three detachments of the guards took their ſeveral poſts round the ſcaffold erected on *Tower-hill*, and, a little before ten o'clock, the Earl of *Derwentwater* and the Lord *Kenmure* were carried in a hackney coach from the *Tower* to the *Tranſport-Office*, on *Tower-hill*, where there was a room hung with black for their reception. From this room to the ſcaffold (which was alſo covered with black) there was a paſſage or gallery railed in. The Earl of *Derwentwater* was firſt led to the ſcaffold; and it was obſerved, that in his going thither, and aſcending the ſteps, his countenance turned very pale. But, after he had been a few minutes on the ſcaffold, his behaviour appeared reſolute and ſedate. Having ſpent ſome time in prayer with a book, he then addreſſed himſelf to the Sheriff, and deſired, he might have liberty to read a paper, which he had drawn up. This requeſt being readily granted, he went to the rails of the ſcaffold and read what follows:

'Being in a few minutes to appear before the Tribunal of God, where, though moſt unworthy, I hope to find mercy, which I have not found from men now in power; I have endeavoured to make my peace with his Divine Majeſty, by moſt humbly begging pardon for all the ſins of my life: And I doubt not of a merciful forgiveneſs, through the merits of the paſſion and death of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; for which end I earneſtly deſire the prayers of all good Chriſtians.

After this, I am to aſk pardon of thoſe, whom I might have ſcandalized by pleading guilty at my trial. Such, as were permitted to come to me, told me, that, having been undeniably in arms, pleading guilty was but the conſequence of having ſubmitted to mercy; and many arguments were uſed to prove there was nothing of moment in ſo doing; among others, the univerſal practice of ſigning leaſes, whereof the preambles run in the name of the perſon in poſſeſſion. 1715-16.

But I am ſenſible, that in this I have made bold with my loyalty, having never any other but King *James* the Third for my rightful and lawful Sovereign. Him I had an inclination to ſerve from my infancy, and was moved thereto by a natural love I had to his perſon, knowing him to be capable of making his people happy. And, though he had been of a different Religion from mine, I ſhould have done for him all that lay in my power, as my anceſtors have done for his predeceſſors, being thereunto bound by the laws of God and Man.

Wherefore, if in this affair I have acted raſhly, it ought not to affect the innocent. I intended to wrong no body, but to ſerve my King and Country, and that without ſelf-intereſt; hoping, by the example I gave, to have induced others to their duty; and God, who ſees the ſecrets of my heart, knows I ſpeak truth. Some means have been propoſed to me for ſaving my life, which I looked upon as inconſiſtent with honour and conſcience, and therefore I rejected them; for, with God's aſſiſtance, I ſhall prefer any death to the doing a baſe unworthy action. I only wiſh now, that the laying down my life might contribute to the ſervice of my King and Country, and the reeſtabliſhment of the antient and fundamental Conſtitution of theſe Kingdoms; without which no laſting peace or true happineſs can attend them. Then I ſhould indeed part with my life, even with pleaſure. As it is, I can only pray, that theſe bleſſings may be beſtowed upon my dear Country; and, ſince I can do no more, I beſeech God to accept of my life as a ſmall ſacrifice towards it.

I die a *Roman* Catholic. I am in perfect charity with all the world, I thank God for it, even with thoſe of the preſent Government, who are moſt inſtrumental in my death. I freely forgive ſuch, as ungenerouſly reported falſe things of me; and I hope to be forgiven the treſpaſſes of my youth by the Father of infinite mercy, into whoſe hands I commend my ſoul.

JA. DERWENTWATER.

P. S. If that Prince, who now governs, had given me my life, I ſhould have thought myſelf obliged never more to have taken up arms againſt him.'

After the reading of this paper, he delivered it to the Sheriff, telling him, he might do with it as he pleaſed; and that he had given a copy of it to a friend. Then turning to the block, he viewed it cloſe, and finding in it a rough place, that might offend his neck, he bid the executioner chip it off; which uncommon preſence of mind was obſerved with admiration by ſome of the ſtanders-by. Having prepared himſelf for the blow, by taking off his coat and waiſtcoat, he lay down to fit his head to the block, telling the executioner, that the ſign he ſhould give him was, *Lord Jeſus receive my ſoul*; and, at the third time repeating it, he was to do his office; which he did at one blow. It was reported, that, the night before, the Earl of *Derwentwater* having ſent for Mr. *Stephen Roome*, an undertaker for funerals, and diſcourſing with him about his own, he told him, he would

1715-16. would have a ſilver plate on his coffin, with an inſcription importing, *That he died a ſacrifice for his lawful Sovereign*; but, Mr. *Roome* ſcrupling to comply with it, he was diſmiſſed. This was the reaſon, no hearſe was provided for him at his execution; ſo that his head was only taken up by one of his ſervants, and put into a clean handkerchief; and, the body being wrapped up in black cloth, they were both together carried to the *Tower*.

Soon after the Lord *Kenmure* was brought to the ſcaffold in the ſame manner, accompanied by his Son, and ſome Friends, and attended by two Clergymen of the Church of *England*. He ſhewed a great reſolution and firmneſs in his gate and countenance, though ſome nice obſervers pretended, he was not ſo calm within as the Earl of *Derwentwater*; which however was contradicted by others. On the ſcaffold he ſaid, 'He had ſo little thoughts of dying ſo ſoon, that he had not provided a black ſuit, that he might have died with the more decency; for which he was ſorry.' He appeared very ſincere and fervent in his devotions, often lifting up his hands and eyes to Heaven; but (contrary to what he had declared in his ſpeech to the Lords, when judgment was pronounced againſt him) he prayed for the Pretender, and repented of his having pleaded guilty. He embraced and kiſſed very tenderly moſt of the Officers and Gentlemen on the ſcaffold, and his Son and ſome Friends twice or thrice. He had with him Mr. *Roome* the Undertaker, who was to take care of his body, and a Surgeon, who was to direct the Executioner in doing his office. Having prepared for the block, he laid down his head upon it, then raiſed it up again, ſtill continuing on his knees; gave the executioner ſome money, and told him, 'He ſhould give him no ſign, but, when he laid his head down again, he might do his work as he ſaw good.' Then, having lifted up his hands in prayer a ſhort time longer, he laid down his head again, which the executioner ſevered at two blows. Both the head and body were put into a coffin, and conveyed in a hearſe to Mr. *Roome*'s, where they were imbalmed, in order to be ſent into *Scotland*, and buried with his anceſtors. He neither made nor delivered any ſpeech on the ſcaffold; but in a letter found after his execution, which he wrote to the Pretender (by the ſtile of King *James*) he declared, 'That he died for his faithful ſervices to his Majeſty, but hoped, the cauſe he died for would thrive and flouriſh after his death: And, as he ſuffered for his ſervice, he hoped his Majeſty would provide for his wife and children, who were in a miſerable condition.'

On the 15th of *March*, the Earl of *Wintoun*'s trial came on. The long trouble and delay, he had occaſioned by petitions for time, upon the pretence of witneſſes being on the road, made people expect, that a conſiderable defence could be made, and ſomething very particular be urged in his behalf, either by himſelf, or his Council; but they were ſurprized, that when he came to the bar, and the Managers of the Houſe of Commons had ſpent two days in opening and inforcing the articles againſt him, and replying to what was offered, his anſwers were ſo weak, and what his Council had to offer ſo trifling, that it could not be called a defence. This gave ſome confirmation to what had been ſuggeſted, that he was a lunatic. However, the Lords were unanimous in their judgment, and brought him in guilty; and, on the 19th of *March*, judgment was pronounced againſt him by the Lord-Chancellor *Cowper*, Lord High-Steward upon this occaſion.

Two days after, the King having received advice of the Pretender's flight out of *Scotland*, came to the Houſe of Peers, and, giving his aſſent to the land-tax bill (1), made the following ſpeech to both Houſes of Parliament:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Take this opportunity of acquainting you, "that my forces have obliged the Pretender "to fly out of *Scotland*; and he is ſince, as I "am informed, landed near *Gravelin*. But I "do not yet know, whether any Country in "amity

(1) This bill had like to have raiſed a diſpute between the two Houſes. The bill being ſent up to the Lords, a debate aroſe about the preamble, which was in theſe words:

'We, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, having hearts filled with the utmoſt gratitude to your Majeſty, for the tender concern your Majeſty, on all occaſions, expreſſes for the extraordinary burden this *unnatural Rebellion* makes neceſſary to be laid on your faithful ſubjects, for preſerving all their rights, both ſacred and civil, and for your Majeſty's unprecedented goodneſs in giving up all ſuch eſtates for the uſe of the public, and in eaſe of your people, as ſhall be forfeited by this Rebellion; the raiſing, or the dreadful conſequences whereof, cannot, by the moſt implacable of your Majeſty's enemies, be aſcribed to any one act done by your Majeſty, ſince your happy acceſſion to the Throne of your Anceſtors; but even they will allow, that all the miſchiefs, burdens, and calamities, which ſhall attend this *horrid Rebellion*, are, in truth, *owing to the fatal and pernicious counſels given by ſome perſons in the late male-adminiſtration*, when, under pretence of procuring peace abroad, the preſent deſtructive war was projected to be brought into the very bowels of our native country at home, when a Popiſh army (part of which God has delivered into your Majeſty's hands) was deſigned to be the Protector of our holy Religion; and when, under the falſe colour of paying the public debts, though their true deſign was to deliver us bound into the power of the antient Enemy of theſe Kingdoms, the ſame evil Counſellors contrived unneceſſarily to incumber, for a long time to come (if not for ever) ſeveral conſiderable branches of the public revenues, which, for many years paſt, had, from time to time, been uſeful to ſupport the public expence; which revenues, in former adminiſtrations, had been carefully reſerved for that purpoſe, to the end that, upon the concluſion of an happy peace, which we had then reaſon to expect, the ſubjects of theſe Realms might have reaped the fruit of a ſucceſsful, though expenſive war. And we, your Majeſty's ſaid dutiful and loyal ſubjects, being fully reſolved to maintain your Majeſty's juſt title to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms, againſt all enemies and traytors whatſoever; and, for that end, purpoſed to raiſe ſuch ſupplies, as are neceſſary to defray your Majeſty's public expences, have chearfully and unanimouſly given and granted, *&c.*"

Some Lords being offended at this preamble, the Earl of *Abingdon* moved, that all the Peers in town might be ſummoned to attend the Committee; which was done accordingly. And, on *Monday*, the 13th of *February*, the Lord *Harcourt* went early to the Houſe of Peers,

1716. " amity with us will give him protection, " after having ſo publicly invaded our King- " dom.

" The dangers, to which the Nation was ex- " poſed, made me determine, that neither the " extraordinary rigour of the ſeaſon, nor any " fallacious propoſal of the Rebels, ſhould di- " vert me from uſing all poſſible endeavours " towards putting a ſpeedy and effectual end to " this unnatural Rebellion.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I muſt return you my thanks for the great " progreſs you have made in the ſupplies. The " neceſſary diſpoſitions are made for raiſing *ad-* " *ditional forces.* But, as I ſhall always conſult " the eaſe of my people, as far as is conſiſtent " with their own ſecurity, I ſhall not make uſe " of the confidence you have placed in me, un- " leſs the reſtleſs malice of our enemies ſhould " make it neceſſary to go on with thoſe " levies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I promiſe myſelf, from the zeal and wiſ- " dom of this Parliament, that the future hap- " pineſs and tranquillity of my ſubjects will be " eſtabliſhed on a ſolid foundation; and ſuch " meaſures taken, as may deprive our enemies " at home of the power (ſince that alone can " deprive them of the inclination) again to at- " tempt the diſturbance of my Government. " This therefore is what I think myſelf oblig- " ed to recommend to you, as a deliberation of " the utmoſt importance to the future ſafety, " eaſe, and proſperity of my people."

From this time to the 9th of *April* (when the Septennial Bill was brought in) little elſe was done in both Houſes, but preſenting ſuch bills as were ready, and voting for the ſupplies.

Trial of the Rebels.

In the mean time the new Commiſſion for trying the Rebels met on the 7th of *April*, the firſt time, at the Court of *Common-Pleas*. Sir *William Thompſon*, Recorder of *London*, opened the meeting with a ſpeech to the Grand-Jury, by whom bills of High-Treaſon were found againſt *Forſter*, Brigadier *Mackintoſh*, and twenty others (1).

Forſter *makes his eſcape.*

It was on the 14th of *April* that *Forſter* was to have been arraigned, in order to his trial; but on the 10th, about midnight, he made his eſcape out of *Newgate*, with one ſervant only. The manner was variouſly reported; and Mr. *Pitts*, the Keeper of *Newgate*, was not only committed for it, but was afterwards indicted for High-Treaſon, as being wilfully guilty of the eſcape, and tried for his life at the *Old-Baily*; but was acquitted. There was a Proclamation immediately publiſhed, offering a reward of a thouſand pounds for the apprehending Mr. *Forſter*; but it appeared afterwards, that his eſcape was ſo concerted, and all other things prepared, that, as ſoon as he got out, he had horſes ready; and riding directly to *Lee*, near *Rochford* in *Eſſex*, he had a veſſel laid ready alſo, which took him on board, and landed him in *France* the very ſame day.

However the Court ſat according to its adjournment, and, Mr. *Forſter* being abſent, Mr. *Mackintoſh*, Mr. *Gaſcoigne*, Mr. *Charles Wogan*, and others, being arraigned, pleaded *not guilty*; and, upon a motion for time, had three weeks given them to prepare for their trials; which favour, on the contrary, ſome of them made uſe of to prepare, not for their trial, but for their eſcape.

Peers, and cauſed the Journals to be diligently ſearched for precedents of *amendments*, made by the Lords, to a money-bill. But few, if any, could be found, at leaſt, ſince the Reſtoration; from which time the Commons would never ſuffer the Lords to make any amendments to bills of that nature. When the Grand Committee was ſat, ſeveral Lords ſpoke againſt the preamble in queſtion, as 'pre-judging matters of a very high and important nature, the cognizance and determination of which properly belongs to the Houſe of Peers.'

Upon this, an expedient was propoſed and admitted, that they ſhould enter in their Journal a kind of *Proteſt* or Declaration, importing in ſubſtance 'That though the preamble was derogatory to the privileges and authority of the Houſe of Lords; yet their Lordſhips, in conſideration of the King's and Nation's ſervice, in this dangerous conjuncture, were willing to give their concurrence to the bill, without amendments; but that the ſame ſhould not be drawn into a precedent for the time to come, or conſtrued to be any diminution of the judicial authority of the Houſe of Lords.' The Lord Chancellor *Cowper* and the Lord *Harcourt* were appointed by the Lords to draw up the *Proteſt* or *Declaration*, which was entered in the Journal of the Houſe.

(1) *William Shaftoe*, *Robert Talbot*, *Henry Oxburgh*, *Charles Wogan*, *Thomas Hall*, *Richard Gaſcoigne*, *Alex. Menzies*, *James Menzies*, *John Robertſon*, *James Hugh*, —— *Miller*, *John Farquarſon*, —— *Farquarſon*, *Thomas Douglaſs*, —— *Farquarſon*, —— *Douglaſs*, —— *Scrimſhaw*, —— *Maclean*, —— *Skeen*, —— *Innis*.

THE HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK XXVII.

SECT. II.

From the End of the Rebellion to the Death of King GEORGE I.

30. GEORGE I.

1716. *The Septennial Bill proposed.*

THE Rebellion was now quelled, and the ſtrength of the Rebels intirely broken, but the diſaffection of the people was not yet conquered. The Parliament was the Bulwark of the Crown; the vigour and unanimity of the King's friends, and their ſuperiority in the Houſe, was the ſupport of the whole affair. But the Parliament being only of three years continuance, by virtue of the *Triennial Act*, made in the 6th year of King *William* and Queen *Mary*; all the hopes of the other party ſeemed to be centered in this, that the Parliament would expire; and that they ſhould be able, by their influence in the Country, to chuſe a majority of their party at the next election; or raiſe ſuch a ferment at that juncture, as might make way for a ſucceſsful Invaſion from abroad. This the perſons at the helm obſerved with concern; and therefore reſolved to baffle theſe hopes of the enemies of the Government, by prolonging the ſitting of the preſent Parliament. It is ſaid, it was firſt propoſed only to ſuſpend the *Triennial Act* for once, whereby this Parliament would have continued three years beyond the time, at which it was to determine; but it was afterwards thought, that a bill for inlarging the time of continuance of Parliaments, in general, would be leſs liable to exceptions. The next thing, that fell under conſideration was, Whether this intended bill ſhould be ſet on foot in the Houſe of Lords, or in the Houſe of Commons? The firſt was judged the properer for ſeveral reaſons, particularly becauſe, the Court being more ſure of a majority in the Houſe of Commons, if the bill miſcarried with the Lords, the odium of this project, which carried a face of unpopularity, would not reſt upon the Commons, nor conſequently prejudice future elections.

On the 9th of *April* in the evening, about thirty of the Court Lords met at the Duke of *Devonſhire*'s, where, after a ſhort conſultation, it was reſolved to begin this matter the very next day; and the Duke was deſired to move it in the Houſe of Lords. The Duke readily complied with the deſire of the aſſembly; and the next day, after the Lords had diſpatched ſome private buſineſs, the Duke ſtood up, and made a ſpeech on the inconveniencies, that attend Triennial Elections, ſuggeſting, in particular, that they keep up party diviſions, raiſe and foment feuds and animoſities in private families; occaſion ruinous expences; and give occaſion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign Princes. It therefore became the wiſdom of that auguſt aſſembly to apply a proper remedy to an evil, which might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, eſpecially in the preſent temper of the Nation. For, though the Rebellion was happily ſuppreſſed, yet the ſpirit of it remained unconquered, and ſeemed only to wait for an opportunity to ſhew itſelf with more violence. That, the election of a new Parliament, which by the Triennial Act was not far off, being the moſt favourable juncture, which the diſaffected could expect, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to deprive them of it. For which purpoſe he had a bill to offer to the Houſe *for inlarging the continuance of Parliaments*; and moved, that the ſame might be read. The Duke was ſeconded by the Earl of *Rockingham*, and ſupported by the Duke of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Townſhend*, and ſome other Lords. The Duke of *Bucks*, the Lord *Trevor*, the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Aylesford*, and ſome Peers of the other ſide did not directly oppoſe the bill, but made long ſpeeches for putting off the reading of it to another time. They owned, that every Member has the privilege of offering what bill he thinks fit, without asking leave; but that the Houſe is likewiſe at liberty either to read it or not, as they think convenient; and that the matter now offered was of ſo high a nature, that it well deſerved to be maturely weighed and conſidered before the ſame was debated: And therefore they moved, that the bill might lie for ſome days on the table. To this it was anſwered, that nothing was farther from their thoughts,

1716. thoughts, than to carry any thing by ſurprize: That, by the ordinary method of proceeding, every Member has ſufficient time to weigh, and conſider what is offered in the Houſe; and, to ſhew how fairly they intended to act in this affair, the Earl of *Dorſet* propoſed, that, after the bill had been once read, the ſecond reading of it ſhould be put off for ſome days, and that all the Members in and about *London* ſhould be ſummoned to attend. The Lords of the oppoſite ſide, finding themſelves the weaker, acquieſced in this motion; ſo the bill was read the firſt time, and ordered to be read a ſecond on the 14th of *April*.

On that day the bill was read (1), and a warm debate aroſe which laſted five hours (2). The Earl of *Abingdon* ſaid, 'The bill was of a very extraordinary nature, ſince it repealed the *Triennial Act*, which the people juſtly looked upon as the great ſecurity of their rights and liberties; and that, if it paſſed this Houſe, and the Commons agreed to it, the ſame would be a breach of that truſt, which was repoſed in them by thoſe whom they repreſented.' The latter part of this aſſertion was denied by the Duke of *Kingſton*, who urged, 'That the buſineſs of the Legiſlature was to rectify old laws, as well as to make new ones.' Earl *Powlet* declared, 'That he would be for it, if he thought it for the King's ſervice and intereſt; but that, before they went any farther in ſo important an affair, ſome method ſhould be taken to know the ſentiments of the Nation.' He urged, 'That this bill ſhewed a diſtruſt of the affection of the people, without which no King can be either ſafe or eaſy. That King *William* gained the hearts of his ſubjects by the *Triennial Act*; and it would look ſomewhat ſtrange, that the moſt popular of our laws ſhould be repealed a year after the Proteſtant Succeſſion took place.' After this he endeavoured to anſwer what was ſuggeſted in ſupport of this bill, viz. 1. *That frequent elections occaſion ruinous expences.* 2. *That they raiſe a great ferment, and foment animoſities, which are of the moſt dangerous conſequence after the late Rebellion:* And 3. *That they obſtruct foreign Alliances.* He ſaid, 'That no ſtreſs ought to be laid on the firſt of thoſe objections, expences at elections being voluntary. That, as to the ſecond, he was ſorry there had been a Rebellion; but that the ſame was now happily ſuppreſſed. And, as to the third ſuggeſtion, the ſame was of no weight with him, it being his opinion, that in a matter, which ſo nearly concerns our Conſtitution, we ought to have regard to ourſelves only, and not to foreigners.' Upon all which conſiderations he was againſt the committing of this bill. The Earl of *Dorſet* ſaid, among other things, 'That they, who now ſpoke againſt this bill, would be for it, if it ſerved their turn. That the *Triennial Act* was a new law, and an alteration of the old Conſtitution. That, the experience of twenty years having ſhewn a thouſand inconveniencies, attending that law, they ought to apply a remedy to it. That it ſowed the ſeeds of corruption, it being notorious, that great numbers of perſons had no other livelihood, than by being employed in bribing Corporations. That we had lately a ſad experience of it; ſince by thoſe methods a Parliament was procured by the laſt Miniſtry, which gave ſanction to moſt of their ill meaſures, and went near to give up the trade and liberties of the Nation. That Triennial Elections deſtroy all family intereſt, and ſubject our excellent Conſtitution to the caprice of the multitude: And, in ſhort, that by Triennial Elections we have but a Triennial Government, which is little better than no Government at all.' For which reaſons he was for the bill. The Lord *Trevor* ſaid, That the queſtion now lying before them was, Whether the law, they were going to make, tended to the good or prejudice of the Conſtitution? That, for his own part, he looked upon the *Triennial Act* as an eſſential part of our antient Conſtitution, according to which frequent and even annual Parliaments were to be held. That he might eaſily prove, that long Parliaments were always pernicious. That, when King *Charles* I. had given up his prerogative of diſſolving Parliaments in 1640, he gave himſelf up into the hands of traytors, and had nothing but deſtruction to expect from them. That, after the Reſtoration, King *Charles* II, that very good Prince, found the inconvenience of a long Parliament. That, as ſoon as the Nation had opportunity, by the Revolution, to aſſert their juſt rights and liberties, the Triennial Act was inſiſted on, and gained, at laſt, with a great deal of oppoſition. That there were very good and cogent reaſons for making a law, to ſupport the Conſtitution, and prevent incroachments, either of Parliaments on the Crown, or of the Crown on the rights and liberties of the People; and to correct abuſes and exorbitances committed through the ambition and avarice of Miniſters. That he would not be thought to reflect on the preſent Adminiſtration; but that, in his opinion, frequent elections were a neceſſary right of the ſubject to remedy abuſes. That, for his own part, he had ever been againſt the bill for limiting the number of Officers in the Houſe of Commons: But, if the *Triennial Act* were repealed,

1716.

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(1) The ſubſtance of the bill was: It has been found by experience, that Triennial Parliaments are grievous, by occaſioning much greater and continued expence, and more violent and laſting heats, than were ever known before. And, if the Triennial act continue, it may probably, at the preſent juncture, when a reſtleſs and Popiſh faction are deſigning to renew the Rebellion at home, and an Invaſion from abroad, be deſtructive to the peace and the ſecurity of the Government. Be it therefore enacted, that this preſent and all future Parliaments ſhall have continuance for (ſeven) years, to be accounted from the date of the writ of ſummons, unleſs this or any ſuch Parliament ſhall be ſooner diſſolved by his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors.

(2) The Speakers were as follows:

Againſt the Bill.	*For the Bill.*
1. Earl of *Abingdon*,	2. Duke of *Kingſton*,
3. Earl *Powlet*,	4. Earl of *Dorſet*,
5. Lord *Trevor*,	6. Lord *Carteret*,
7. Duke of *Bucks*,	8. Earl of *Cholmondley*,
9. Lord *Foley*,	10. Duke of *Newcaſtle*,
11. Earl of *Aylesford*,	12. Earl of *Ilay*,
13. Earl of *Peterborough*,	15. } Duke of *Argyle*,
14. } Earl of *Nottingham*,	17. }
16. }	19. Lord *Parker*,
18. Duke of *Shrewsbury*,	20. Lord *Cowper*.
21. Earl of *Aylesford*,	
22. Biſhop of *London*,	
23. Earl of *Angleſey*,	
24. Duke of *Bucks*.	

1716. ed, he thought that bill would become very neceſſary, becauſe the long ſitting of Parliaments would give the Crown both an opportunity and temptation to multiply the number of Officers. That ſome reflections had been caſt on the laſt Parliament: But that, in his opinion, that Parliament was choſen by the ſame method, as the preſent was, by great expences. That, he owned this to be a great abuſe; but that laws might be made to rectify the ſame. That if this bill paſſed, How could any Member of the other Houſe expect to preſerve his intereſt with thoſe, who choſe him, when this bill would certainly be interpreted both a violation of their right, and a breach of the truſt repoſed in him? That, if this Houſe of Commons continued themſelves beyond the time, for which they were choſen, they were no more the Repreſentatives of the people, but a Houſe of their own making. That he was ſorry there were diſcontents in the Country; but he apprehended this bill would rather increaſe than abate them. He owned, that the majority of this Houſe of Commons were honeſt Gentlemen, who had the intereſt of their King and Country at heart; but that, in his opinion, thoſe, who went before them, did not come ſhort of them in point of duty and affection to his Majeſty; for it was they, who eſtabliſhed the King on his Throne, and ſettled his revenue with all chearfulneſs imaginable. That what he had ſuggeſted flowed from the dread of the ill conſequences of this bill, which might riſe to ſuch an height, as to render the Crown uneaſy to his Majeſty. That he owed ſo much to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, that, if he could believe this bill to be of any ſervice to the King and Royal Family, he would be intirely for it; but, as he was of a contrary opinion, he would not have a bill, obtained in the beſt of reigns, repealed in the firſt year of this Proteſtant reign. And therefore he was againſt the committing of this bill.' Lord *Carteret*, who ſpoke next, owned, 'That frequent Parliaments are a great ſecurity of the people's rights and liberties; but he obſerved, that this bill was not againſt frequent Seſſions, but only againſt frequent elections. That they ought maturely to weigh and conſider what was ſuggeſted in the preamble of the bill, That there is a *reſtleſs Popiſh faction deſigning and endeavouring to renew the Rebellion within this Kingdom.* That of all Rebellions this laſt was the moſt monſtrous and unnatural; for all other Rebellions were carried on under pretences of liberty, whereas this laſt was a Rebellion for ſlavery. That, as to our Allies abroad, though he could not ſay, that they expected this bill, yet it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they would be glad to ſee it paſs into a law; for having found by ſad experience, that great changes may be made in the beſt concerted meaſures by different Parliaments, inflamed by different Miniſtries; ſo, if they had not ſome ſecurity for the treaties his Majeſty was now entering into with them, a ſtrong tide might come upon a new election, that might overturn all. That, in ſhort, this bill would fix the King, and the preſent happy Settlement, on a laſting foundation; and therefore he was for committing it.' The Earl of *Cholmondley* ſaid, 'That he made no doubt, but the Legiſlature is veſted with a ſupreme power to rectify any inconveniences, to which any former law may, by experience, be found to be ſubject; and, this being the caſe of the *Triennial Act*, they ought to remedy the ſame. That what had been ſuggeſted, in relation to the Long Parliament in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, was, in his opinion, rather an argument for, than againſt the bill. For though, in that Parliament, the King had many penſioners, who, at firſt, complimented him with money, yet at laſt, when the intereſt of the Nation came to be at ſtake, they voted for a war with *France*, and proſecuted the Popiſh Plot with the utmoſt vigour. That they had lately ſeen what a corrupt Parliament may do, and by what means ſuch a Parliament may be got: And every one might gueſs how there came to be a debt of 500,000 *l.* upon the Civil Liſt. That he did not mention this to irritate againſt perſons, but againſt things. That, in his opinion, there was no better remedy againſt corruptions, than the ſuppreſſing frequent elections. That he thought this bill the more neceſſary, becauſe our Allies will thereby have a ſecurity, that they ſhall not again be left in the lurch. And, in conſideration of the great benefits, that will accrue from it both at home and abroad, he was for the committing it.' Lord *Foley* made a long ſpeech, in which he enlarged upon the excellency of our Conſtitution; took notice, that the different branches of the Legiſlature are a check to one another, which prevents exorbitancies in the Adminiſtration, and dragooning as in *Turkey* and other arbitrary Governments; ſuggeſted, that the penſionary Parliament made King *Charles* II. uneaſy, by making him neglect the affections of his people; and concluded, that he was afraid, that the repealing the *Triennial Act* would have the ſame effect, and therefore he was againſt it.' 1716.

The Duke of *Newcaſtle* anſwered, 'That it had already been rightly obſerved, that, though the Long Parliament of King *Charles* II. at firſt complimented that Prince, yet they afterwards vigorouſly oppoſed deſtructive meaſures, and inſiſted on a war with *France*.' Then paſſing over leſs material objections, which had been fully refuted, he urged, 'That the preſent happy ſettlement could not be maintained without taking away the ſeeds of corruption. That no cauſe ever miſcarried in ſo many inſtances as that of the Rebels. But, notwithſtanding their defeat at *Preſton* and *Dumblain*, their being driven out of *Scotland*, with their King at their head, their diſappointments in other parts, and the execution of ſome of their leaders, the Jacobites were as inſolent as ever. That this was the reaſon, why in a late debate in this Houſe he was againſt lenity; and the rather, becauſe no Prince was ever more naturally inclined to mercy than his preſent Majeſty; for no Prince ever had ſo many Rebels in his power, and never were ſo few puniſhed. My Lords (added he) you muſt now ſtrengthen yourſelves, and diſarm your enemies. It is not to be doubted, but the late unnatural and monſtrous Rebellion was raiſed and fomented by large contributions of a reſtleſs Popiſh faction. The ſame means, my Lords, will be uſed to renew the Rebellion as ſoon as a proper opportunity offers. Their emiſſaries are buſy every where to keep up the ſpirits of the people for a year longer, and then they hope to retrieve all by a new election.' He concluded, 'That, though the Allies would not make any thing done among us an article of their treaties, yet, having the ſad experience

716. of being left in the lurch, they would certainly enter into Alliances with us with more confidence, if they ſaw, that our Government was not precarious.' Upon all which conſiderations he was for the bill (1).

The Duke of *Shrewſbury* ſpoke with ſome vehemence againſt the bill; after which the Lord *Parker* inlarged on the Conſtitution with relation to the calling, election, ſitting, and prolonging of Parliaments. He was followed by the Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, who reſumed all the arguments, that had been urged in the debate; rectified ſome miſtakes as to the conſtitution and nature of Parliaments; gave a clear account of the Triennial Act; and vindicated the King and the Government, as to the preſent diſaffection; appealing to the Lords and Commons, 'Whether the leaſt provocation had been given either by his Majeſty or his Miniſters?' and aſſerting, That, if there was any fault on the King's ſide, it was too much lenity; and that the only crime, that could be charged on his Miniſters, was their zeal and vigilance in defence of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government.' The Earl of *Aylesford* having anſwered part of the Lord Chancellor's ſpeech, the Biſhop of *London* ſaid, 'That, when he came to the Houſe, he knew not which way he ſhould give his vote, and hoped to be guided and determined by what ſhould be offered on both ſides on this important ſubject: But, now he owned he was confounded between dangers and inconveniencies on one ſide, and deſtruction on the other.' 1716.

The Earl of *Angleſey* ſpoke next with great vehemence againſt the bill; and the Duke of *Bucks* cloſed the debate with ſaying, 'That he was for the bill, but did not think it ſeaſonable.' At laſt, the queſtion, *That the bill be committed*, being put, it was carried in the affirmative by ninety-ſix voices againſt ſixty-one. But thirty Lords entered their proteſts (2).

Two days after the Lords conſidered of the bill in a Grand Committee, and moſt of the former Speakers exerted themſelves for and againſt it; and among others, a Biſhop, who had not yet ſpoken on the ſubject, ſaid, 'If this bill was

(1) After ſeveral other ſpeeches, the Earl of *Nottingham*, having made large profeſſions of duty and affection to the King, ſaid, 'That he was againſt this bill, becauſe he thought it would rather exaſperate than quiet the minds of the people. That this bill ſhewed a diſtruſt of the affections of the people, and an intention of governing by fear, which, in his opinion, was the worſt way of government: And God forbid his Majeſty ſhould have no proſpect of gaining the affections of his ſubjects. That the King came in univerſally beloved, and was received with general acclamations of his people; and, though he could not aſſign the true cauſe of the preſent diſſatisfaction, yet ſome ſecret cauſe muſt have been given for it. That he hoped, the people's diſſatisfaction was not ſo great, as it was repreſented. That the Rebellion was intirely ſuppreſſed, and at end; but, if any ferment yet remained, this bill was a very improper way to allay it, and would rather rivet the diſaffected in their prejudices againſt the Government, than make them change their opinion. That one of the arguments urged for this bill was, that it would encourage foreign Princes and States to enter into Alliances with us; but that, in his opinion, the ſame might have a contrary effect. For foreign Potentates may be deterred from entering into meaſures with us, when they ſhall be informed, by the preamble to this bill, that the popiſh faction is ſo dangerous, as that it may be deſtructive to the peace and ſecurity of the Government; and may apprehend, from this bill, that the Government is ſo weak as to want ſo extraordinary a proviſion for its ſafety; which ſeems to imply, that the Gentlemen of *Great-Britain* are not to be truſted in a new election, and that the good affections of the people are reſtrained to ſo ſmall a number as that, of which the preſent Houſe of Commons conſiſts. That frequent and new Parliaments are required by the fundamental Conſtitution of the Kingdom; and that the practice thereof, for many ages, was ſufficient evidence of this Conſtitution. That this bill was ſo far from preventing corruptions, that it would rather increaſe them; for, the longer a Parliament is to laſt, the more valuable to be purchaſed is a ſtation in it, and the greater alſo is the danger of corrupting the Members of it. That, whatever reaſons there may be to continue this Parliament for ſeven years, they will be at leaſt as ſtrong, and, by the conduct of the Miniſtry, may be made much ſtronger, before the end of ſeven years, continuing it ſtill longer, and even to perpetuate it, which would be an abſolute ſubverſion of the third eſtate of the Realm.' But, what was moſt taken notice of in his Lordſhip's ſpeech, was, that, in order to ſhew the danger of inlarging the prerogative, he inſtanced, in the precedent of King *Henry* VIII, who perſuaded his Parliament to give him the Abbey-lands, under pretence, that they would bear part of his expences, which would eaſe them of taxes, and improve trade; but that, ſoon after, he demanded and obtained great ſubſidies, and made uſe of thoſe lands to inſlave the Nation.

The Duke of *Argyle* anſwer'd, among other particulars: 'That he could by no means agree with the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, either as to the beginning or end of the Rebellion. That it had been ſuggeſted, that the King had been received with the general acclamations of his people; but that it was certain, and has ſince manifeſtly appeared, that, whatever arts were uſed by the laſt Miniſtry to blind and deceive the people, deſigns had been laid to bring in the Pretender, long before the King's happy acceſſion to the Throne. That the diſappoinment of theſe deſigns was intirely owing to Providence; for, had the Conſpirators thrown off the maſk ſooner, and improved the ferment their Emiſſaries had raiſed in the Nation, at the election of the laſt Parliament, it is very probable their wicked ſchemes for ſetting aſide the Proteſtant Succeſſion had taken place. That he wondered, therefore, that his Lordſhip could be puzzled to find out the cauſe of the preſent diſaffection, for, it was plain, it proceeded from the falſe repreſentations of things and perſons, that were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad, both before and ſince his Majeſty's coming in.' As to what has been ſuggeſted, that the Rebellion was at an end, his Grace obſerved, 'That the Rebels had only ſhifted their head-quarters from *Perth* to *Paris*, or *St. Germains*; but that their Emiſſaries were ſtill as buſy and inſolent as ever in *Great-Britain*, and wanted only an opportunity to renew the Rebellion, and favour an Invaſion.' As to what had been hinted, that this bill would rivet the Jacobites in their opinion, he ſaid, 'That was no good argument againſt it, for he had ſeen ſome perſons ſhift ſides often, and change their opinions, and be very zealous for both.'

The Earl of *Nottingham*, taking this reflection to himſelf, readily owned, 'That he was for ſome time againſt the *abjuration oath*, becauſe he thought a multiplicity of oaths would make the Nation unſafe; but, that, as ſoon as he was convinced of the neceſſity of that oath, he readily came into it.' The Duke of *Argyle* thereupon ſtood up, and ſaid, 'He was ſorry that noble Lord took to himſelf what he ſaid only in general.'

(2) They were as follows:

Diſſentient.

I. Becauſe, we conceive, that frequent and new Parliaments are required by the fundamental Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and the practice thereof, for many

1716. was never ſo good in itſelf, it was very unſeaſonable, becauſe very unpopular, and altogether uſeleſs, the Rebellion being cruſhed, and the power of *France* not to be feared; now eſpecially, when we have a glorious ſtanding Army, and a Miniſtry, that knows how effectually to engage the affections of the people.' The Committee having gone through the bill, and ordered the blank before the word *years* to be filled up with the word *ſeven*, the queſtion was put, Whether the ſame ſhould be reported, in order to be ingroſſed, which was carried by ſeventy-four voices againſt thirty-nine. The next day the bill was reported, and, without dividing, ordered to be ingroſſed, and being read the third time, on the 18th of *April*, there aroſe a debate, which laſted about two hours. Near half of that time was taken up by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who, among other things, by a long hiſtorical detail, endeavoured to ſhew, 'That counſels for inlarging the prerogative were ever pernicious to the Crown.' To this the Duke of *Argyle* anſwered, 'That, not being ſo well read in hiſtory as that noble Lord, he would confine himſelf to what had happened in his own time; and, that he had obſerved, that his Lordſhip had, by turns, oppoſed all that had been offered, either for the intereſt of the Crown, or the liberties of the people; of which he might eaſily produce ſeveral inſtances:' adding, 'That he did not much wonder there appeared already ſo much joy among a certain party over a repenting ſinner.' Upon the whole matter, the queſtion being put, *Whether this bill ſhall paſs?* It was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſixty-nine voices againſt thirty-ſix; but twenty-four Lords proteſted againſt it.' 1716.

The bill being ſent down to the Commons, the Lord *Guernſey* moved for the rejecting of it without being read; but his motion was declared to be unprecedented, and the bill read. Upon the queſtion for a ſecond reading, there aroſe a debate, of which the moſt remarkable paſſage was, that an eminent Member, who had been in the moſt difficult times very zealous for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, ſpoke againſt the bill, and, among other things, ſuggeſted, 'That it was an impoſition of the Lords to take upon them to direct the Commons in a matter, which ſolely concerns them, as Guardians of the rights and liberties of the people.' He was ſeconded by Mr. *Shippen*; but the Lord *Coningſby* made them ſenſible, 'That their objection was altogether groundleſs, and the reſult of their want, either of experience or memory; for, had they, like himſelf, been Members of that Houſe, when the Triennial Act was made, they might have remembered, that the ſame was begun in the Houſe of Lords, who, as part of the Legiſlature, are no leſs Guardians of the liberties of the ſubject, than the Commons themſelves.' Mr. *Fuller* and the Lord *Guernſey* ſpoke afterwards

Debates of the Commons in the Parliament. September. Bill. Pr. H. C.

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many ages (which manifeſtly appears by our Records) is a ſufficient evidence and proof of this Conſtitution.

II. Becauſe it is agreed, that the Houſe of Commons muſt be choſen by the people; and, when ſo choſen, they are truly the repreſentatives of the people, which they cannot be ſo properly ſaid to be, when continued for a longer time than that, for which they were choſen; for, after that time, they are choſen by the Parliament, and not by the people, who are thereby deprived of the only remedy, which they have againſt thoſe, who either do not underſtand, or, through corruption, do wilfully betray the truſt repoſed in them; which remedy is to chuſe better men in their places.

III. Becauſe the reaſons given for this bill, we conceive, were not ſufficient to induce us to paſs it, in ſubverſion of ſo eſſential a part of our Conſtitution.

1. For, as to the argument, that this will encourage the Princes and States of *Europe* to enter into Alliances with us, we have not heard any one Miniſter aſſert, that any one Prince or State has aſked, or ſo much as inſinuated, that they wiſhed ſuch an alteration.

Nor is it reaſonable to imagine it; for it cannot be expected, that any Prince or State can rely upon a people to defend their liberties and intereſts, who ſhall be thought to have given up ſo great a part of their own; nor can it be prudent for them to wiſh ſuch an experiment, after the experience, that *Europe* has had of the great things this Nation has done for them, under the Conſtitution, which is to be altered by this bill.

But, on the other hand, they may be deterred from entering into meaſures with us, when they ſhall be informed by the preamble of this bill, that the Popiſh faction is ſo dangerous, as that it may be deſtructive to the peace and ſecurity of the Government; and may apprehend, from this bill, that the Government is ſo weak, as to want ſo extraordinary a proviſion for its ſafety; which ſeems to imply, that the Gentlemen of *Britain* are not to be truſted or relied upon; and that the good affections of the people are reſtrained to ſo ſmall a number, as that, of which the preſent Houſe of Commons conſiſts.

2. We conceive, this bill is ſo far from preventing expences and corruptions, that it will rather increaſe them, for, the longer a Parliament is to laſt, the more valuable to be purchaſed is a ſtation in it, and the greater alſo is the danger of corrupting the Members of it. For, if there ſhould be a Miniſtry, who ſhall want a Parliament to ſcreen them from the juſt reſentment of the people, or from a diſcovery of their ill practices to the King, who cannot otherwiſe, or ſo truly, be informed of them, as by a free Parliament, it is ſo much the intereſt of ſuch a Miniſtry to influence the elections (which, by their authority, and the diſpoſal of the public money, they, of all others, have the beſt means of doing) that, it is to be feared, they will be tempted, and not fail to make uſe of them; and, even when the Members are choſen, they have a greater opportunity of inducing very many to comply with them, than they could have, if not only the Seſſions of Parliament, but the Parliament itſelf, were reduced to the antient and primitive conſtitution and practice of frequent and new Parliaments; for, as a good Miniſtry will neither practiſe, nor need corruption, ſo it cannot be any Lord's intent to provide for the ſecurity of a bad one.

3. We conceive, that whatever reaſons may induce the Lords to paſs this bill, to continue this Parliament for ſeven years, will be, at leaſt, as ſtrong, and may, by the conduct of the Miniſtry, be made much ſtronger before the end of ſeven years, for continuing it yet ſtill longer, and even to perpetuate it; which would be an expreſs and abſolute ſubverſion of the third Eſtate of the Realm.

Somerſet,	*Bathurſt*,
Shrewsbury,	*Weſton*,
Angleſey,	*Bruce*,
Osborne,	*Willoughby de Broke*,
Compton,	*Poulet*,
Briſtol,	*Dartmouth*,
Tadcaſter,	*Bingley*,
Nottingham,	*Strafford*,
Abingdon,	*Trevor*,
Guilford,	*Montjoy*,
Aylesford,	*Northampton*,
Foley,	*Fr. Roffenſ.*
Aſhburnham,	*P. Hereford*,
Manſel,	*Fr. Ceſtrienſ.*
Gower,	*Salisbury*.

(1) Mr.

wards againſt the blll, but were anſwered by the Lord *Stanhope*, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Cheſterfield*; and a ſecond reading was at laſt carried by a majority of two hundred and ſeventy-ſix againſt a hundred and fifty-ſix.

In the mean time, ſeveral petitions were prepared in the Country, and preſented to the Houſe againſt the bill, particularly from *Haſtings*, *Marlborough*, *Cambridge*, and *Abingdon*. Then, the bill being read the ſecond time, there aroſe a warm debate, which laſted from about two in the afternoon till near eleven at night.

Mr. *Lyddal* ſpoke a long ſpeech for the bill, and, among other things, ſaid, 'If this opportunity be loſt, you may poſſibly never have another, or at leaſt ſo good a one, not only to conquer, but even to eradicate that ſpirit of Jacobitiſm, which has dwelt long amongſt us, and has more than once brought this Nation to the very brink of ruin and deſtruction. Since, therefore, with much danger and difficulty we have at laſt ſecured our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, when all was at ſtake from the treachery of the late Miniſtry, and the unaccountable proceedings of the laſt Triennial Parliament, why ſhould you run the riſk of having a new one ſo ſoon, firſt choſen by *French* money, and then voting by *French* directions, ſince the King and his Parliament exert their united power for the good of the Public, and to retrieve the honour of the Nation? Why ſhould they not continue longer together, that they may finiſh what they have ſo unanimouſly and happily begun? Upon the whole, the Electors and People of all the Boroughs in *England* having, for ſeveral years paſſed, been bribed and preached into the Pretender's intereſt, and a diſlike of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, it becomes rather neceſſity than choice, to apply an extraordinary remedy to an extraordinary diſeaſe.'

After this and ſeveral other ſpeeches, it was carried for committing the bill (1); and, the next day, a petition from the Borough of *Horſham* was preſented to the Houſe, ſetting forth, 'That they looked upon the bill as an overturning the Conſtitution, and an infringement of their Liberties;' at which expreſſions the Houſe being offended, it was reſolved, that the petition ſhould be rejected. Then Mr. *Lechmere* moved, 'That the Committee have leave to receive a clauſe, to diſable perſons from being choſe Members of either Houſe of Parliament, who have penſions during pleaſure, or any number of years.' But Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* having repreſented, that ſuch a clauſe would but clog the bill, and endanger its miſcarriage, part of it being derogatory to the privileges of the Houſe of Lords; and that, if any jealouſy were entertained of the Members of the Houſe of Commons having penſions from the Crown, a bill might be brought in, to exclude them; the motion for the clauſe was rejected, and a ſeparate bill againſt Penſioners fitting in the Houſe was ordered to be brought in, which, having paſſed both Houſes, received the Royal aſſent. When the Septennial Bill had gone through the Committee of the whole Houſe, it was read the third time, and, the queſtion for paſſing it being put, a debate of two hours enſued. Thoſe, who ſpoke againſt the bill, were Mr. *Freeman*, Mr. *Hungerford*, Mr. *Fuller*, Mr. *Wykes*, the Lord *Finch*, eldeſt ſon to the Earl of *Nottingham*, and ſome others. They were ſeverally anſwered by Sir *Richard Steele*, Mr. Comptroller, Sir *William Thompſon*, Captain *Erle*, Mr. *Tufnel*, Mr. *Morris*, and Sir *John Brownlow* (2). After which, the bill paſſed by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-four, againſt one hundred and twenty-one; and, being ſent back to the Lords, received, ſoon after, the Royal aſſent. 1716.

On

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(1) Mr. *Haddon*, a *Scotch* Member, having ſpoken for the bill, Mr. *Snell*, one of the Repreſentatives for the City of *Gloceſter*, ſaid, 'It was no wonder, that they, who had betrayed the liberties of their own Country, ſhould be ſo ready to give up their's.' Mr. *Smith* animadverted upon this injurious reflection, and ſaid, 'That the Member, who made that ſpeech, would not be ſo bold as to utter thoſe words any where elſe.' He was ſeconded by Lord *Coningsby*; and, the diſpute being like to grow warm, the Speaker interpoſed, and ſaid, that, all the Members of the Houſe having the privilege of explaining themſelves, Mr. *Snell* ought to enjoy the ſame. Hereupon Mr. *Snell* ſaid, 'That he meant no perſonal reflection on Mr. *Haddon*, and that he only ſpoke of the *Scots* Nation in general:' By which pretended excuſe Sir *David Dalrymple* being provoked, ſaid, 'That this explanation, inſtead of extenuating, did but aggravate the offence;' for which he demanded ſatisfaction. Some other Members calling *to the bar*, Mr. *Snell* prevented any further proceeding, by begging pardon for any unguarded expreſſion he might have let fall.'

(2) Mr. *Hampden* ſpoke for the bill, part of whoſe ſpeech was as follows:

'A principal argument for continuing the Triennial Bill is, that it is agreeable to the antient laws of this Nation, that there ſhould be frequent Parliaments. I find, by the laws I have looked over, that Parliaments ought to be frequently held: But I found it no where laid down as a fundamental poſition of the nature of this Conſtitution, that there ſhould be frequent elections. If Gentlemen will look to the beginning of Parliaments, they will find, in the 4th, 5th, and 36th of *Edward* III, that, *for redreſs of divers miſchiefs and grievances which daily happen, a Parliament ſhall be holden every year, or oftener, if need be.* Let it then be conſidered, in what manner thoſe Parliaments were held: When a King met his Parliament, they uſed to ſit ten or twenty days, and then were prorogued, or diſſolved; and there were frequent intermiſſions of Parliaments, none being called for ſeveral years. By looking over the Journals, we find the prorogations and diſſolutions of Parliaments.

To come down to the time of *Henry* VIII, few of his Parliaments ſat more than twenty days, though there was not a Parliament met every year; and, from the 7th to the 25th of *Henry* VIII, there are no Journals, and conſequently we cannot tell in what manner Parliaments were held. Afterwards, there were ſeveral Parliaments, but not every year, to the end of his Reign.

A Parliament was called the firſt year of *Edward* VI, and, in five years, ſat but four months. In *Philip* and *Mary* there were four Parliaments, but the Seſſions extreamly ſhort. From the 2d to the 5th, and from the 7th to the 13th of Queen *Elizabeth*, no Parliament met, and, from the 14th to the 25th of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Parliament ſat only from the 8th of *May* to the 30th of *June*; and, four years after, from the 8th of *February* to the 8th of *March* following; and, in eight years after, never ſat to do buſineſs, but were then diſſolved. There were ſix other Parliaments called in Queen *Elizabeth*'s time; but never ſat long, unleſs that in the 39th of her Reign, which ſat four months.

The Parliament, the firſt of *James* I, ſat about four months, and, in three years after, ſat about eight days.

That

1716. *Death of Lord* Sommers.

On the 26th of *April* died that great man, and great patriot, the Lord *Sommers*, whoſe character is drawn with great force and elegance by Mr. *Addiſon* in his *Freeholder*.

Mackintoſh *and others eſcape out of* Newgate, May 4.

The eſcape of the Earl of *Nithiſdale*, and of Mr. *Forſter*, had given ſufficient warning to the Government, and ought to have doubled the vigilance of the Jaylors; yet Brigadier *Mackintoſh*, *John Mackintoſh*, his ſon, *Charles Wogan*, *James Talbot*, *Robert Hepburne*, *William Dalmahoy*, *Alexander Dalmahoy*, and *John Taſker*, ſervant to Mr. *Butler*, having knocked down the Keeper and Turn-key, and diſarmed the Centinel, broke out of *Newgate* between eleven and twelve at night. Six more of the Rebels went out of the priſon with them; but being unacquainted with the ſtreets, and turning into *Warwick-Court*, where they found no paſſage, they were forced to return into *Warwick-Lane*, and ſo fell into the hands of their purſuers. *Mackintoſh* and ſome others were to have been tried the day after. The Judges met in *Weſtminſter-Hall* for that purpoſe, but, receiving a meſſage, that the Keepers of *Newgate* were employed in ſearching after the Rebels, who had made their eſcapes, the Court and Juries adjourned. *James Talbot*, one of the fugitives, was retaken at an houſe in *Windmill-Street*, in *Piccadilly*, and ſent back to *Newgate*. 1716

When

That Parliament was not diſſolved till the 9th of *James*, but ſat twice or thrice only. There were three other Parliaments in his Reign, but they met very ſeldom.

The Seſſions in King *Charles* I. were much ſhorter than of late days, and very frequent prorogations; and, in the 16th of his reign, an act was paſſed, *for preventing inconveniencies by long intermiſſion of Parliaments*; by which it was provided, that a Parliament ſhould meet every three years; which law we find repealed in the 16th of *Charles* II, by reaſon that the proviſions in the former law were looked upon *as a derogation to his Majeſty's juſt and undoubted Prerogative for calling and aſſembling Parliaments, and might be an occaſion of manifold miſchiefs, and might endanger the peace of his People.* This ſaid Act is repealed, and a proviſion made therein, that *becauſe, by the antient Laws of this Realm, in the Reign of* Edward III, *Parliaments are to be held very often, the ſitting and holding of Parliaments ſhall not be intermitted above three years.* In this King's Reign, the Long Parliament was held; and, whatever corruptions they were tainted with, they could never be accuſed of favouring the Cauſe of *France*, or attempting to inſlave their own Country.

In King *James* II, that unfortunate Prince, a Parliament was held in *May*, 1685. and ſat about two months, and was, at ſeveral times, prorogued to *November*, 1687. Then the happy Revolution took place; and, in the *Bill of Rights*, 1 *Guliel. & Mar.* it is declared and enacted, That *all the Rights and Liberties, aſſerted and claimed in the ſaid Declaration, are the true, antient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this Kingdom, and ought to be firmly and ſtrictly holden and obſerved.* And, in the ſame bill, among this long catalogue of grievances, which precedes the ſaid Declaration, there is not the leaſt mention made of want of frequent elections, but only *that Parliaments ought to be free.* In the ſixth of King *William*, this now-favoured bill for Triennial Parliaments was paſſed; and, upon this occaſion, I cannot help obſerving, that it is ſome ſatisfaction, that the people abroad, who look upon the Reign of that Prince as a Uſurpation, ſhould be fond of any one act that was paſſed in that time; and, I hope from hence, they may, in time, be more reconciled to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, which is in conſequence of that happy Revolution.

If Gentlemen will look over the writs of ſummons, and the returns to thoſe writs, they will find no mention how long any Parliament is to laſt; but the return makes mention of the perſons who are to ſerve in the Parliament that is to meet and be held at ſuch a Time at *Weſtminſter*. But it muſt be allowed, that the Parliament is ſubject to the Triennial Act while it ſubſiſts; and therefore the advantages or inconveniencies of that law ought chiefly to be conſidered in the matter now before us: And, in caſe an act be found prejudicial, if ſuch a veneration is to be paid to a law, as not to alter it, from any conviction of its being inſufficient, or attended with ill conſequences, I think the Legiſlature will become, in a manner, uſeleſs. I take the principal matter to be, to examine what benefit has accrued to the Nation by virtue of this bill, and if the inconveniencies do not outweigh all the advantages?

It is pretended, that by Triennial Elections the people have an opportunity of laying aſide thoſe perſons with whoſe behaviour, in Parliament, they are diſſatisfied, or ſuch, whom they apprehend to be under Court-influences: I deſire it may be conſidered, how very few examples there are, of perſons who, having accepted places, have not been re-elected. The reaſon is very obvious; becauſe the people, who love expences, judge, that a man, who has a place of profit, is much more capable of making an expence, than he that has none. But, ſuppoſing any Gentleman ſo wickedly diſpoſed, as to ſacrifice his opinion to the lucre of a place, does not ſuch a perſon, who has ſpent five or ſix hundred pounds at his election, and his circumſtances not very able to bear it, come more prepared for a Court-temptation, than if he had enjoyed his ſeat in Parliament, and been free from the trouble and expence of frequent elections? I appeal to Gentlemen, if expences are not increaſed? And, if any inſtance can be produced, where they are abated, many more may be, where they are increaſed; ſo that the end of the bill, in this reſpect, is no way anſwered.

It is ſaid, that, expences being voluntary, it is the fault only of thoſe, who make them; but, when we obſerve the contagion of expences to be univerſally ſpread in the Kingdom at the time of elections, and a diſſolution of manners, occaſioned by ſuch expences, it is time for the Legiſlature to interpoſe, and prevent the dangerous conſequences of ſuch an evil. Do, Gentlemen, conſider the diſtractions occaſioned by elections, and the impoſſibility, conſidering the ſmall interval of elections, to heal up thoſe wounds, which the animoſities of parties have occaſioned; ſo that it is little better than living in a continual ſtate of warfare. This is a no leſs fatal, than undeniable conſequence of this bill, which was calculated for the eaſe of the ſubject.

It is ſaid, the reaſon of this Expedient, as it is called, is, becauſe the majority of this Parliament are Whigs: And, though it is allowed, that this Parliament has acted for the ſervice of his Majeſty and the Nation, the proceedings of the laſt Parliament are ſaid to be as meritorious of the King's good opinion, and the Nation's, as what this Parliament has done.

It is much inſiſted on, That the Tories gave the Civil Liſt: That is true; but, had they not given it, I believe, the King would not long have been deprived of it. It is ſaid, the King was received here with the univerſal joy of his people: Why did that ſatisfaction ceaſe ſo ſoon? Has the King done any thing to loſe the affection of ſo many of his people? or, Have his Miniſters? If his Miniſters, Why has the ſpirit of Patriotiſm been ſo much wanting in Gentlemen, as not to repreſent to the King, or in this Houſe, the crimes of thoſe he employs in his ſervice? But, if no real handle for theſe diſcontents has been given, by King, or Miniſters, then thoſe who pretended ſuch a zeal for the King and his Service, at his arrival here, acted a hypocritical part, and meant nothing leſs than

1716. When the Court ſat the next time, thirteen of the Rebels (1) were arraigned, and pleaded not guilty; but upon application for time, ſome of them ſetting forth, that they had evidence upon the road, they had three weeks allowed to prepare for their trial.

Rebels tried. Mr. *Richard Gaſcoigne* was ſet to the bar, but by the indulgence of the Court had ten days allowed him for bringing witneſs to town. His trial came on the 17th of *May*; and beſides the evidence of Mr. *Patten*, Mr. *Forſter*'s Chaplain, who depoſed, that he ſaw Mr. *Gaſcoigne* in Mr. *Forſter*'s company at *Preſton*, Mr. *Wye* made oath, 'That, coming once to the Ducheſs of *Ormond*'s, he ſaw the priſoner *Gaſcoigne* in her Grace's cloſet. That, being introduced, he told her Grace, he was juſt come from *France*, and had ſeen the Duke but ſix days before, who was well, and would be here quickly from *Bayonne*, and the Pretender from ſome other place. Upon which her Grace called for a map, to find whereabouts *St. Sebaſtian* lay. That he was asked by her Grace what people ſaid at *Paris*, eſpecially in relation to Sir *William Wyndham*; and aſked Mr. *Gaſcoigne*, Whether it was true, which was ſaid in the public news, that he had letters found in his pocket of dangerous conſequence? Mr. *Gaſcoigne* ſaid, *He could not tell*; *but, if it were ſo, a ſchool-boy would deſerve to be whipped for carrying ſuch papers in his pocket.*' It being at that time generally diſcourſed about town, that Sir *William Wyndham* had ſurrendered himſelf, Mr. *Gaſcoigne* ſaid, 'He had ſent or carried him one of the Proclamations (but the evidence could not be poſitive which) and added, If he was taken, their deſign was ruined, for there were an hundred Gentlemen, who waited only for a ſignal, and Sir *William* would be at the head of eight or nine thouſand men. That the Lady *Rocheſter* having aſked him (Mr. *Gaſcoigne*) where Sir *William* was? The priſoner replied, *Whether, if he ſhould tell her Ladyſhip, ſhe would not make uſe of it to perſuade him to ſurrender? But, if it were only to give Sir* William *notice of the Proclamation, he told her, that he had already ſent him one.*' Mr. *Wye* further declared, 'That, when he was in the Ducheſs's cloſet, he ſaw a Gentleman dreſſed in laced ſcarlet cloathes, whom he underſtood to be one of the *Cotton*'s; and, having ſince ſeen Mr. *Cotton*, knew it to be the ſame perſon.' There were ſome other circumſtances, which Mr. *Wye* ſaid Mr. *Gaſcoigne* told him particularly, that the priſoner ſaid, 'He came to *London* to learn whether Sir *William Wyndham* made any diſcovery.' The Jury, after a conſiderable ſtay, brought in Mr. *Gaſcoigne* guilty of High-Treaſon. 1716.

Henry Oxburgh was tried *May* the 7th, and made a very weak defence. His Council, Serjeant *Darnel* and Mr. *Kettleby*, endeavoured to ſerve him by inſiſting on a miſnomer in the indictment, wherein he was called *Oxborough*, whereas his true name was *Oxburgh*: But, that being overruled, the Jury brought him in guilty of High-Treaſon.

On the 26th of *May*, Mr. *John Hall* of *Otterburne* in *Northumberland* was brought to the bar. This Gentleman had been a Juſtice of the Peace in his Country, and taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. He was found guilty by the Jury, and gloried in his guilt at his execution. *Oxburgh* was the firſt of thoſe, who ſuffered at *Tyburn*. *Gaſcoigne* had been a common ſharper, and, having been bubbled by gameſters out of the money, he had raiſed by the ſale of a ſmall eſtate in *Ireland*, ſupported himſelf afterwards by defrauding others. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn* on the 25th of *May*, and died a Papiſt.

John Hume, brother of the Earl of *Hume*, was tried, and found guilty, *May* the 8th; *John Farquharſon* not guilty; and *Alexander Menzies* guilty. On the 12th *Thomas Farquharſon* and *John Ennis* were brought to their trials. There was a great uproar in the Court upon the Jury's bringing in *Farquharſon* not guilty, though the evidence was poſitive, 'That he was in arms with the Rebels at *Kelſo*, and at *Lancaſter*, where the Pretender was proclaimed, and alſo at *Preſton*.' Two perſons, who clapped and ſhouted, were apprehended. One of them, who was ſummoned as a Juryman, was fined 100 *l.* the other 50 *l.* and a year's impriſonment. The ſame Jury, contrary to as full evidence as that againſt *Farquharſon*, acquitted *Ennis* likewiſe. The

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what they now make profeſſions of. Let us conſider the preſent ſituation of the minds of the people, how exaſperated one ſet of them are at the neceſſary proſecutions of thoſe, who ſo fatally concerted the ruin of their Country; and to what degree that reſtleſs ſpirit influenced the people in the late Rebellion; and how induſtriouſly a falſe and miſtaken Cauſe of the Church has been of late propagated in this Nation.

From theſe, and many other circumſtances of affairs, and ſymptoms of the ill temper of the Nation, I think the diſpoſition of the people's minds far from being ſuitable to the buſineſs of an election, but rather for a reſtoration of that Perſon, who, the deluded people have been taught, has alone a right to the Crown, and came to free you from the oppreſſions you now lie under.

He concludes with ſaying, 'The reaſons why I am now for the bill are, To diſpoſe the people to follow their callings, and to be induſtrious, by taking from them, for a time, the opportunity of diſtracting one another by elections. To prevent ſuch who have the will, from the power of giving any new diſturbance to the Government. To prevent another Rebellion; there being juſt as much reaſon to expect one this year, as there was the laſt. To check that evil ſpirit in thoſe who have ſworn to the King, and roſe in arms againſt him, or abetted ſuch who have. To diſcountenance that ſpirit, which lately did ſo far prevail in this Nation, as to approve of a moſt ignominious concluſion of a ſucceſsful war, by a ruinous peace. To render fruitleſs any concerted project of the Regent, or any other foreign Princes, to diſturb this Nation, at a time, when elections, or the approach of them, have raiſed a ferment in the minds of the people; and to procure to the Clergy an interval from being Politicians, that they may be the better able to take care of their flocks, in the manner the Scripture has preſcribed.

(1) *Charles Radcliffe*, *Charles Widdrington*, *Peregrine Widdrington*, Eſquires; *John Thornton*, *Robert Shaw*, *Thomas Errington*, *Philip Hodgeſon*, *Donald Robertſon*, *James Swinburne*, *William Mackintoſh*, *Angus Mackintoſh*, *James Mackintoſh*, *Alexander Macrudder*.

1716. The ſame day five Rebel priſoners pleaded guilty; the two Mr. *Douglas*'s, Captain *Macquean*, Mr. *Scrimſhaw*, and Mr. *Skean*, who received ſentence of death. Three days after came on the trials of *Richard Townley* and *Edward Tildeſley*. It was ſworn againſt Mr. *Townley*, that he was not only among the Rebels at *Preſton*, 'but that there was a troop, called Mr. *Townley*'s troop, in which rode his Coachman, his Butler, and Poſtillion.' It was ſworn againſt Mr. *Tildeſley*, 'That a troop of the Rebels went by his name alſo; and that he rode at the head of them with his ſword drawn.' Theſe two Gentlemen had nothing to ſay for themſelves, but that they were forced to do what they did; and, upon this ſlight defence, the Jury acquitted them both.

Two days after Mr. Baron *Montague* came to the *Marſhalſea-Court*, and diſcharged the *Surrey* Jury, after having reprimanded them for their behaviour in the late trials, eſpecially in the caſe of Mr. *Townley* and Mr. *Tildeſley*. The ſame day Mr. *Wogan* was tried, and found guilty; and Major *Blair*, retracting his former plea, pleaded guilty. Captain *Lancelot Mackintoſh* and *Charles Radcliffe*, brother to the late Earl of *Derwentwater*, were likewiſe found guilty, and received ſentence of death.

Alexander Menzies petitioned the King for mercy, and was reprieved, as were the reſt of the perſons hitherto condemned on the like ſubmiſſion, or the interceſſion of their friends, excepting thoſe, who are already mentioned to have been executed.

On the 30th of *May* came on the trial of Mr. *John Dalton*. The evidence againſt him being poſitive, the Jury found him guilty; upon which he deſired the Court to intercede with the King for mercy.

Mr. *William Tunſtal* pleaded guilty as to the being taken in arms, but not, as in the Indictment, of any deſign of murdering the King, which (he ſaid) never entered into his heart. But the Court told him, 'That he, being a man of ſenſe, could not but know, had the Rebellion ſucceeded, it could not have ended otherwiſe, ſince it was certain, that his Majeſty would not have run away, as the Maſter they had declared for had already done.' The Lord Chief Juſtice *Parker* adviſed him to draw up the ſtate of what he had to ſay, in a petition, and he would recommend it to the King.

The next day *Philip Hodgeſon*, uncle to the Lord *Widdrington*, *Charles Widdrington*, *Peregrine Widdrington*, *Donald Robertſon*, *Alexander Macrudder*, *Thomas Errington*, *John Nairne*, ſon to the Lord *Nairne*; *George Seaton*, who, before the battle of *Dumblain*, went by the name of the Earl of *Dumferling*; *John Stewart*, Dr. *Patrick Blair*, *James Robertſon*, *William Grierſon*, ſon of Sir *Robert Grierſon*, of *Lagg*; and *John Carnegy* pleaded guilty to their indictments. But *Francis Anderton*, *Baſil Hamilton*, *Archibald Rutter*, *William Shaftoe*, and *William Paul*, Clerk, pleaded not guilty; which plea ſome of them afterwards retracted, and pleaded guilty, while others were tried and found guilty. The condemned Rebels were reprieved from time to time; but, on the 13th of *July*, *John Hall*, and *William Paul*, the Clergyman, were executed at *Tyburn*.

Hall in his dying ſpeech declared, 'that he died a true and ſincere member of the Church of *England*, but not of the Revolution Schiſmatical Church, whoſe Biſhops had ſo rebelliouſly abandoned the King, and ſo ſhamefully given up the Rights of the Church, by ſubmitting to the unlawful, invalid Lay-deprivations of the Prince of *Orange*, but of the true Catholic Nonjuring Church of *England*.' Mr. *Paul* likewiſe profeſſed himſelf a ſon of the Church of *England*, but not of the Schiſmatical Church, whoſe Biſhops ſet themſelves up in oppoſition to thoſe orthodox Fathers, who were unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the Prince of *Orange*. I declare, ſays he, 'that I renounce that Communion, and that I die a dutiful and faithful member of the Nonjuring Church, which has kept itſelf free from Rebellion and Schiſm, and has preſerved and maintained true orthodox principles, both as to Church and State.' Yet this ſame man, in a petition to the Lord Chief-Juſtice *King*, after ſentence, had declared, 'That, through the Grace of God, he had a deep inſight into, and a lively ſenſe of his crimes; which he did now at laſt deteſt and abhor, from the bottom of his ſoul, and begged pardon of God, and King *George*, and his native Country, againſt all which he had highly offended, and did now ſincerely repent, and declare his unfeigned ſorrow, in having been inſtrumental towards encouraging and promoting the ſame.' 1716.

And, in a petition to the King, 'He humbly begged leave, in all ſorrow of heart, to acknowledge his great and heinous offence, and did, from the bottom of his heart, aſk pardon of God, his moſt ſacred Majeſty, and the Church and Nation.'

General *Cadogan*, whom the Duke of *Argyle* had left in *Scotland*, had now, extinguiſhed all remains of the Rebellion, both by ſecuring the Chiefs, and diſarming their Dependants. About the middle of *April*, the Marquiſs of *Huntley*, eldeſt ſon of the Duke of *Gordon*, the Lord *Rollo*, Sir *Thomas Calder*, and the Laird of *Tannaelue*, were brought from the North of *Scotland* to *Edinburgh*, and committed to the Caſtle. *Glengary*, a famous leader of the Rebels, ſurrendered himſelf to the Duke of *Athol*, which inclined many of the *Highlanders* to ſubmit, as did the greateſt part of the Earl of *Seaforth*'s vaſſals; and, all the Clans, except thoſe of the weſtern Iſles, being reduced, two detachments, one of ſix hundred, the other of three hundred men, were ſent to thoſe Iſles, under the command of Colonel *Clayton*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cholmondley*, upon which all the Rebels in the Iſle of *Skie* ſubmitted to mercy. The Rebels in the other Iſlands following their example, General *Cadogan* returned to *Edinburgh*, and from thence to *London*, where he arrived the 18th of *May*, having left the command of the forces in *Scotland* with General *Sabine*, and ordered the *Dutch* troops to march back into *England*, where they imbarked for *Holland*, after having received, both officers and ſoldiers, marks of the King's bounty for their good ſervices. Cadogan returns from Scotland.

A Court-martial ſitting at *Edinburgh*, made an order for the following *Scots* Officers, who had deſerted from the *Dutch* ſervice to the Pretender, to be hanged *in effigy* at the Market-Croſs, Scots officers hanged in effigy.

Croſs, in the *Cannon-Gate*, *Edinburgh*, and their names to be inſcribed round the Gallows (1).

Congratulatory addreſſes were preſented to the King from the City of *London*, and moſt of the Communities in the Kingdom, upon the intire ſuppreſſion of the Rebellion; and the 7th of *June* was appointed to be kept as a day of thankſgiving.

On the 3d of *May*, Mr. *Harvey* of *Combe*, who had been in the Meſſenger's hands ſince he ſtabbed himſelf, was examined before a Committee of the Council, and ſent to *Newgate*. About a week after, Mr. *Thomas Harley*, who had been formerly committed to the *Gatehouſe* by order of the Houſe of Commons, for his prevaricating anſwers to queſtions, that were put to him concerning his Negotiations abroad, and was ſuppoſed to have been ſtill a priſoner, was found in a houſe in *St. Martin's-Lane* by Meſſengers, who were ſearching for ſome of the Rebels, that had lately eſcaped out of *Newgate*. Mr. *Harley* had a great parcel of papers before him, which were ſeized, and himſelf committed to the *Gatehouſe*.

The King, ſtrengthened by his late treaty with *Spain*, and by that which he was now certain of concluding with the Duke of *Orleans*, and ſecure of having ſo faithful a Parliament for five years more, thought he ſhould run no riſk in viſiting his *German* Dominions this ſummer, where affairs of ſecrecy and importance required his preſence. But it being provided, by *the act for the further limitation of the Crown*, &c. 'that no perſon, who ſhould thereafter come to the poſſeſſion of the Crown, ſhould go out of the Dominions of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, without conſent of Parliament;' the Court was ſome time in ſuſpence, which way to get over that reſtriction. The aſking the Parliament's conſent by a meſſage, or otherwiſe, being thought too derogatory to the Royal prerogative, and ſome leading Members of the Houſe of Commons being made ſenſible of it, Sir *John Cope* moved for repealing this reſtriction; which being agreed to, a bill paſſed both Houſes for that purpoſe (2).

When the King came to the Houſe of Peers to paſs this, and many other bills, and to put an end to the Seſſion, the following ſpeech was by his order delivered to both Houſes by the Lord Chancellor.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Cannot put an end to this Seſſion, without expreſſing to you my ſatisfaction in "the proceedings of this Parliament. The 1716.
"wholeſome and neceſſary laws, which have
"been paſſed with ſo much ſteadineſs, reſolu-
"tion, and unanimity, will, I truſt in God,
"anſwer thoſe good ends, which, it is evident,
"you have had in view, by defeating the de-
"ſigns, and reducing the ſpirit of our enemies,
"by encouraging our friends, and raiſing the
"credit and reputation of the Nation abroad to
"ſuch a degree, as that I may reaſonably expect
"the fruits of a ſettled Government; eſpecial-
"ly being ſupported by a Parliament, zealous
"for the proſperity of their Country, and the
"Proteſtant intereſt of *Europe*.

"I am confident, my conduct hitherto in ſup-
"preſſing the Rebellion, and puniſhing thoſe
"concerned in it, has been ſuch, as demon-
"ſtrates, that I deſire rather to leſſen their
"numbers by reclaiming them, than by mak-
"ing examples; but I am ſorry to find, that
"the numerous inſtances of mercy, which I
"have ſhewn, have had no other effect, than
"to encourage the faction of the Pretender to
"renew their inſults upon my authority, and
"the laws of the Kingdom, and even to affect,
"with the greateſt inſolence, to diſtinguiſh
"themſelves from my good and faithful ſub-
"jects, acting with ſuch folly and madneſs, as
"if they intended to convince the world, that
"they are not to be reduced to quiet and ſub-
"miſſion to my Government, by ſuch gentle
"methods, as are moſt agreeable to my own in-
"clinations.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I return you in particular my thanks for
"the ſupplies you have given; which, although
"they fall ſhort of the ſums you found neceſ-
"ſary, and have voted for the ſervice of the
"whole year; yet, by the encouragement you
"have given to make them effectual, may, I
"hope, be ſo managed, as to carry on the
"current ſervice till another Seſſion of Parlia-
"ment.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am very ſenſible, there are matters of
"great conſequence ſtill depending before you;
"but, as they have hitherto been poſtponed
"out of abſolute neceſſity, by intervening af-
"fairs of a more preſſing nature, and of the
"moſt immediate concern to the peace and
"ſafety of the Nation, I thought the ſeaſon of
"the year required, I ſhould defer your further
"proceedings till the next Seſſion, rather than
"you

(1) Theſe were:

Captain *John Hepburne*, Enſign *Patrick Smith*, Enſign *Williams*, *Calderwood* of *Douglas*'s regiment, Lieutenant *Fleming*, Enſign *Chalmers*, and Enſign *Carſe* of *Lauder*'s; Enſign *William Creighton* of *Murray*'s, Lieutenant *Murray*, Enſign *Dallas*, Enſign *Beſwal*, and Enſign *Robertſon* of *Collier*'s, and Enſign *Owen* of *Wood*'s regiment.

(2) Before the King went abroad, he made the following creations and promotions: *Thomas*, Lord *Coningsby*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Baron *Coningsby*, of *Coningsby*, in the County of *Lincoln*; Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Baron *Onſlow*, of *Onſlow*, in the County of *Salop*; *Thomas Newport*, Baron of *Torrington*, in the County of *Devon*; *William Cadogan*, Baron of *Reading*, in the County of *Berks*; and Sir *Robert Marſham*, Baron of *Romney*, in the County of *Kent*; Viſcount *Caſtleton* in *Ireland*, Viſcount *Caſtleton*, in *England*; Sir *Henry St. John*, Viſcount *St. John*; *George*, Lord *Newburg* of *Ireland*, Lord *Newburg*, of *Angleſey*, in *Wales*; Mr. *Edgecombe* was made one of the Lords of the Treaſury; Mr. *Methuen*, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State; and Mr. *Hampden*, one of the Tellers of the *Exchequer*. Mr. Baron *Bury* was declared Lord Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*, in the room of Sir *Samuel Dodd*.

1716. " you ſhould be detained out of your reſpective " Counties longer than could be conſiſtent with " your private concerns.

" I cannot doubt but that, during this receſs, " you will uſe all your beſt endeavours to pre- " ſerve the peace of the Kingdom, and to diſ- " courage and ſuppreſs all manner of diſorders, " ſince, as the firſt ſcene of the late Rebellion " was opened and uſhered in by tumults and " riots, ſo you may be aſſured, upon what pre- " tence ſoever they are raiſed, they can have no " other tendency, but to ſupport a ſpirit of fac- " tion, reſtleſs and unwearied in their endea- " vours to renew the Rebellion, and to ſubvert " the religion, laws, and liberties of their " Country.

" I deſign to make uſe of the approaching re- " ceſs, to viſit my Dominions in *Germany*, and " to provide for the peace and ſecurity of the " Kingdom during my abſence, by conſtitu- " ting my beloved Son, the Prince of *Wales*, " Guardian of the Realm, and my Lieutenant " within the ſame."

After this ſpeech, the Parliament was prorogued to the 7th of *Auguſt*.

Thus ended this long Seſſion of the firſt *Britiſh* Parliament called by King *George*. This Parliament *, by the excellency and ſeaſonableneſs of the laws, made by them, recovered their Country, in a great meaſure, out of its confuſions, and provided for its future peace and happineſs, under the preſent eſtabliſhment. Their unanimous and regular proceedings; the abſolute neceſſity of ſome acts, which were paſſed, and their diſinclination to extend them any longer than that neceſſity required; their manifeſt averſion to enter upon ſchemes, which the enemies of the Nation had inſinuated to have been their deſign; together with that temper ſo ſuitable to the dignity of ſuch an aſſembly at a juncture, when it might have been expected, that very unuſual heats would have ariſen in an Houſe of Commons ſo zealous for their King and Country, were ſufficient to quiet thoſe groundleſs jealouſies and ſuſpicions, which had been induſtriouſly propagated by the ill-wiſhers to our Conſtitution.

* Addiſon's Freeholders.

Riots. The King had but too juſt cauſe to complain of the freſh inſults of the diſaffected, notwithſtanding the many inſtances of his clemency. For on the 29th of *May* (King *Charles*'s Reſtoration) the Jacobite and Tory factions had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by wearing oaken boughs, and on the 10th of *June*, the Pretender's birth-day, by wearing white roſes. But the ſpirit of diſaffection ſhewed itſelf no where more openly than at *Oxford*. On the 28th of *May*, the King's birth-day, all the windows that were illuminated there, were broken to pieces, as were all the windows that were not illuminated the next day, being the Anniverſary of the Reſtoration. (1) To prevent the ill effects of this diſaffection, ſoldiers were quartered there, who, as they were chearfully and peaceably celebrating the Prince of *Wales*'s birth-day, were inſulted by both the Scholars and Townſmen. Stones were thrown into the windows of the *Star-Inn*, where the Officers and ſome loyal Gentlemen were met, who were attacked by the diſaffected party when they came out to drink the King's and the Royal Family's healths at the bonfire. Provoked by theſe affronts, the ſoldiers broke the windows of the diſaffected, and committed ſome other diſorders. When the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor ſent up their depoſitions to Court, they took no notice of the inſults the Officers and Soldiers had met with, but only of what the ſoldiers had done by way of repriſals. As this affair came before the Parliament, it will be mentioned more largely hereafter.

On the 13th of *June*, General *Maccartney*, who had returned to *England*, ſome time before, took his trial for the pretended murder of the Duke of *Hamilton*. Colonel *Hamilton*, who, in the Queen's time, had given ſuch a poſitive evidence, that he ſaw General *Maccartney* give the Duke his mortal wound, now deviated from it, and only averred, that he ſaw his ſword over the Duke's ſhoulder. The falſhood of which appeared by the evidence of the two Park-keepers, who ſtood firm to their former depoſitions, 'That they had taken the ſwords from General *Maccartney* and Colonel *Hamilton*, when they went to the relief of the Duke and Lord *Mohun*.' And one of them depoſed, that he had been offered two handfuls of gold, and a place of 100 *l.* a year, by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, if he would ſwear, that Mr. *Maccartney* killed the Duke. The Jury acquitted Mr. *Maccartney* of the murder, and he was diſcharged of the manſlaughter by the formality of a cold iron immediately made uſe of to prevent appeal. He was ſoon after reſtored to his rank in the army, and had the Earl of *Orrery*'s regiment given him.

The King before his departure appointed the Prince of *Wales* Guardian of the Realm, and his Lieutenant, during his abſence. The titles of Duke of *York*, and *Albany*, and Earl of *Ulſter*, were given to Prince *Erneſt*, Biſhop of *Oſnaburg*, the King's Brother, who with Prince *Frederick*, was alſo made Knight of the Garter. The Duke of *Devonſhire* was made Preſident of the Council, and his place of Lord Steward of the Houſhold was given to the Duke of *Kent*. The Earl of *Portland* was made Marquiſs of *Titchfield*, and Duke of *Portland*. Theſe promotions were attended with unexpected diſgraces. The Duke of *Argyle* and his brother, the Earl of *Ilay*, were removed from all their employments (2). They had both diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal and ſervices for the Govern-

(1) At the next Aſſizes, among others, *Wood*, manciple of *Baliol*, and Mr. *Stirling* of the ſame College, were tried for curſing the King: But *Stirling* was acquitted. Mr. *Frank Nicholls*, a Commoner of *Exeter* College, about fifteen years of age, was tried for crying out, *Ormond for ever*; and fined and impriſoned for the ſame. The *Political State* for *July* 1716, ſays, that he was tried for curſing the King and Government: But it is a miſtake, for he was tried only for the fact above-mentioned, as appears by the Record.

(2) A liſt of the Duke's poſts and employments was made public, to this effect:

Governor and Commander, in Chief, of all his Majeſty's forces in *Scotland*; General of the King's armies; Lord-Lieutenant of the Shire of *Dumbarton*; Lord-Lieutenant of the County of *Surrey*; Privy-Counſellor; Colonel of the Royal Blue Regiment of Horſe; Governor of the Iſland of *Minorca*; Governor of *Port-Mahon*, in the ſaid Iſland; firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber,

Government; and the King had in ſome meaſure put his Crown into their hands, by placing them at the head of his armies in *Scotland*. They had all along voted in the Houſe of Lords on the Court-ſide; and therefore their removal was the more ſtrange. Whatever might be the cauſe, their poſts were diſpoſed of, to ſhew there was no room to expect being reſtored. General *Carpenter* was made Commander in Chief of the forces in *Scotland*, and Governor of *Minorca* and *Port-Mahon*, and the Duke of *Montroſe* was appointed Lord Clerk Regiſter of *Scotland*, in the room of the Earl of *Ilay*.

On the 7th of *July*, the King ſet out from *St. James's*, took water at the *Tower*, and arrived, about two in the afternoon, at *Graveſend*, where he went on board the *Carolina Yacht* (1). He was attended by Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, Mr. *Boſcawen*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, the Officers of the Green Cloth, and moſt of his *German* Miniſters, who imbarked in other yatchts. In *Margate Road* they met a ſquadron of men of war, commanded by Admiral *Aylmer*; and they all made the coaſt of *Holland* the 9th of *July* in the morning. About four in the afternoon, the King went aſhore, and paſſed through *Holland incognito*; lay at *Voorts*, the Earl of *Albemarle*'s ſeat, and arrived at *Hanover* the 15th of *July*; and, on the 20th, ſet out for *Pyrmont*, to drink the waters.

The King was abſent ſix months, during which, the ſituation of affairs in *Great-Britain* remained much the ſame, and all was at laſt as quiet, as if he had himſelf been preſent. The Prince (doubtleſs by his orders) ſet ſeveral priſoners at liberty, and reprieved others (2). The paſſage from *Dover* to *Calais* was opened, and paſſports no longer required to go from *England* to *France*. The King's enemies affected to believe and give out, that theſe proceedings were all owing to the Prince's good diſpoſition, of which he would have ſhewn many more proofs, had it been in his power. This was carried ſo far, that addreſſes were preparing at *Oxford* and *Gloceſter*, and other places, to be preſented to the Prince, to extol his wiſdom in the Adminiſtration of affairs, and, in particular, his affability and graciouſneſs to *all perſons without diſtinction of parties*. It was ſoon perceived, that this inſinuated a reflection upon the King and his Miniſtry, and therefore it was declared, the Prince would receive no addreſſes that were not directly made to the Throne. 1716.

Seditious papers and riots.

The papers and ſpeeches of ſome of the Rebels that were executed, particularly of Mr. *Hall* and Mr. *Paul*, made great impreſſion on many people. Their execution, inſtead of leſſening, rather increaſed the number of the Jacobites; nor were they deterred from declaring themſelves. Seditious ſermons were preached, and libels againſt the Government were publiſhed (3). By theſe means a ſpirit of mutiny and rebellion was kept up among the diſorderly rabble. So great was the diſaffection to the Government at *Oxford*,

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ber, and Groom of the Stole to the Prince of *Wales*; and Knight of the Garter. Whether he was Governor of *Edinburgh* Caſtle at the time of his being thus diſmiſſed, is a doubt; but to all theſe is to be added a penſion of 2000 *l. per annum*, granted him by the King. His Brother was likewiſe Chief Lord of the Juſticiary, and Lord Clerk-Regiſter in *Scotland*. The hereditary Governments, Sheriffdoms, *&c.* which the Duke and Earl poſſeſſed in *Scotland*, they could not be deprived of; neither could the Earl be removed from his place in the Juſticiary, which was, as thoſe of the Judges are in *England*, *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*, or rather, for life. Of theſe preferments, poſts, and truſts, the Duke was diſpoſſeſſed at once.

(1) The Duke of *Argyle*, it was obſerved, waited that morning on the King, and was for a few minutes in private Conference with him. *Pol. Stat.*

(2) On the 4th of *Auguſt* the Earl of *Wintoun* made his eſcape out of the *Tower*. On the 15th Mr. *Farquharſon* of *Invercald* was ſet at liberty out of the *Marſhalſea*, as was likewiſe the ſame day the Laird of *Mackintoſh*, out of the *Fleet-Priſon*. Mr. *John Mackintoſh*, a Lawyer, under ſentence of death, was alſo releaſed from *Newgate*; and Mr. *James Drummond*, who was taken priſoner at *Dumblain*, from the cuſtody of a Meſſenger. About the ſame time pardons paſſed the Seals for ſome other priſoners, and in particular for *Charles Radcliffe*, brother to the late Earl of *Derwentwater*, and for Mr. *Wogan*; as likewiſe a further reprieve of three months was granted to the other Rebel priſoners under ſentence of death. But Mr. *Radcliffe*, making ſome difficulty of accepting the pardon, was detained in *Newgate* till he made his eſcape from thence on the 11th of *December* following; as Mr. *Bruce* another of the Rebel priſoners had done on the 20th of *Auguſt*. The Lord *Duffus*, who, as Captain of a man of war, muſt have abjured the Pretender, and afterwards entered into his ſervice, by joining with the Rebels in *Scotland*, was from *Hamburgh* brought priſoner to *London*, examined by Mr. Secretary *Methuen*, and committed cloſe priſoner to the *Tower*. Some time after fourteen of the Rebel priſoners were diſcharged out of *Newgate*, *George Seton*, *Charles Maxwell*, *Edmund Maxwell*, *William Dalmahoy*, *Alexander Forſter*, *Alexander Milne*, *Francis Congleton*, *Alexander Congleton*, *Thomas Anderſon*, *David Hall*, *George Skinner*, *William Dundaſs*, Merchants; and Mr. *Lyon*. The ſame day the following perſons were releaſed from the *Marſhalſea*; Mr. *Winram*, Senior, Mr. *Crow*, Mr. *Cunningham* of *Wall*, Mr. *William Scot*, Mr. *Carruthers*, Mr. *Murray*, Mr. *Grierſon*, and Mr. *William Maxwell*. *Butler* and *Samburne*, two of the Rebel priſoners, died in *Newgate*; and another *Samburne* made his eſcape out of it.

(3) The moſt noted pamphlet was publiſhed by *Lawrence Howel* (a Nonjuring Clergyman) intititled, *The Caſe of Schiſm in the Church of* England *truly ſtated*; wherein are the following paſſages:

'The authority of the Church of *England*, and conſequently the Church of *England* itſelf, was with the deprived Biſhops and Clergy, and remains ſtill with their Succeſſors, who alone have immediately adhered to her true conſtitutions and principles. That all, who depart from them, are, at leaſt, in a ſtate of Schiſm.

That the canonical Metropolitan, Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, was not only diſplaced, but a Subject-preſbyter of his (Dr. *Tillotſon*) was hoiſted into his room; and, when God had removed him, another (Dr. *Teniſon*) was ſet up in his place, as head of the Schiſm. And under the Biſhops, who actually did this, or thoſe, who approved what they had done, by joining in communion with them, in oppoſition to the true canonical Biſhops, have all the parochial Clergy acted, and joined with them, againſt the canonical Biſhops; and, being thus joined with them, they become Schiſmatics; and thoſe, who have, or do ſtill continue to join with theſe parochial Clergy, do join in the Schiſm, and thereby become guilty of Schiſm. Let them therefore have been never ſo canonically ordained, and placed over a flock, yet, by cloſing with Schiſmatics, they have forfeited all, and cannot diſpenſe the Ordinances of God with any benefit, God's Grace and Influence, then and now, forſaking them. And to join communion with them is not only to loſe the benefit of the Ordinance, but to join in the Schiſm; is, to join with thoſe, whom they ought to oppoſe with all their might, as violators

1716. *Oxford*, that ſoldiers were quartered there, to keep the Scholars and Townſmen within bounds. Nor were theſe riotous proceedings confined to *England*; for the Pretender's friends at *Edinburgh* had like to have freed a great number of Lords and Gentlemen impriſoned there, on account of the Rebellion (1).

Progreſs of the Prince. Few occurrences happened during the King's abſence worth noting. The Prince of *Wales*, in *September*, took a progreſs into the Country. He ſet out the 24th, from *Hampton-Court*, and arrived at *Knowle* in *Kent*, the ſeat of the Earl of *Dorſet*, before noon, and at *Tunbridge-Wells* about five in the evening. From thence he went to *Haland* in *Suſſex*, the ſeat of the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, where he lay, and came to *Lewes* about ten the next morning, and about nine in the evening to *Stanſted*, the Earl of *Scarborough*'s ſeat. The next morning, he proceeded to *Portſmouth*, and, having viewed the fortifications, docks, yards, and magazines, reviewed the regiments there, and went on board the guard-ſhip and bomb-ſhip, dined at Lieutenant-General *Erle*'s, and returned in the evening to *Stanſted*, where Archdeacon *Boucher*, one of the Canons Reſidentiary of *Chicheſter*, accompanied by the Prebendaries and Vicars of that Cathedral, with many of the neighbouring Clergy, were preſented to him by the Lord *Lumley*. On the 27th, about nine in the morning, the Prince left *Stanſted*, and, on a Common near *Rake*, reviewed *Wynn*'s dragoons. He came to *Farnham* about one, and near that place reviewed *Evan*'s dragoons. In the evening, he arrived at *Guilford*, and, about eleven at night, returned to *Hampton-Court*. Two days after, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador had a private audience, to notify the ſucceſs of the arms of that Republic againſt the *Turks*, and the raiſing of the ſiege of *Corfu*, owing chiefly to the conduct of General *Schuylenberg*, 1716.

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tors and grand enemies of the unity and peace of God's Church.'

In the concluſion, the Author cites the ſecond Canon of the Church of *England*, and then proceeds to affirm:

That by King, mentioned in this Canon, is to be underſtood (according to the undoubted principles of the Church of *England*) that perſon, who is poſſeſſed of the Throne, according to the civil inſtitution of the *Engliſh* hereditary Monarchy. Whoſoever diſowns his authority, *&c.* by the Canon, incurs the ſentence of excommunication, *ipſo facto*.

If King *James* II. had a Right, the Revolutioniſts and Compliers were excommunicated by this Canon; for, in depriving their rightful King, they diſowned his Authority, *&c.* That he had a Right, and continued claiming to his death, none can deny: Witneſs his perſonal aſſertion of his Right in *Ireland*, his public Manifeſto at the treaty of *Ryſwick* (wherein he declares to the world, that that peace was founded upon the uſurpation of his Kingdoms) and other Declarations to the ſame purpoſe; and his Son (whoſe Right, as a Son, is as inconteſtable as his Father's) hath often repeated the ſame. Now, the violation of this ſecond Canon, by the Revolutioniſts transferring their allegiance from their lawful King to an Uſurper (which is diſowning the lawful and rightful King's authority) renders them *ipſo facto* Excommunicates; and the Nonjurors, who have faithfully adhered to the doctrine and principles, are the only true Church of *England*.

The ſtate of the caſe plainly appearing, it is no difficulty to find out the guilty perſons, who muſt be no other than thoſe, that violated the Canon, by breaking through their allegiance, and conſequently are in an immediate ſtate of excommunication; and, as ſuch, they ought to be deemed, and treated by all, though no declaratory ſentence be pronounced by the proper Judges.

The words of the Canon being poſitive, there is no farther occaſion to inlarge on it. The only queſtion then is, Whether there is ſuch a notoriety in our caſe? And, truly, I think, there ſcarce ever appeared in the world a more notorious and mainfeſt caſe. The matter of fact is evident to all; for, who is ignorant of the unnatural treatment of King *James* II, from his children and ſubjects? How his authority was trampled on, deſpiſed, and denied; and, after ſeveral attempts to recover his undoubted Right, how he was forced to live and die an exile? Nor is the caſe in the leaſt altered now; for they, that pertinaciouſly continued and gloried in their ſin then, do the ſame now; which makes the caſe ſo notorious, that theſe offenders ought to be treated as Excommunicates, *ipſo facto*, upon the authority of the Canon, without waiting for the declaratory ſentence of a Judge.

Let us now conſider the ſtate and condition of an excommunicated perſon, which is dreadful to any man; but, when it falls to be a Clergyman's lot, it makes fatal work; for, 1ſt, it diveſts him of the power of exerciſing any eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; which, if he ſhould preſume to do, it renders his acts invalid and null. 2. Excommunication renders a Clergyman, ſo long as he continues in that ſtate, incapable of any eccleſiaſtical benefit, or promotion; and, if he aſſume any, his inſtitution is void. 3. It makes the whole adminiſtration of his miniſterial office ineffectual. You can expect no return of prayers with him, with whom you ought not to communicate. He cannot, authoritatively, bleſs the people of God, who is, himſelf, under a curſe, and excluded from being a part of them. And here, I think, all thoſe, who have joined with ſuch Clergymen, ought to conſider what they have done, in communicating with them, hitherto, and, whether they think they can, with ſafety, continue therein; for, in communicating with them, as Schiſmatics, they make themſelves Schiſmatics; and, in communicating with them, as Excommunicates, not only all their labour is loſt, but, inſtead of a bleſſing, they get a curſe.'

Mr. *Howel* was apprehended in *Bull-Head Court*, *Jewin-Street*, and, with him, was ſeized a large impreſſion of his pamphlet. Among his papers, was found an original inſtrument, of his being ordained a Prieſt, by Dr. *Hicks*, who ſtiles himſelf Suffragan Biſhop of *Thetford*; and alſo, the form of abſolution and reception of Converts to Jacobitiſm. He was committed to *Newgate* for High-Treaſon. Upon the publication of this charge of Schiſm, on the Church of *England*, a controverſy aroſe between the Members of that Church, and the Nonjurors. *Howel* being brought to his trial, and the pamphlet proved to be his, he was fined 500*l.* and three years impriſonment, and ſentenced to be twice whipped. Upon which, he aſked if they would whip a Clergyman? And was anſwered by the Court, 'They paid no deference to his cloth, becauſe he was a diſgrace to it, and had no right to wear it; and they did not look upon him as a Clergyman, in that he had produced no proof of his ordination, but from Dr. *Hicks*, under the denomination of the Biſhop of *Thetford*; which was illegal, and not according to the conſtitution of this Kingdom, which knows no ſuch Biſhop.' As he received his ſentence with an air of haughtineſs, and behaved himſelf contemptuouſly to the Court, he was ordered to be degraded, and ſtripped of the gown, he had no title to wear; which was done, in the Court, by the Executioner. But, a few days after, upon his petition to the King, the corporal puniſhment was remitted.

(1) The moſt remarkable riot was that in *London* in the month of *July*. Some time before the breaking out of the Rebellion, many of the well-affected to the Government, in order to be ready on any proper occaſion to quell the outragious mob, that diſturbed the peace

1716. *lenberg*, Commander of their army, though a Proteſtant, and brother to the Ducheſs of *Kendal*.

In the beginning of *November*, the Princeſs of *Wales* was in extreme danger, having been ſeveral days in labour, but at laſt was delivered of a dead Prince, who was privately depoſited in a vault in *Henry* VIII's Chapel.

The Duke of Marlborough ill. About the ſame time, the Duke of *Marlborough* was taken ill at *Blenheim-Houſe*. His diſtemper being apoplectic, the fit ſo far impaired his health, that he never after could be ſaid to be perfectly recovered.

Rebels tried, and ſome executed. The State priſoners that were in *Edinburgh* Caſtle being removed to *Carliſle*, a Commiſſion was iſſued to try them at that place. The priſoners gave the Court little trouble, almoſt all of them pleading guilty. Some were condemned, and the reſt diſcharged; but, however, not one was executed. In *December*, Brigadier *Colin Campbell*, the moſt obnoxious of all the priſoners, made his eſcape in diſguiſe. The laſt of the Rebels, who were executed at *Lancaſter* and *Preſton*, were Captain *John Bruce*, Gentleman of the Horſe to the Duke of *Hamilton*, *Thomas Shuttleworth*, *John Minkley*, *George Hodgſon*, and *William Charnley*; theſe were hanged in *October*.

Accident On the 6th of *December*, an accident happened, which gave occaſion to various conjectures. The Prince of *Wales* being in one of the Stage-boxes at the Theatre in *Drury-Lane*, to ſee the Tragedy of *Tamerlane*, Mr. *Freeman*, a Gentleman of *Surrey*, who had for ſome years paſt been troubled with fits of lunacy, came booted and ſpurred, and would have preſſed into the Stage-box, near the place where the Prince was. Being in a mean riding habit, he was ſtopped by the Boxkeepers, and a Grenadier, who was upon duty; whereupon he drew out a piſtol, and ſhot the Centinel in the ſhoulder. With great difficulty he was ſecured; and, being ſearched, two or three other loaded piſtols were found about him; which, together with his man's waiting for him with two horſes, at the end of the Play-Houſe paſſage, did not a little increaſe the ſuſpicion of a treaſonable deſign againſt the Prince. The report of the piſtol, and the diſturbance, that followed it, occaſioned a great alarm within the houſe, particularly among the Ladies; and, none rightly knowing the cauſe of the confuſion, the Gentlemen and Officers about the Prince, and almoſt throughout the houſe, drew their ſwords; ſo that the Players were a conſiderable time at a ſtand. But, Mr. *Freeman* being ſent priſoner to the Guard at *St. James*'s, all was quiet again; the Prince having all this while preſerved a great preſence of mind, and appeared to be under no apprehenſion. The ſoldier's wound did not prove mortal; but, Mr. *Freeman*'s attempt of forcing the Prince of *Wales*'s Guard coming within the ſtatute of treaſon, after he had been examined before the Council, he was committed to *Newgate*; the rather, becauſe he was ſaid to have either killed, or mortally wounded a man two days before, in the Country.

A conſiderable change began now to be made in the Miniſtry. The Earl of *Sunderland*, who had gone beyond ſea, under pretence of travelling for his health, had taken the opportunity of waiting upon the King at *Hanover*, and by his intrigues with the *German* Miniſters there, particularly the Barons *Bothmar* and *Bernodorff*, and Monſieur *de Robethon*, infuſed a jealouſy into him of the Lord *Townſhend* and Mr. *Walpole*; ſo that, on the 11th of *December*, an expreſs arrived in *England* from *Hanover*, and the next day it was publickly known, that Lord *Townſhend* was removed from his place of Secretary of State. This was however ſoftened with an account, that his Lordſhip was to be advanced to the poſt of Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*; the Duke of *Grafton*, firſt Lord-Juſtice of that Kingdom, being appointed Colonel of the Royal regi-

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peace of the City of *London*, met in ſeveral public houſes, which from the veſſel in which the drink was ſold were called *Mug-Houſes*. The two moſt noted of theſe ſocieties were the *Mug-Houſe*, in *Long-Acre*, and the *Roe-Buck* in *Cheapſide*, being ſet up before the King's Acceſſion. Their example produced ſeveral others of the like houſes, in *Salisbury-Court*, *Taviſtock-Street*, *Southwark-Park*, *Covent-Garden*, and other places. As theſe ſocieties were a terror and mortification to the diſaffected, ſo were they the object of their fury, of which they gave many inſtances. The day before Mr. *Paul*, the Clergyman, was hanged, they fell upon the *Mug-Houſe*, in *Southwark-Park*, with their uſual cry of *High-Church and Ormond*; but, the ſociety ſallying out upon them, after the windows of the houſe had been all broke, the mob retired. The execution of Mr. *Paul*, who declared himſelf at the gallows to be their Martyr, exaſperated them yet more, and the ſociety at Mr. *Read*'s, in *Salisbury-Court*, having diſtinguiſhed themſelves by demonſtrations of duty and reſpect to the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales*, at their return from *Greenwich*; the Jacobites took ſo much offence at it, that on the 20th of *July* they attacked Mr. *Read*'s houſe, and would have demoliſhed it, had not the company within ſent for a reinforcement from *Taviſtock-Street*, with which being joined, the mob fled with great precipitation. But they continued hovering about the houſe the following days; and hearing, that Mr. *Archibald Butler*, a young *Scots* Gentleman, who had been in the Rebellion, but had received the King's pardon, was in the *Temple-Walks*, they ran thither crying out, *High-Church and Ormond*. Mr. *Butler* got away from them as faſt as he could; and preſently one *Vaughan*, a Small-coal-man, propoſed to them to go and revenge the affront they had received three days before at the *Mug-Houſe*, in *Salisbury-Court*. The mob, aſſenting to his propoſal, followed him to Mr. *Read*'s houſe, on which they fell furiouſly; but, meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, they gathered recruits from the multitudes, that crowded thither. Upon this alarm, and hearing they were determined to demoliſh the houſe, Mr. *Read* appeared, and bid them keep off; otherwiſe he would ſhoot amongſt them. The *Bridewell-Boys*, of whom *Vaughan* had been one, and the reſt of the mob, regardleſs of this fair warning, preſſing forwards with great clubs and ſticks, Mr. *Read* diſcharged a muſket, and ſhot *Vaughan*, their leader, who died on the ſpot. The riot continuing, the Sheriffs of *London* repaired to the place, who cauſed the Proclamation appointed by Act of Parliament againſt riots to be read; but, this not availing, and the Rioters being become Rebels, a party of Horſe-Guards was ordered by the Privy-Council to march to *Salisbury-Court* to ſuppreſs them; and, upon their appearance, the mob diſperſed and fled from the purſuit of juſtice; which, however, overtook ſome of them; for *John Love*, *Thomas Bean*, a ſervant to *Caſſills* and *Carnegie*, two condemned Rebels, then in *Newgate*, *George Purchaſe*, *Richard Price*, and *William Price*, five of the moſt active of the rioters, were ſeized, impriſoned, and tried upon the ſtatute, which makes it felony to demoliſh, or begin to demoliſh any houſe. The evidence againſt them proved their breaking the windows with ſtones and ſticks, pull-

1716. regiment of Horſe-Guards, lately commanded by the Duke of *Argyle*; and the Earl of *Galway*, the other Lord Juſtice of *Ireland*, being to enjoy an honourable penſion during life. Two days after, the Duke of *Roxburgh* was made Secretary of State, and Keeper of the King's Signet in *Scotland*. The Lord *Poleworth* was appointed Lord Clerk Regiſter, in the room of the Duke of *Montroſe*, who was made Keeper of the Great-Seal of *Scotland*. The Duke of *Kingſton* was appointed Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Sunderland* ſole Treaſurer of *Ireland* for life.

In this diſpoſition things remained till the King's return; and the Lord *Townſhend*'s removal affected no more for the preſent than himſelf; though the diviſions in the Miniſtry ſeemed irreconcilable (1).

During theſe tranſactions at home, the King was not idle abroad. One of the principal ends of the King's journey to *Hanover*, was to provide againſt any future attempts of the Jacobite party, by endeavouring to make Alliances with all thoſe powers from whence the Pretender might expect any ſupport. But this was an impoſſible undertaking, in the then ſituation of the affairs of *Europe*. The King of *Spain* pretended to have numberleſs complaints againſt the Emperor. The evacuation of *Catalonia* had given great offence, as to the manner of doing it. A Tribunal had been erected at *Vienna* for the affairs of *Spain*, and the eſtates of the *Flemiſh*, who had ſerved King *Philip*, were confiſcated. But theſe were ſlight grievances in compariſon of what was now in agitation. *Sicily* had been granted to the Duke of *Savoy*, by the *Utrecht* treaty, on condition of returning to *Spain*, in caſe of failure of heirs. The Emperor had looked upon this grant with the utmoſt concern. He had almoſt perſuaded the Duke of *Savoy* to accept *Sardinia* in exchange, without the participation of the Court of *Madrid*, and without any regard to the clauſe of reverſion. To all theſe occaſions of rupture were added the pretenſions of the two Courts to the Succeſſion of the *Tuſcan* Dominions. 1716.

Complaints of Spain *againſt the Emperor.*

As to *France*, with reſpect to *Spain*, the two Nations were united, but their Governors were not ſo. King *Philip* and the Duke of *Orleans* were ready to contend for the Crown of *Lewis* XV, in caſe death ſhould remove him out of the world. *Philip* had renounced that Crown, and upon that alone was founded the Duke of *Orleans*'s title. But, beſides that, the Renunciation was generally conſidered in *France* as of no great force; the Emperor's conſtant refuſal to ceaſe ſtyling himſelf King of *Spain*, ſeemed entirely to annul it, as it was not reaſonable that one contracting party ſhould be obliged to ſtand to mutual engagements, to which the other refuſes to ſubmit. King *George* therefore could not be attached to *France* without offending *Spain*, nor could he be united to *Spain*, without giving offence to both the others. *State of France and Spain.*

The caſe was much the ſame with the Northern Powers, and it was ſtill more difficult for King *George* to manage them, ſo as to draw none of them upon himſelf. *Denmark* and *Sweden* were at war: The Czar had entered into *Negotiations with the Northern Powers.*

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ing down the ſign, entering the houſe, fetching out the goods, treading upon them, and breaking them. It was ſworn at their trial, that one of the mob brought three bottles out of Mr. *Read*'s houſe, kneeled down, by the Swan Ale-houſe door, and drank the Pretender's health, by the name of King *James* the Third. The evidence againſt theſe five rioters being very ſtrong, they were all found guilty, and received ſentence of death. The Prince was very much inclined to ſhew mercy to one or two of the youngeſt of them; but, the dangerous conſequences of riots and tumults, in the heart of the Metropolis, and the neceſſity of preventing the ſame, by exemplary puniſhment, being repreſented to the Prince, he acquieſced in the courſe of juſtice; which had the good effect, that was foreſeen and intended, the putting a ſtop to the deſperate outrages of an enthuſiaſtical multitude. The five rioters were executed on a gibbet, erected, on the 21ſt of *September*, at the end of *Salisbury-Court*, near the place, where the crimes, for which they died, were committed. *George Purchaſe* acknowledged himſelf 'greatly guilty, and his ſentence juſt; praying God to forgive him this and all other his ſins. This, *he ſaid*, he raſhly committed, not conſidering, then, the unlawfulneſs and diſmal conſequences of ſuch a rebellious ſedition, as that was, which ſo much tended, not only to the ruin of private perſons, but to the great diſturbance of, and diſhonour to, the whole Government.'

However, ſome party-zealots proſecuted Mr. *Read* for the death of *Vaughan*, who had led on the mob to deſtroy his houſe. The witneſſes againſt him, at his trial, ſwore very ſtrongly againſt him. *John Bill* depoſed, That he believed, *Vaughan* did not belong to the mob in *Salisbury-Court*, and had no ſtick in his hand. *Charles Tuckey* ſwore, That *Vaughan* had no ſtick. The ſame was ſworn by *Catharine Bennet*. *Joſeph Harris* depoſed, that *Vaughan* told him, *He would not be concerned, but go to work*. This being ſo directly contrary to the fact, known to ſo many hundreds of ſpectators, and fully proved by ſeveral of them, the Jury acquitted Mr. *Read*, who had 400 *l.* paid him at the Treaſury, to make good his loſſes and charges: And Mr. *Gill*, at the *Roebuck* in *Cheapſide*, had 200 *l.* allowed him, on the ſame account, his houſe having been ſeveral times attacked by the mob, of whom, one, the apprentice of Mr. *Heptinſtal*, a Printer, was ſhot, preſſing on, as *Vaughan* did, notwithſtanding repeated warnings to keep off.

(1) The following particulars happened during the King's abſence. *Thomas d'Aeth* and *Matthew Decker* were created Baronets. The penſion of 2500 *l.* a year was taken from the Earl of *Nottingham*.

Edward Southwell, *James Vernon*, and *Andrew Carlton* were appointed Commiſſioners of the Privy-Seal, in the abſence of the Earl of *Sunderland*.

Mr. *Bruce*, a *Scotch* Priſoner, changing cloaths with his ſiſter, made his eſcape out of *Newgate*.

In *Auguſt* there blew ſo ſtrong a Weſterly wind (which forced back the tide, and drove forward the ebbing water) that the *Thames* lay perfectly dry above and below bridge, except a narrow channel about four foot deep, and twelve foot over.

Several of the School-maſters of the Charity-ſchools, in *London*, were removed for diſaffection to the Government, Dr. *Welton*, Rector of *White-Chapel*, was deprived alſo for diſaffection to the Government, and was ſucceeded by Dr. *Shippen*, of *Brazen-noſe-College* in *Oxford*.

Margaret, eldeſt daughter of the Lord *Coningſby*, was created Baroneſs and Viſcounteſs of *Coningſby*, of *Hampton-Court*, in *Herefordſhire*, with limitation to her heirs male.

January the 4th, the triple league between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Holland* was ſigned at the *Hague*.

Three days after the King's return, *January* the 22d, came on the famous trial of *Francia* the *Jew*, for correſponding with the King's enemies. He was acquitted.

Thirty of the *Preſton* Rebels having been put on board a ſhip to be tranſported, affidavits were made before the Mayor of *Liverpool*, that they had maſtered the ſhip's crew, and carried the ſhip to *France*. One hundred of the ſame Priſoners who had been confined in the *Savoy*, were ſhipped off for the *Weſt-Indies*.

1716. into a confederacy, which had taken from the *Swede* his *German* Dominions: The Princes of the Empire beheld with regret the *Ruſſians* in their Country. It was the buſineſs of thoſe who had called them in, and made uſe of them, to ſend them away. The acquiſition of the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which King *George* had gained as Elector of *Hanover*, had enraged King *Charles* of *Sweden*. He durſt not, as King of *Great-Britain*, declare war againſt him (though he had done it as Elector of *Hanover*) nor could he be reconciled with him, unleſs he reſtored the two Duchies. The only way therefore was to compel that warlike Prince to make peace. In this ſituation, it was neceſſary for King *George* to make Alliances, and unite with thoſe who could moſt annoy him, in caſe they became his enemies. Being ſure of the good diſpoſition of the Regent of *France*, he truſted to his Miniſters the Negotiation with that Prince, and undertook himſelf the affairs of the North, where, it is plain, he knew ſome enterprize was contriving in favour of the Pretender.

The Negotiation with *France* ſucceeded to his wiſh. The Duke of *Orleans*, who had ſtill more need of a ſupport to mount the Throne, in caſe of a vacancy, than the King had to maintain himſelf on that of *Great-Britain*, granted all that was deſired. The *States-General*, who aimed only at peace and ſecurity, readily came into a treaty, which embroiled them with no Power they were concerned to manage, and which laid upon them ſcarce any freſh obligation. General *Cadogan*, the Abbot *du Bois*, and Penſionary *Heinſius* negotiated this affair with ſuch ſecrecy, that the treaty was finiſhed almoſt before it was known to be in hand.

By this treaty, the Pretender, that his near abode might not encourage commotions in *Great-Britain*, was to depart immediately from *Avignon*, and go beyond the *Alps*; nor was he to be ſuffered at any time to come to return thither, or to paſs through the *French* Territories, under pretence of going to *Lorrain*, or even to ſet his foot in any place within the Dominions of *France*, much leſs to ſtay there on any pretence whatſoever. This was accompanied with the renewing of the promiſes made at *Utrecht*, of abſolutely refuſing protection to the Chevalier *de St. George*, and of aſſiſting him in any manner directly or indirectly. No refuge was to be given to the ſubjects of either party, who ſhould be declared Rebels. All that had been formerly agreed, concerning *Dunkirk*, was to be fully executed, and nothing was to be omitted that the King of *Great-Britain* ſhould think neceſſary for the intire demolition of the harbour, and for the removing all ſuſpicion that a new harbour was intended to be made on the canal of *Mardyke*. This treaty referred to a memorial ſigned at *London*, in *September*, by Monſieur *Iberville*, Reſident of *France*, and the Lord *Townſhend* and Mr. *Methuen*, Secretaries of State, containing the particulars required by King *George* to make him eaſy and cure his ſuſpicions.

After theſe Preliminaries (which might be conſidered as the purchaſe given by *France* for this Alliance) it was added, that, the true deſign of this treaty being to ſtrengthen the friendſhip eſtabliſhed by the late treaties at *Utrecht*, the articles of thoſe treaties, as far as they concerned the contracting parties, were confirmed and ratified, particularly that the Succeſſion, to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, in the Proteſtant Line, and to the Crown of *France*, in the family of *Orleans*, excluſive of the Houſe of *Anjou*, ſhould remain in full force. A mutual Guarantee was alſo given for the performance of theſe, and all the other articles, and for the defence of the Dominions poſſeſſed by the three Powers at the time of ſigning the treaty. Then was ſettled the ſuccours each ſhould give the party attacked, after fair means had been uſed to induce the aggreſſor to deſiſt from his enterpriſe. *France* and *England* were to furniſh each eight thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, and the *States* half that number. It was free to demand ſhips or money inſtead of troops, and, to prevent all occaſion of diſpute, it was agreed that a thouſand foot ſhould be valued at 10,000 *Dutch* florins a month, and a thouſand horſe at 30,000. The ſuccours at ſea were to be valued in the ſame proportion. 1716.

The chief end of this treaty being to ſupport the Succeſſions to the two Crowns, that article was very largely explained. It was agreed, that, if the Kingdoms, Countries, or Provinces of any of the Allies were diſturbed with inteſtine Diviſions, or by Rebellions, on account of theſe Succeſſions, or any other pretence, the Ally ſo diſturbed ſhould have a right to demand aid, as in caſe of being attacked by a foreign Power; that this aid ſhould be ſent within two months after demand, and the neceſſary expences advanced by thoſe of whom it was demanded, and no repayment to be required till a year after the troubles ſhould ceaſe. In caſe this aid ſhould not be ſufficient, it was added, the whole forces of the other parties ſhould be employed, and if, occaſion required, war ſhould be declared againſt the aggreſſors.

Murmurings againſt the treaty.

As ſoon as this treaty was made public, it raiſed great murmurings, eſpecially in *France*, where it was openly ſaid, the Regent ſacrificed to his ambitious views the honour and advantage of the Nation: The condeſcenſion hitherto ſhewn for *England* on account of the Chevalier *de St. George* had been too great, but the preſent proceedings were ſhameful and mean: The demolition of *Mardyke* would be an eternal monument of the ſubjection of *France* to *England*: *Lewis* XIV. would never have conſented to it, and the unſettled State of *Great-Britain* did not put her in a condition to impoſe laws: A Prince, who had no other intereſt but that of his people, would have taken the opportunity to finiſh a work ſo important and neceſſary: The expreſſions in the treaty, of doing *whatever the King of* Great-Britain *ſhall judge neceſſary to remove his ſuſpicions*, were of a very high ſtrain, and derogatory to the ſovereignty of the Crown of *France*.

The King of *Spain* was highly offended at this Alliance, and complained of it bitterly, affirming, it belonged to the States of the Realm, not to Foreigners, eſpecially the *Engliſh*, perpetual enemies of *France*, to decide pretenſions to the Throne, in caſe God ſhould, in his anger, call the young King to himſelf: And from that time he took meaſures to diſconcert this Alliance.

This ſtrict Alliance with *France* was found fault with even in *England*, where it was pretended, that the Succeſſion was ſufficiently ſecured by the treaty of *Utrecht*, and there was no

1716. occaſion for ſo many foreign troops, which might be called in on pretence of an Invaſion, and perhaps be uſed for very different purpoſes. The King and Regent diſregarded theſe murmurs, being ſatisfied that their mutual intereſt would oblige them to an inviolable performance of their engagements. The character of theſe two Princes had a great reſemblance in many particulars. They had both great talents for Government, and may be ſaid to have equally had an occaſion for them in their reſpective circumſtances, which were much the ſame. Alike diſſatisfied with the late Adminiſtration of affairs, they obſerved the ſame conduct. None of the friends and creatures of *Lewis* XIV. were in favour with the Duke of *Orleans*; as none of the friends and creatures of Queen *Anne* were in favour with King *George*. The difference, in their manner of treating them, entirely flowed from the different uſages of the Nations they governed. King *George* delivered himſelf up to the Whigs, who had been perſecuted in the late Reign: The Duke of *Orleans* ſeemed to give himſelf up to the *Janſeniſts*, whom *Lewis* XIV. had conſtantly ill-uſed: They changed Miniſters almoſt as often one as the other: Their Competitors inſpired them with the ſame views, and almoſt the ſame precautions: They were alike even in their death, for Both died ſuddenly. The Duke of *Orleans* is ſaid to have had a more prompt and ready genius: The multitude and difficulty of his affairs never hindered him from purſuing his pleaſures, whereas King *George* was always attentive, always ſerious, and ſeemed an enemy to all amuſements; and therefore he was, beyond compariſon, more regular in his manners and conduct; beſides, he was more conſtantly attached to the party he had eſpouſed, and was never ſeen to waver between the Whigs and Tories, as did the Duke of *Orleans* between the *Janſeniſts* and *Moliniſts*.

Negotiations in the North almoſt fruitleſs.

General *Cadogan* had much better ſucceſs in his Negotiations with *France*, than the King had in his with the Northern Powers. Notwithſtanding all his endeavours, he could engage them neither to be reconciled, nor even to ſuſpend their reſentments. He ſeemed, however, to have ſucceeded in ſpite of the King of *Denmark*'s deſire to preſerve his advantages, and the King of *Sweden*'s eagerneſs to revenge and repair his loſſes. His *Swediſh* Majeſty had preſented to the Emperor and the Diet pacific memorials, and even ſent Plenipotentiaries to aſſiſt at the Congreſs of *Brunſwick*; but all theſe hopes quickly vaniſhed. King *George* had, however, made that Prince all the advances imaginable: Had ſtrongly preſſed the Emperor, the Kings of *Denmark* and *Pruſſia*, and even the Czar himſelf, that the *Ruſſians* might march out of the Empire: Nay, it is ſaid, he had proceeded ſo far towards a ſeparate peace with the King of *Sweden*, as to offer to join with him againſt the *Muſcovite*, on condition only that he would renounce all pretenſions to the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*. King *Charles* XII. was intractable; incenſed at the war made againſt him, when he could not defend himſelf; and ſtill more at the peace, which they would compel him to make, on conditions, as he thought, both diſhonourable and hard, he breathed nothing but revenge, and was as much offended with the King of *Great-Britain*, as with the Czar and the King of *Denmark*.

As King *George* could not obtain the ceſſion 1716.
he deſired, he took the beſt meaſures to ſecure his new acquiſitions, and compel the King of *Sweden* to remain quiet. It was given out, that the Confederacy he had entered into was formed purely for the ſake of peace. It was agreed by the Confederates, that each ſhould furniſh a certain number of forces and ſhips, not to make new conqueſts upon *Sweden*, but to oblige his *Swediſh* Majeſty to ſit eaſy under his loſſes, and not endeavour to recover them. This rupture with *Sweden* was not only detrimental to the trade of *Great-Britain*, but had like to prove fatal to the King; for, whilſt he was labouring for a peace in the North, in order to ſecure his *German* poſſeſſions, a ſcheme was contriving to deprive him of his *Britiſh* Dominions.

The diſaffected in *England*, ſtill purſuing their deſigns in favour of the Pretender, turned their eyes on the King of *Sweden* to accompliſh it. They knew how exaſperated he was againſt King *George*, and how glad he would be of a revenge: Count *Gyllenburg* was the *Swediſh* Reſident at *London*. The Count was applied to, or perhaps made the firſt overtures. The affair was carried on not only at *London*, but by Baron *Gortz*, the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador at the *Hague*, and by Baron *Sparre* at *Paris*, with the *Engliſh* Jacobites there, and other friends of the Pretender. Baron *Gortz*, who was the projector of this plot, went to *France*, in order to bring things to the point he deſired, and becauſe the ſecret could be kept better at *Paris* than at the *Hague*. The Czar was alſo treated with, who was known to be offended with King *George*.

Theſe Negotiations could not be ſo privately managed, but that they were ſuſpected by the Court of *England*. In *April*, when the Septennial Bill was in hand, intimations had been given that a ſecond Invaſion was to be feared, and this apprehenſion was made one of the motives for continuing a Houſe of Commons, in which the King had ſo much reaſon to confide. Theſe ſuſpicions were indeed not very clear, but, in the ſituation of *Europe* at that time, it was not difficult to gueſs from what quarter the danger was to come. The good diſpoſition of the Duke of *Orleans* had removed all uneaſineſs with reſpect to *France*. The King of *Spain*, wholly intent on his projects againſt the Emperor, could not be ſuſpected of quarrelling with *England*. The North therefore was the only place from whence the ſtorm could be thought to proceed: This conjecture, the only reaſonable one that could be formed, determined King *George* to repair to *Hanover*, where he could beſt diſcover the intentions of his enemies. He ſucceeded in his deſign; at leaſt the public was, in a few days after his arrival at *London*, informed of the plot, by the ſeizing of Count *Gyllenburg*.

The King, having finiſhed all his affairs abroad, 17
ſet out from *Hanover* the 19th of *January*, *N. S.* The
and in ten days landed at *Margate*, from whence Eng
he proceeded to *London*.

It was expected, the Parliament would have The
immediately met, but their meeting was put off diſſ
for ſome time, on account of a ſurprizing event. dem
On the 29th of *January*, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* communicated to the Privy Council the informations, the King had received of a Conſpiracy, which had, for ſome time, been carried on to excite a new Rebellion, and to favour a foreign Invaſion. The ſame night Major *Smith*, an

17. an *Iriſh* Officet, who was no longer in the ſervice, and who, that very evening, had been playing at Baſſet at the apartments in *St. James's*, was ſeized at his lodgings; and, about twelve o'clock, Lieutenant Colonel *Blakeney*, with a detachment of the Foot-guards, ſecured the Houſe of Count *Gyllenburg*, the *Swediſh* Reſident. Not long after, Major-General *Wade*, attended by the Colonel, went and knocked at the door of the *Swediſh* Miniſter, and, being admitted, found him making up ſome diſpatches. Having, in a few words, made him a compliment, and acquainted him with his Commiſſion to put a guard upon his perſon, and to ſecure his papers, he laid hold on ſuch, as were on the table, and demanded thoſe, that were in his ſcrutore. Count *Gyllenburg*'s ſurprize raiſed in him an extraordinary emotion, which made him expoſtulate with ſome warmth about the law of Nations being violated in his perſon; but, having ſomewhat recovered his temper, he deſired leave to ſend for the Marquiſs *de Monteleone*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, that he might conſult with him, how to act on ſuch an occaſion. But General *Wade*, having poſitive orders not to let him ſpeak with any perſon, could not grant his requeſt. On the other hand, the Count's Lady having refuſed the keys of the ſcrutore, upon pretence, that there was nothing in it but linnen and plate, the General cauſed it to be broke open; and, having found in it a great many papers, he ſealed them all up, and left a ſtrong guard upon the Reſident. The ſame morning *Charles Cæſar*, formerly Treaſurer of the Navy, and Member of Parliament for the Borough of *Hertford*; and Sir *Jacob Bancks*, formerly Member of Parliament for *Minehead*, were apprehended, upon ſuſpicion of being in Confederacy with Count *Gyllenburg*.

There were ſeveral conjectures as to the means of this important diſcovery. Some affirmed, the King had long before notice of the deſign from *France*; others, that the diſcovery was owing to an intercepted letter from Count *Gyllenburg* to the Lord *Duffus*, priſoner in the *Tower*: And others aſſerted, the Lord *Duffus* accidently revealed the Conſpiracy to an *Engliſh* Lord, his fellow priſoner, who diſcovered it to the Government, and thereby merited his pardon. Be this as it will, it is certain, that the King and his Miniſters had long before entertained ſuſpicions of the Count's clandeſtine practices; which were not a little increaſed upon the publication of a libel about *September* 1716, intitled, *An* Engliſh *Merchant's remarks upon a ſcandalous Jacobite paper publiſhed in the* Poſt-Boy, *under the name of*, 'A memorial preſented to the Chancery of *Sweden*, by the Reſident of *Great-Britain*.' Of which libel Count *Gyllenburg* was ſuſpected to be the Author, as afterwards appeared by his letters *.

The ſecuring the perſon and papers of a public Miniſter being an affair of an extraordinary nature, and ſome foreign Miniſters having expreſſed their reſentments of it at Court, they were given to underſtand, that in a day or two they ſhould be acquainted with the reaſons for proceeding againſt the *Swediſh* Miniſter in ſuch a manner. Accordingly, the Secretaries of State, Mr. *Stanhope* and Mr. *Methuen* wrote a circular letter to the foreign Miniſters of their reſpective diſtricts, who were pretty well reconciled to the proceedings of the Court; only the Marquiſs *de Monteleone*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, 1716-17. ſaid, in his anſwer to Mr. *Stanhope*: 'That he was ſorry no other way could be found out, for preſerving the peace of his Majeſty's Dominions, without arreſting the perſon of a public Miniſter, and ſeizing all his papers, which are the ſacred repoſitories of the ſecrets of his Maſter; and, in whatever manner theſe two facts may ſeem to be underſtood, they ſeem very ſenſibly to wound the law of Nations.'

Baron Gortz ſecured.

Not many days after the ſeizing of Count *Gyllenburg*, Baron *Gortz*, Miniſter and Favourite of the King of *Sweden*, was likewiſe ſecured in *Guelderland*, in the following manner: Mr. *Leathes*, the *Britiſh* Reſident at the *Hague*, received the King's orders to deſire the Regents of that State to conſent to the ſeizing of Baron *Gortz*, with his two Secretaries Mr. *Stambke* and Mr. *Guſtavus Gyllenburg*, the Baron having for ſome time been concerned in carrying on a correſpondence, and concerting meaſures with the *Britiſh* Rebels in *France*, and with ſeveral perſons in *England*, by means of Count *Gyllenburg*, for raiſing a Rebellion in *England*, to be ſupported by a foreign force. Mr. *Leathes* went immediately to *Amſterdam*, and diſpoſed the Magiſtrates of that place to conſent to the ſecuring of Baron *Gortz*, in caſe he ſhould come thither from *France*; and returned back to the *Hague*. The ſame night Baron *Gortz* arrived there, having heard at *Calais* of Count *Gyllenburg*'s being put under arreſt, which prevented his going over to *England*, as he intended. He had, on the 18th of *February*, a Conference with the Imperial Miniſter, wherein he extolled the inclination of the King of *Sweden* to peace, and inſiſted on a reſolution about his laſt propoſitions; but, the next day, he ſet out, a little before noon, in a poſt chaiſe, accompanied by General *Poniatoweſki*, having, as it is believed, had ſome notice, that orders were given to ſecure him, which, indeed, he narrowly eſcaped. For, upon Mr. *Leathes*'s application, the Council of the *States* of *Holland* met, and paſſed a reſolution for ſeizing the Baron and his Secretaries; but before it could be executed, the Baron and Mr. *Stambke* were gone that morning for *Amſterdam*; ſo that only Mr. *Gyllenburg* was then taken. A party of horſe was immediately ſent after the other two, and Mr. *Leathes* followed them to *Amſterdam*, and, learning where Baron *Gortz* was lodged, he went, accompanied with the proper Officers, to the houſe of M. *Teitſen*, a *Swediſh* Merchant, and ſearched it; but the Baron had left it ſome hours before. However a box was found, in which were twelve large packets of letters; and, informations being given which way the Baron had taken, ſome perſons were diſpatched after him, who ſeized him and Mr. *Stambke* at *Arnheim*, by leave of the Magiſtrates of that place, as they were taking coach to go on from thence. Mr. *Leathes*, being returned to the *Hague*, waited on the Deputies of the Province of *Guelderland*, who thought fit to write a letter to the Magiſtrates of *Arnheim*, ordering them to cauſe the Baron and M. *Stambke* to be kept in ſafe cuſtody. On this occaſion, all thoſe of the Regency, who were applied to, entered readily into the reaſonableneſs of the King's demands, and gave all the aſſiſtance and diſpatch, that was conſiſtent with the known forms of proceeding in that Country. It is obſervable, that, when Baron *Gortz* was ſeized, he

owned himſelf to have been the projector of the intended Invaſion of *Great-Britain* by the King of *Sweden*, and that he had actually provided ten thouſand arms, and other neceſſaries for this ſervice, valuing himſelf very much upon what he had done in this affair, as thinking it extremely for the intereſt of his Maſter, and a noble and glorious enterprize (1).

1716-17.

The ſecond Seſſion of the fifth Parliament of Great-Britain.

The Parliament of *Great-Britain* met on the 20th of *February*, according to their laſt prorogation; and the King being come to the Houſe of Peers with the uſual ſolemnity, and delivering a ſpeech into the Lord Chancellor's hands, it was by him read to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech. Pr. H. C.

"I Was in hopes, that the ſucceſs which it "pleaſed God to give us, in defeating the "late Rebellion, might have ſecured to the "Nation peace, plenty, and tranquillity.

"My endeavours have not been wanting, "during your receſs, to improve the happy "proſpect, which was in view, by entering in"to ſuch Negotiations, as I judged moſt con"ducive to thoſe good ends: And it is with "pleaſure I can acquaint you, that many de"fects in the treaties of *Utrecht*, which very "nearly affected the trade, and even the ſecu"rity of theſe Kingdoms, have been remedied "by ſubſequent Conventions, the happy con"ſequences of which have already very ſenſibly "appeared by the flouriſhing condition of our "trade and credit.

"By the Alliance lately concluded with "*France* and the *States-General*, we are ſoon "to be eaſed of all future apprehenſions from "*Dunkirk* and *Mardyke*. The Pretender is ac"tually removed beyond the *Alps*: His adhe"rents are deprived of all hopes of ſupport and "countenance from *France*; and even the aſſiſt"ance of that Crown is ſtipulated to us in caſe "of exigency.

"It ſeemed reaſonable to expect, that ſuch a "ſituation of affairs at home and abroad ſhould "have recovered from their deluſion all ſuch "of our ſubjects, as had unhappily been ſedu"ced by the craft and wickedneſs of deſperate "and ill-deſigning men, and thereby have af"forded me the opportunity, which I deſired, "of following the natural bent of my own in"clinations to lenity, by opening this Seſſion "with an Act of Grace. But ſuch is the obſti"nate and inveterate rancour of a faction a"mongſt us, that it hath again prompted them "to animate and ſtir up foreign Powers to diſ"turb the peace of their native Country: They "will chooſe rather to make *Britain* a ſcene of "blood and confuſion, and to venture even the "putting this Kingdom under a foreign Yoke, "than give over their darling deſign of impo"ſing a *Popiſh* Pretender.

"I have ordered to be laid before you copies "of letters, which have paſſed between the "*Swediſh* Miniſters on this occaſion, which "contain a certain account of the projected In"vaſion: And I promiſe myſelf from your ex"perienced zeal and affection to my Perſon and "Government, that you will come to ſuch re"ſolutions, as will enable me; by the Bleſſing "of God, to defeat all the deſigns of our ene"mies againſt us.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I did hope, the putting an end to the late "Rebellion would have ſo far ſecured the peace "and tranquillity of the Nation, that I might, "conſiſtently with the ſafety of my people, "have made a conſiderable reduction of the "forces. But the preparations, which are mak"ing from abroad to invade us, oblige me to "aſk ſuch ſupplies, as you ſhall find abſolutely "neceſſary for the defence of the Kingdom.

"You are all ſenſible of the inſupportable "weight of the national debts, which the pub"lic became engaged for, from the neceſſity of "the times, the preſſures of a long and expen"ſive war, and the languiſhing ſtate of public "credit. But, the ſcene being now ſo happily "changed, if no new diſturbances ſhall plunge "us again into ſtreights and difficulties, the "general expectation ſeems to require of you, "that you ſhould turn your thoughts toward "ſome method of extricating yourſelves, by "reducing, by degrees, the debts of the Na"tion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have an intire confidence in you, and "have therefore nothing to aſk, but, that "you would take ſuch meaſures, as will beſt "ſecure your Religion and Liberties. While "you preſerve thoſe ineſtimable Bleſſings, I "ſhall ſit eaſy and ſafe on my Throne, having "no other view but the happineſs and proſpe"rity of my people (2).

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(1) To juſtify this Invaſion, it was urged, that King *George*, as Elector of *Hanover*, had aſſiſted the Princes in Confederacy againſt the King of *Sweden*, proclaimed war againſt him, aided the King of *Denmark* to take *Bremen* and *Verden*, and afterwards purchaſed theſe two Duchies of him. And this year had given inſtructions to Sir *John Norris* to join the *Daniſh* and *Ruſſian* fleets in the *Baltick*; which the Admiral did accordingly.

(2) Beſides the treaty of Commerce with *Spain* (by which the three articles tacked to the treaty of *Utrecht* were revoked, and all other grievances in trade removed) and the Triple Alliance between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and the *States*, the King had concluded another treaty with the Emperor, *May* 16, 1716, which he did not think fit to mention to the Parliament. By this treaty, there was to be perfect unity between them, and each was to reckon the advantages and loſſes of the other as his own. They were to defend one another in the poſſeſſion of all their preſent Kingdoms, Provinces, and Rights, and, in caſe either of them was attacked, the other was to aſſiſt with eight thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, or with ſhips in proportion. No Prince was to be admitted without common conſent; but the *States* were to be admitted, and even invited without delay, to accede to it. By a ſeparate article this treaty was not to extend to the Emperor's wars with the *Turks*.

The deſign of this Alliance was to rouze the jealouſy of *France*, and incline the Regent to haſten a treaty with *England*. Accordingly, when he heard of this treaty, he reſolved to enter into an Alliance with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, and the treaty (as hath been ſaid) was concluded at *Hanover* the beginning of the next year.

(1) The

The King being withdrawn, and the Commons returned to their Houſe, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* laid before them copies of the letters which paſſed between Count *Gyllenburg*, the Barons *Goertz* and *Sparre*, and others, relating to a deſign of raiſing a Rebellion in *Great-Britain*, to be ſupported by an Invaſion from *Sweden*. By theſe letters it appeared, that a deſign was formed to dethrone King *George*, and conducted in ſuch a manner, as almoſt to warrant ſucceſs. Artful papers were publiſhed to foment and increaſe diſcontent and diviſion; the apparent tranquillity, enjoyed in *Great-Britain*, was to be an occaſion of requiring and obtaining the reduction of the national, and diſmiſſion of the foreign forces; ſhips, bought at different places, were to aſſemble at *Gottenburg* by the end of *March*, when the Eaſt-winds uſually blow, on board of which eight thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe were to imbark, with artillery, ammunition, and arms for fifteen thouſand men. The great number of the Diſaffected had been ſo far relied on, that the ſecret of the Negotiation had been truſted in *England* but to very few perſons; nothing was tranſacted in writing; no treaty was made; the mutual concern for the ſucceſs of the undertaking was, as it were, the warrant for the promiſes that were given.

This method of treating prolonged the Negotiation, but withal was a ſecurity againſt the ill conſequences of a diſcovery. Both ſides were equally deſirous of being concealed. The King of *Sweden* abſolutely refuſed to appear in the affair, till the time of execution; and the Pretender's friends, with whom Count *Gyllenburg* treated at *London*, would not engage for any thing till they had his Maſter's word. They did not care to labour in vain; but, as ſoon as they ſhould have the aſſurance of his aſſiſtance, money ſhould not be wanting, nor means to ſupport the affair. Upon this, Baron *Gortz* ſpoke out more plainly. He ſent word, he had done nothing but upon the knowledge of his Maſter's intentions, and had lately been impowered in form to proſecute the enterprize. He ſent a copy of his full powers which were unlimited, and it was viſible they were ſo extenſive, only becauſe there might be no occaſion to mention the affair, which was to be concealed from the Miniſters at *Stockholm*. 1716-17

This aſſurance removed all uneaſineſs and irreſolution; money was given; views were explained; means of ſubſiſting the foreign troops were particulariſed; a perſon was procured, who was perfectly acquainted with the coaſts where it was reſolved they ſhould land; ſhips of war were provided, from ſixty to ſeventy guns; Merchant-men, that were to carry corn to *Gottenburg*, were to ſerve for tranſports. The ſcheme was well laid, and the execution ſeemed infallible; eſpecially, if the army had been reduced, and the *Dutch* forces ſent home. Twelve thouſand choſen *Swedes*, in a condition to receive thoſe that were ready to join them, would have quickly formed a powerful army: Encouraged by ſuch an army, the people would have riſen on all ſides: The *Highlanders* would have all been in arms: The torrent would have increaſed without ceaſing, and a battle would have decided the affair. Thus much is certain, the project was infinitely better concerted than the laſt year's: The continual motions of the *Swediſh* forces would have ſerved to cover the true deſign, till it would have been too late to oppoſe it; a few days ſufficed to convey them into *Scotland* or *England*. But a timely diſcovery confounded all theſe meaſures, and eſtabliſhed King *George* on the Throne (1).

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(1) The reader may ſee all theſe particulars, at large, in the following abſtracts of the letters.

The firſt letter is from Baron *Sparre*, to Count *Gyllenburg*, dated at *Paris*, *September* 25, 1716; in which the Baron acquaints the Count, 'That three days before, he was informed, that he [Count *Gyllenburg*] had entered upon buſineſs with ſome Lords of the chief of the Pretender's party: That, they took it for granted, he was authorized to do ſo, by the King of *Sweden*; and, in a word, that he was inclined to believe, that his *Swediſh* Majeſty would eſpouſe the intereſts of that Prince. In the firſt place, *adds the Baron*, I will tell you, that I ſhall be charmed with it; and then, that it is not from a motive of curioſity, that I aſk, whether what I have heard be true; but, that I may co-operate with you, though indirectly, till I have powers like yours, with which, you know, we are obliged to proceed very cautiouſly. Do me the friendſhip to let me know, what there is in this matter, as ſoon as poſſible. I flatter myſelf, you will find your account in it.

The next is a letter from Count *Gyllenburg* to Baron *Gertz*, dated *London*, *Sept.* 29, O. S. *Octob.* 9, N. S. 1716; which, being very material, deſerves to be inſerted at length. 'In anſwer to your Excellency's letter, *ſays the Count*, of the 22d paſt, I now do myſelf the honour to acquaint you, that every body here is of opinion, that either *France* is extreamly weak, or elſe, that the Regent aims at the Throne, and is deſirous to purchaſe it of King *George*, at any rate; for, otherwiſe, it is thought impoſſible, that *France* could condeſcend to make ſo ignominous a ſacrifice, as ſhe does, of a work [*Mardyke*] which coſt her ſo much, and for which the late King would have undergone a ten years war. People go ſo far here, as to lay wagers, that the young King of *France* will be diſpatched, before a certain time, to make room for his Uncle. But, if the report, which is current at preſent, proves true, that the young King is fallen ill of the Small-pox, it is very poſſible, that Providence may confound his vaſt projects, which, among other things, tend to ſet up the Court of *Hanover* to ſerve *France*, in our ſtead, as a balance againſt the power of the Emperor: And it was with this view, that *France* already offered, laſt ſpring, to conſent to guaranty to the *Hanoverians* the poſſeſſion of the Duchy of *Bremen*. If the Emperor conſiders well the time, at which *France* takes theſe ſteps, and *England* is ſo forward to anſwer them, he will find, that his laſt advantage over the *Turks* has begot a jealouſy in thoſe two Powers, and has made them bethink themſelves, in good time, of ſecuring one another, mutually, againſt his power. I know not with what deſign it is done; but the Miniſtry, at preſent, give out, that the peace of the North is actually in agitation, and that it will be concluded to the ſatisfaction of the King of *Sweden*. My friends would perſuade me, that this is done, in order to quiet a little the minds of thoſe, whoſe eyes my paper [*Remarks of an* Engliſh *Merchant*, &c.] has opened. Be that as it will, I can aſſure your Excellency, that never any paper met with a more general approbation; and, if I might venture to give my opinion, I ſhould think it would not be improper to cauſe it to be printed in *French*, in *Dutch*, and even in *Engliſh*, at the *Hague*. Your Excellency may be aſſured, that, if theſe Gentlemen here make any anſwer to it, I ſhall be ready to baffle them intirely, and that there is nothing in the world I ſhould ſo much wiſh for.

Whether they do this, or not, I intend to have ſeveral pieces ready againſt the meeting of the Parliament,

1716-17. The letters, being read in both Houſes, raiſed the utmoſt indignation in all the Well-affected to the Government, and addreſſes were preſented, full of the moſt lively expreſſions of loyalty and zeal, and of reſentment againſt the proceedings of the late Miniſtry. The Lords, in their addreſs, ſaid, 'We are ſenſible, that the groſs defects and pernicious conſequences of the late treaty of *Utrecht* could not have been remedied, 1716-17. but by your Majeſty's unwearied application for the good of your ſubjects, and by that juſt regard, which is paid by foreign Potentates to your known wiſdom and integrity. It is with unſpeakable ſatisfaction, that we ſee your Majeſty's endeavours ſucceſsful in ſuch Conventions, as have already given new life to our trade and credit;

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ment, and to publiſh them by a little at a time, the impatience of the people here not ſuffering them to read long deductions: And, if I had wherewithal to defray the expence, I would cauſe ſome of them to be printed immediately, and the papers to be conveyed into ſuch places, that it ſhould not be in the power of this Court to hinder the impreſſion. The intimations, which have been made me, terminate in bringing in the Pretender; but, as I cannot enter upon that affair, without an expreſs order from the King, my Maſter, I have avoided coming to particulars.

Ten thouſand men, tranſported hither from *Sweden*, would do the buſineſs; and, I believe, we ſhall not be at a loſs for money.

I ſend you, incloſed, the tranſlation of the paper, which has been publiſhed here.'

Baron *Gortz*, in his anſwer, dated at the *Hague*, *October* $\frac{5}{8}$, 1716, is of opinion, 'That, hitherto, they need not be much diſturbed about the treaty between *France* and *Great-Britain*; and adds, 'That the Count's printed piece deſerves the approbation it meets with: That he has ſent it to the King, and will take care to get tranſlations of it into other languages printed. He deſires to know the expence of printing the other pieces of the Count's compoſing: Cautions him, not to make any mention, in his letters to the King, nor to his correſpondents in *Sweden*, of what has been inſinuated to him about the Pretender: But that, in the mean time, he will run no riſque, in acquainting him with all the particulars on that head; and that, above all, it will be neceſſary to make him clearly underſtand, how ten thouſand men might do the buſineſs; that is to ſay, what ſcheme has been contrived, and what motive they propoſe to offer, to induce the King of *Sweden* to enter into this affair.'

Count *Gyllenburg*, in his anſwer, dated at *London*, *October* $\frac{13}{2}$, 1716, tells Baron *Gortz*, 'I ſay nothing to the Alliance lately made by *France*. Laſt ſpring, *France* offered the *Hanoverians* their guaranty of the poſſeſſion of *Bremen*, and I doubt not, but they have now done it. How do we know, but this may produce good diſpoſitions at *Vienna* towards us? It was in jeſt only, that Count *Volkra* told M. *Petkum*, that his Maſter would enter into that Alliance.

I am very glad, that my pamphlet meets with your Excellency's approbation. I aſſure you, that to print the pieces, that will be neceſſary, will coſt me, at leaſt, ſixty pounds. Printers muſt be bribed to it, for they run great riſques, in printing any thing, that diſpleaſes the Government: But I will keep an exact account of every penny.

I would begin with our treaty, and make ſhort remarks upon it*. Afterwards, I will print extracts from the Cuſtom-Houſe, to ſhew the little neceſſity there is of the trade to *Petersburg* and *Riga*, eſpecially this year. Then I will come to the *Hanover* declaration of war, and will examine it, if it be neceſſary. After that, I will proceed to every one of our enemies, and I doubt not, but to undeceive the Nation.'

* *This was done and ſold privately.*

To this letter Count *Gyllenburg* ſubjoins this remarkable poſtſcript:

'Your Excellency will have ſeen, by my laſt to M. *de Mullern*, what I have written upon the ſubject in queſtion. You will be pleaſed to ſend, or keep back, that letter, juſt as you ſhall judge convenient. However, I beg you would be pleaſed to inform me which you do.

There is no medium; either *Bremen*, or the *Hanoverians*, muſt be ſacrificed. The latter is not ſo difficult, conſidering the general diſcontent. Ten thouſand men would be ſufficient. The malecontents require but a body of regular troops, to which they may join themſelves. That body, being tranſported in the month of *March*, when the eaſterly winds reign, and when it will not in the leaſt be dreamt on, will cauſe a general revolt. We muſt alſo have arms for between fifteen and twenty thouſand men, and as many accoutrements as can be got; for, as to horſes, we ſhall have them here. Your Excellency may eaſily judge of what advantage this will be to the King; and, in my poor opinion, we have no other courſe to take, unleſs we are willing to give up every thing. My friends are not in town, but I ſhall ſpeak with them ſome day the next week; and then your Excellency may expect their ſcheme: In the mean time, I ſhould be of opinion, that, if the buſineſs could be done, without making uſe of a great many *Engliſh*, there would be the leſs riſque run; for I do not know, whether I ought to touch upon what the King muſt have further, for, although they will endeavour to do every thing, that I aſk; yet, as it muſt be by a contribution raiſed among a great many, it may happen, that there may be a falſe brother. Our men once landed, I anſwer for the reſt. In the mean time, I beg you would remember what I had the honour to write to you, laſt ſummer, concerning one *N*———. No body knows the ſea and the coaſts, better than he, and he is a brave and honeſt man. In ſhort, it will be a glorious enterprize, which will put an end to all our misfortunes, by ruining thoſe, that are the authors of them. As to what I have to ſay of the time, the ſooner the better, after the trade to *Gottenburg* is ended, or before it begins.'

The next letter is from Count *Gyllenburg*, to his brother, *Guſtavus Gyllenburg*, Secretary to Baron *de Gortz* dated at *London*, *October* $\frac{16}{27}$, 1716; in which the poſtſcript to Baron *Gortz*, is only material, which is as follows:

'I have ſince ſpoken with two of the principals, who have aſſured me, that there ſhall be ſixty thouſand pounds, *ſterling*, ready, as ſoon as I ſhall ſhew them a line from the King, with aſſurances under his own hand, that he will aſſiſt them. As for the ſcheme, I ſhall have it within a few days. One of them, who is the chief promoter of this affair, aſſured me, that we had nothing to apprehend from the Regent on this occaſion.'

By a letter dated at the *Hague*, *November* 3, 1716. M. *Guſtavus Gyllenburg* acquaints his brother, the Count, that he has given Baron *Gortz* his letter of the $\frac{16}{27}$ of *October*, to read, as well as the note therein incloſed; to which he made him the following anſwer: 'It is my repeated advice to forbear ſpeaking any thing at all of money; but to hear people only, ſo as to learn clearly what they are able and diſpoſed to do, and to acquaint me with it, without opening your ſelf to them.'

The next letter is from Count *Gyllenburg* to Baron *Gortz*, dated at *London*, *November* 4, 1716, as follows: 'In anſwer to what your Excellency has done me the honour to write to me in the poſtſcript to your letter of the $\frac{16}{27}$th paſt, I grant there would be no harm in hearing the inſinuations of this Court, if they were made not only without my promiſing to make report of them to his Majeſty, but alſo my giving them hopes of his Majeſty's being reſolved to be reconciled to the *Hanoverians*, and to ſacrifice *Bremen* to them for ſome equivalent on the part of the Czar. But as, without that, they will make no overtures, for fear we ſhould make uſe of them to increaſe ſtill more the diſtruſt, which is between the Northern Allies, and ſo make an advantage of them; it is not in my power to get

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6-17. credit; and particularly in the treaty lately concluded with *France* and the *States-General*. As your Majeſty has, by this treaty, recovered to us, in ſo great a meaſure, thoſe advantages, which might have been expected from a glorious and ſucceſsful war, and were given up by a treacherous and diſhonourable peace; we beg leave to congratulate your Majeſty upon an Alliance, which opens to us ſo fair a proſpect of an undiſturbed Succeſſion, an equal Balance of Power, and a flouriſhing Commerce. 1716-17.

We return your Majeſty our moſt humble thanks, for your Majeſty's moſt gracious condeſcenſion, in having laid before your Parliament the diſcoveries concerning the intended Invaſion; and cannot but regard, with the utmoſt horror and

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any thing particular out of them; nor am I able to ſay of what ſervice to us their aſſiſtance againſt the Czar would be; but if I were to gueſs by their diſcourſe, who have been talking with me about it, as from themſelves, though I eaſily perceived it was by order of the Miniſters. I ſhould believe, that, if the Preliminary concerning *Bremen* was ſettled, the *Engliſh* Miniſters would be very well pleaſed to retrieve the falſe ſtep they have made, by talking loudly of the defenſive treaty between us, and by perſuading the Nation to give us the ſuccours therein ſtipulated either in money or ſhips. I ſhould fancy alſo, that we might come to an agreement in relation to what they ought to help us to take from the Czar, by way of reprizal for our loſſes in *Germany*. On the other hand, and if we do not ſubmit to them, your Excellency may be aſſured, that, as well to juſtify their paſt actions, as to force us to a compliance, they will prevail upon the mercenary Parliament, which they have at preſent, to take vigorous reſolutions, and even to declare war againſt us. This is what we muſt expect. The *Engliſh* Miniſters do not mince the matter; and they have already made it appear, that they will ſtick at nothing. They are all furious perſons. *Sunderland*, who is, in a manner, at the head of affairs, and who has got all the intereſt he has with the King of *England*, by having conſented to what has been done againſt us (being beſides our enemy) is at preſent at *Hanover*, to take his inſtructions from the *Germans*, and your Excellency may depend upon it, he will execute them with all the boldneſs [*Effronterie*] imaginable. Your Excellency will therefore find, we ought to make uſe of this opportunity to enter into meaſures againſt people, who certainly will not do things by halves. We muſt either ruin them, or be undone ourſelves, that is, if it be in their power to bring it to paſs.

Poſtſcript. My friends are now in town. An expreſs, which came to them yeſterday from the Pretender, will put them in a better condition for forming a plan. To-day they are going about it. There are only five or ſix of the moſt conſiderable perſons conſulted. They would know, in caſe we agree, whether the money muſt be paid here or elſewhere, or if it muſt be ſent over to *Sweden*. They have alſo aſked me, if we had any occaſion for Sea-Officers, for then they could furniſh us with good ones.'

In another letter at *London*, *November* 13, 1716, Count *Gyllenburg* made good his promiſe to Baron *Gortz*, about giving him his ſentiments about the buſineſs contained in the Baron's laſt poſtſcript. 'The ſum thereof, *ſays the Count*, is what I have already hinted, that we muſt determine one way or other, and that very ſpeedily. We have not, in my humble opinion, any time to loſe in conſultations. If we do not take advantage of their preſent animoſity, it will cool; for the Court, that is to ſay, the Prince's party, does all that is poſſible to gain them. With the moſt conſiderable, it would perhaps be neceſſary to go on roundly. They run the hazard of their lives and fortunes in declaring themſelves, ſo that they will not ſpeak but upon good ſecurity. And as to the people of the ſecond rank, beſides, that it would perhaps be dangerous ſo much as to hearken to their propoſals, theſe propoſals of theirs are of ſo little conſequence, and ſo confuſed, that we ſhould not be able from them to form any idea of the affair. I ſhould likewiſe be of opinion, that, till I receive freſh orders from your Excellency, the ſafeſt way will be to avoid all converſations of that kind.'

The next letter is from M. *Guſtavus Gyllenburg* to the Count his Brother, dated at the *Hague*, *Novemb.* 17, 1716, the ſubſtance of which is as follows: 'On *Tueſday* laſt arrived here a letter from Baron *Sparre*, importing, That he had hopes of ſucceeding in his ſollicitation, to have M. *Lench* ſent to the King. In his letter was incloſed one from the Duke of *Ormond* to Baron *Gortz*, in which the Duke ſays, That the King his Maſter had ordered him to let him [*Gortz*] know, that he expects ſhortly a ſupply of money; that he will then remit ſixty thouſand pounds *ſterling* to his *Swediſh* Majeſty, leaving the diſpoſal of it to him; and that he begs him to look upon this as an earneſt of his good will to him. The bearer of this letter added, that the remittances might be made, either to —, or to——. M. *Sparre* has ſince told the ſaid Baron, in confidence, of the men of war, that we have bought in *France*, which will be ready and delivered. And that we are ſolliciting the Court of *France* to ſend a perſon to the Czar, to make advantage of the pacific diſpoſition he is now in. But as this ſollicitation meets with many obſtacles, and that beſides *France* does not appear over forward to do any thing for us, unleſs it be in concert with *England*, M. *Sparre* takes notice, that my Lord *Mar* has a Couſin-German, named *Erskine*, with the Czar, who is Phyſician and Privy-Counſellor to that Prince; which Favourite has wrote letters to my Lord *Mar*, giving a very particular account of the Czar, *viz.* that the Czar will not attempt any thing more againſt the King of *Sweden*; that he has fallen out with his Allies; that he can never be friends with King *George*; that he hates him mortally; that he is ſenſible of the juſt cauſe of the Pretender; that he wiſhes for nothing more than a conjuncture, in which he may be able to reſtore him to his Dominions; that the Czar, having the advantage wholly on his ſide, cannot make the firſt ſtep; but, if the King would make the leaſt advance, there would be very ſoon an accommodation between them. The Pretender has ſent to deſire Baron *Sparre* to procure him leave to retire to *Stockholm*. M. *Sparre* has returned anſwer, that, as this would be the ſame thing as declaring war by ſound of trumpet, it would abſolutely ſpoil the buſineſs in hand.'

In this letter Mr. *Guſtavus Gyllenburg* incloſed the copy of another letter from Baron *Gortz* to Baron *Sparre*, dated *Novemb.* 12, 1716, as follows: 'I ſtill look upon the ſending M. *Lench* as very uncertain, becauſe I am perſuaded, that *France* will not take any ſtep, that may give the leaſt ſuſpicion, or by which they may diſguſt *England*, before they have finiſhed the treaty of Alliance, that is now depending. Yet methinks they might venture to intimate to the Court of *England*, that they have a mind to ſend a perſon to the King, to ſound his Majeſty's intentions more thoroughly touching a reconciliation, and in order to qualify themſelves the better to do good offices.

As to the affair of *England*, and the Duke of *Ormond*'s letter to me, of which you have ſent me a copy, I cannot forbear telling you frankly, Sir, that, if my ſcheme upon it be not approved and complied with, I cannot enter at all into that affair. It is upon the foundation of my ſcheme, that I have actually opened the matter to the King; and it would be directly to ſpoil all to make me depart from it. Any reaſonable man will eaſily comprehend the impoſſibility, in this caſe, of ſettling a treaty in form. Doubtleſs it would be running too great a hazard on both ſides, to depend upon its being kept ſecret. The beſt way is, to prepare on each ſide the materials neceſſary for the work before

1716-17. and indignation, the malice and ingratitude of thoſe, who have encouraged ſuch an attempt againſt their King and Country.

We are ſorry to find, that your Majeſty's lenity has been ineffectual towards reclaiming a faction, who have rendered themſelves ſo obnoxious to your juſtice.'

When this addreſs was reported to the Houſe, a debate aroſe on account of the Lord *Coningsby*'s 1716-
urging it very earneſtly, that the peace of *Utrecht* was *treacherous* and *diſhonourable*. The Biſhop of *London* aſſerted the contrary, and ſaid, 'He himſelf drew up the inſtruments of that treaty, and, in his opinion, it was as good a peace, as had been concluded for theſe forty years paſt.' Lord *Coningsby* replied, 'He did not intend any

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before us. When all is ready for execution, it will then be time enough to make treaties, if it be judged requiſite.

I do not know even, whether it would be right to do what is deſired under the name of lending aſſiſtance; and I am very much inclined to think, that it would be better to avow openly our own intereſt, and the concern we have for maintaining the *Engliſh* liberties.

Your friends muſt place ſo much confidence in us, as to furniſh us with what we want, to put ourſelves into a condition of becoming uſeful to them. The ſum required is not exorbitant: Three hundred thouſand crowns may ſatisfy us at preſent, for we want nothing but to augment our naval force at *Gottenburg*.

I do not ſee what hazards your friends can run in this. I will give them ſufficient ſecurity; and, from the humour all the world knows the King to be of, they may very ſafely conclude, that, if his Majeſty ſhould not be able to ſatisfy this loan by a real aſſiſtance, he would do all he poſſibly could to reimburſe our friends, the rather, becauſe his Majeſty would not have it known, that he had touched any money for ſuch a purpoſe as this is lent.

Theſe Gentlemen might, however, the more to engage the King's affection, give their offer the turn expreſſed in my ſcheme; though, for my part, I will not accept it, on any conditions, that may diſtinguiſh it from a common loan. But all depends upon their determining ſpeedily, and beginning forthwith, by furniſhing the three hundred thouſand crowns for the men of war, without which they muſt not flatter themſelves, that any thing can be done. I am upon the ſcent of getting a fourth hundred thouſand even in *England*.

France cannot reproach us with this agreement, while no treaty or convention can be produced to prove it. What I ſaid above, of the cautious behaviour of the Court of *France* towards *England*, is no doubt applicable likewiſe to the negotiating of an accommodation with the Czar. It is probable, the Court of *France* would not proceed in a Negotiation of that kind, but by concert with *England*; and you will grant me, that this would not by any means ſuit our intereſt. This reflection leads me into an opinion, that the canal of *France* is not at preſent the moſt commodious for us. It may ſuffice therefore to have offered to make uſe of that canal without preſſing the matter further. Nor can M. *Lench* be the manager of this Negotiation. For going to, and coming from *Sweden* at the ſeaſon of the year we are now in, requires time; and, if we come to any agreement with the Czar, we ought to conclude it within three months at the very fartheſt. The canal of my Lord *Mar* ſeems to me to be alike inconvenient and impracticable, becauſe of the length of time, which that circulation of correſpondence would unavoidably take up. Yet I cannot but think, that, by the canal of the favourite Phyſician, the good diſpoſitions of the Czar might be improved, if they are indeed ſuch, as have been repreſented. If the Czar comes hither, and one can get a private converſation with the Favourite, we might certainly carry things on far, ſuppoſing, as I ſaid, that what the Favourite has written be well founded. In the mean while I am contriving ſome other way.

If we fix upon a project, that is in any tolerable degree promiſing, I ſhall not be withheld by the difficulty and hardſhips of the voyage from being the bearer of it myſelf.

If in the mean time your friends would enter into my ſcheme, I ſhould be the more ſure of bringing the King to a thorough good liking of their buſineſs. But I will not venture to convey any thing of this to his Majeſty, otherwiſe than by word of mouth. It is ſatisfaction enough to me to know originally, that I am in no danger of giving offence to *Sweden* by the part I take upon me to act in this affair. The fancy of the Pretender's retiring to *Stockholm* ſurprizes me: It would be blazing abroad our ſecret intelligence by ſound of trumpet.'

On the $\frac{13}{24}$ of *November*, 1716, Baron *Gortz* wrote from the *Hague* the following letter to Count *Gyllenburg*: 'I told you in my letter of *Friday*, that I deferred anſwering yours of the 13th, which I am now going to do. You ſay, Sir, that, as to the affair you are preſſed about, it would be neceſſary to go roundly to work with the principals. I am intirely of the ſame opinion. The buſineſs then is to ſpeak plainly. I believe, Sir, it will be thought a ſufficient proof of our frankneſs to declare, as you may do, that nothing is more natural, nor more ſweet, than to revenge an affront one has received; but that, in point of prudence, it ought to be maturely conſidered, whether the paſſion of revenge can produce the deſired effect. If your people do but make the leaſt reflection upon this rule, they will undoubtedly perceive, that it is intirely their buſineſs to make the ſucceſs of the enterprize, which they deſire, appear probable to us. After that it will be likewiſe proper, that they ſhould help us in ſettling the neceſſary points, that is, that they ſhould aſſiſt us with money. As I run no riſque with you, Sir, I make no ſcruple of telling you in confidence, that the buſineſs in hand has for ſome time been part of my correſpondence with Ambaſſador *Sparre*.

The principal Members of the preſent Court of *Avignon*, offer on part of their Maſter 60,000 *l. ſterling*, to engage the King's affection. I remonſtrated thereupon, that the delicacy of the conjuncture ought to caution us againſt cloſing too haſtily with this offer; but that I propoſed to treat upon the foot of a common loan; and that in that caſe, being furniſhed with the King's full power to negotiate money for his Majeſty's ſervice, I might accept it, giving them aſſurances on the King's part for repayment, that, if at the ſame time they would communicate to me a plan of the principal affair, I would not fail to ſend it to the King; and that, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould be unwilling to enter into the deſign in queſtion, he would at leaſt pique himſelf upon taking care, that the ſum, which I ſhould have borrowed in his name, ſhould be punctually diſcharged; ſo that the lenders would run no riſque of their money, but that, on the contrary, they would have put it out to a good advantage, and that, in ſhort, the offer being made upon the foot beforementioned, without ſtipulating any other conditions than being reimburſed, the King might be more effectually wrought upon by that mark of their good will, than by directly ſolliciting the ſuccours they deſire. I added to all theſe intimations, that, in caſe the King reliſhed the project of a Revolution to be brought about in *England*, it might perhaps do better to give this enterprize the turn of its being intended to revenge the unworthy proceedings of the Kings of *England*, and to maintain the *Engliſh* liberties.

You have herewith, Sir, the copy of a pecuniary contract, which I have juſt now ſettled with ſome private perſons in this Country. You will find by it, that there is a conſiderable advantage to be made, which it was neceſſary to allow to ſtrangers, ſince no body

1716-17. any perſonal reflection on any perſon; but the venerable Prelate who ſpoke laſt might remember, that, about two years ago, when the Miniſters who made the late peace were impeached, his Lordſhip declared, he was kept in the dark, and ſcarce knew any thing of what was doing at *Utrecht*.'

The Commons, in their addreſs, obſerved, 'That they could not, but with the higheſt reſentment and indignation, look upon the obſtinate and inveterate rancour of thoſe, who were again endeavouring to imbroil their native Country in blood and confuſion: And that it was aſtoniſhing to find, that any, who called themſelves Proteſtants, could be ſo inflexible and reſtleſs in their endeavours to impoſe upon us a Popiſh 1716-17.

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body in *Sweden* had courage enough for it. If your people had a mind to engage in it abſtractedly from the grand affair, I would admit them forthwith as far as the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns. The King's printed patent, whereof you have herewith a copy, ſufficiently ſecures every individual perſon from all frauds with regard to the States bonds, upon which the money is advanced.

But they muſt determine ſpeedily, or lay aſide all hopes, as I have juſt now obſerved to Ambaſſador *Sparre* in a poſtſcript, which I communicate to you.

If the thing be taken upon the foot beforementioned, it may go on; but otherwiſe nothing can be done. In a word, we muſt have money, and, after that, we muſt know what they are in a condition to do in *England*, and what part they expect the King ſhould take, to put this deſign into motion, and to ſupport it.'

In anſwer to Baron *Gortz*, Count *Gyllenburg* wrote to him the following very remarkable letter, dated at *London*, *Decemb.* 4, 1716: 'As ſoon as I had received your Excellency's letter of the 23d paſt, I went to one of the Principals at his own houſe, with whom I have had a long and intimate friendſhip. I ſhewed him your Excellency's letter, which I inforced the beſt I could. Whereupon he aſked me, Whether I had ſpoke of it to any one of his party? And, I telling him I had not, he deſired me, for the love of God, not to do it. We were made to believe from *Avignon*, ſaid he, that all went on currently: That Baron *Gortz* had accepted our offer, and had given poſitive aſſurances, on the part of the King of *Sweden*, of his aſſiſtance. We have been preſſed on the affair of the money, and to form a ſcheme; and we have actually applied ourſelves to both the one and the other. In the midſt of all this, here are three poſts arrived from *Avignon*, and no farther ſigns are ſhewn of ſo much haſte. This change has very much perplexed us, we not knowing to what to impute it, unleſs to the Prince's indiſpoſition. But all is now become clear. They were too ſure of their point at *Avignon*; they reckoned immediately on the aſſiſtance of the King of *Sweden*; and now they are afraid, on one hand, of damping our courage, by owning frankly, that they had deceived themſelves; and, on the other, they dare not, upon an uncertainty, engage to ſupply them with money, being ſenſible, it is the laſt we ſhall give them, if we ſhould find it employed to any other purpoſe than we deſigned; and without direct aſſurances firſt given of our having the ſuccours we need. You ſee, therefore, continued he, of what conſequence it is, if you wiſh us well, that you do not make known, to any perſon, what I ſee our Court of *Avignon* conceals with ſo much care. If you act otherwiſe, you will deſtroy the credit of the Chevalier *de St. George* here, which perhaps will be of neceſſary uſe to you, and you will make his adherents your implacable enemies; for, if their deſign fail, they will be regardleſs, whether *Sweden* periſhes or not; and yet you know, that it is they, who have hitherto defended your cauſe, as well in the Country, as in the Parliament of *England*, and who have obliged your enemies to act with more caution and reſerve, than they would otherwiſe have done. You will ſtill have occaſion for their aſſiſtance in the next Seſſion of the Parliament of *England*, which your enemies are preparing to incenſe terribly againſt you, as well by pamphlets, which are already actually in the preſs, as by petitions of the Merchants, who have loſt their ſhips, and who now meet twice a week to conſult. Now, *ſaid he*, to return to Baron *Gortz*'s letter, give me leave to tell you freely, that, if the queſtion was explicitly and ſimply, Whether we ſhould aſſiſt the King of *Sweden*, and we conſented, it might then be worth while to aſk, What ſecurity we required, and what gain we inſiſted on? But that is not the caſe at preſent, nor ever will be. For I muſt own to you ingenuouſly, that there are very few amongſt us, who have any concern for the intereſts of foreign Princes, any longer than while they affect our own, and that even very palpably: *Manus noſtræ oculatæ ſunt; credunt quod vident: Our eyes are in our hands; what they ſee we believe.* So that for you to flatter yourſelves, that, out of reſpect or friendſhip, we ſhould part with our money to any whatſoever, would be to know nothing of us. You can never alter our minds on that article; ſo you muſt juſt take us as we are. As for gain, Can we hope for greater in any Country, than what we have at home, without riſquing our money? Do not we make 7 or 8 *per cent*, by the public funds; and this upon the ſecurities of the Parliament of *England*, and are paid punctually every quarter? That, this queſtion being utterly unſeaſonable, it is neceſſary to form another, and let that be, Whether we are willing, by a pecuniary ſubſidy, to merit the aſſiſtance of the King of *Sweden*? To that I anſwer roundly, Let us but be aſſured on the part of his Majeſty, upon whoſe bare promiſe we will rely, more than on all the ſecurities and engagements of others: I ſay, let us only be aſſured, that by our money we ſhall merit his help, and actually have it. After this, let us but know what you would have us to do, and we will make ſuch efforts, that his Majeſty ſhall not repent of giving his Royal word to aſſiſt us. But, Sir, *added he*, What muſt we think, when, after a Negotiation of three months or more, we are yet in uncertainty upon what ought to be the chief ſpring of all our undertakings, and are to merit by our money, not the help we aſk, but barely an anſwer, whether we ſhall obtain it or not? How can we run into expence, expoſe our friends, and, in ſhort, endanger our fortunes and lives, when perhaps his Majeſty's refuſal may ſtop us ſhort; ſubject, among other things, to the fear of being betrayed by thoſe, who, ſeeing the ill ſucceſs of our projects, and that there is nothing to be hoped for more on our ſide, may endeavour to make their fortune, by ſtriking in with our enemies, and ſacrificing us?

Let us examine all this, and you yourſelf will acknowledge, we ſhould hazard too much in following thoſe, who leave us in ſuch uncertainty. But, on the other hand, what does the King of *Sweden* riſque? Is not our Government his enemies in every reſpect; and will it not aſſiſt them more this enſuing year? What can be ſaid againſt him, if, after the example of *Scipio*, he carries the war into their Country, who have been deſirous, and are ſtill ſo to carry it into his? This diverſion will be ſo much the greater, as it will be unexpected; and there is the more reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, becauſe the whole Country is diſaffected. It is alſo probable, that half the army will be diſbanded by the Parliament of *England*; and it is certain great part of that army will deſert on the approach of a ſufficient body of troops.

But, ſuppoſe this enterprize ſhould not ſucceed, would this Government be more bent upon the intire ruin of the King of *Sweden* than it was before? And, when King *George*'s deſire to have the Country of *Bremen* is ſatisfied, will our Government be leſs ſollicitous by what means to prevent the Czar's aggrandizing himſelf? Let me beg you, ſaid he, to repreſent all this to Baron *Gortz*; and I am ſure he will change his opinion; and that he will not let ſlip, by chaffering, an opportunity

1716-17. Popiſh Pretender, and rather venture to ſubject the Kingdom to a foreign yoke, than depart from their darling and avowed deſign of altering and ſubverting the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment in the Proteſtant Succeſſion.' They conclude, 'We are all but too ſenſible of the unſupportable weight of the national debts, and therefore will not neglect to apply ourſelves, with all poſſible diligence and attention, to the great and neceſſary work of reducing and leſſening, by degrees, this heavy burden, which may prove the moſt effectual means of preſerving to the public funds a real and certain ſecurity.' 1716-17.

The Convocation alſo preſented a very loyal addreſs, wherein was the following paragraph: 'We have ſeen, in the late declarations of ſome *Addreſs of the Convocation.*

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tunity ſo beneficial for the King of *Sweden*, and ſo glorious for himſelf. Tell him likewiſe, if you pleaſe, that there is nothing more proper than what he demands as to a ſcheme; and the means of ſupporting the affair. But he muſt give us the encouragement to ſee, that we are not labouring in vain, and running all hazards without any fair proſpect. One poſitive aſſurance given at *Avignon* will put all in motion; but, without that, all will flag. As to the colour, which the King of *Sweden* may put upon his enterprize, I ſhall always have that opinion, *ſaid he*, which Baron *Gortz* himſelf would have me entertain of his ſcheme, namely, that the King of *Sweden* intends ſincerely to reſtore the Chevalier. But I am much afraid, that the reſt of my party will take this affair in quite another light; that is to ſay, that they will imagine, his *Swediſh* Majeſty, having not given any promiſe to our Chevalier, nor declared for him, will make no other uſe of this enterprize, than only to compaſs his own deſigns, excluſive of the Chevalier, and to oblige King *George* to come to better terms. But in this he will find himſelf deceived; for, the greateſt part of the Nation being at preſent inflamed with Jacobitiſm, and ſet a longing for the return of him, whom they believe their lawful Sovereign, they will not join any perſon, who does not declare openly for him; on the contrary, perceiving it is only a foreign quarrel, which draws the King of *Sweden* hither, vexed to ſee their expectations fruſtrated, and not knowing how far his Majeſty's reſentments may go, and who will be expoſed to his vengeance, or who be exempt from it, they will fall into the common humour of the Nation, which is to unite all, notwithſtanding their paſt feuds againſt a foreign Power.

This is ſo true, *continued he*, that, if the Chevalier *de St. George* had not an *Engliſh* father, and been born in *England*, all his pretenſions would avail him nothing with the common people; who, when the conteſt ſhall be only between foreigner and foreigner, will certainly declare for him in poſſeſſion, without much regard to the juſtice of the cauſe.

For what remains, *added he*, I intirely agree, that the maintaining of the Church of *England* ought to be one topic in the King of *Sweden*'s manifeſto. This is the more neceſſary, becauſe it would ſerve to ſettle the minds of ſuch, as are diſturbed about the Chevalier's Religion. His Majeſty likewiſe would act in his known character, which is to be, on all occaſions, ſollicitous for the welfare of the Proteſtant Religion.

This, Sir, is what was moſt material in my converſation with my friend, who, I aſſure your Excellency, is a man of ſolid judgment, and ſo well informed of what paſſes at *Avignon*, that he told me a long time ago what was negotiated there on our part, though I took no notice of it, while I ſaw nothing particular about it, either in your Excellency's letters, or in thoſe of Monſieur *Sparre*. He even told me, that a certain relation of my Lord *Marr*'s was confident of doing us very good offices with the Czar; and that it had been intimated to Baron *Sparre*. But, being tender of intruding into the provinces of others, I reckoned your Excellency would be better informed of this the direct way.'

In anſwer to this letter Baron *Gortz* wrote the following letter, dated at the *Hague*, *December* 11, 1616, to Count *Gyllenburg*: 'I have received your agreeable letter of the 4th inſtant. I ſhall have the honour to anſwer the contents of it, that, the ſtronger the reaſons are, which are alledged to make us enter into the affair you know of, the more ſhould people be perſuaded of the true deſire, that we have to undertake the thing. It is ſuperfluous to ſuggeſt motives to us, and we have no need of a ſpur. As I run no riſque with you, Sir, I will freely tell you, that, even before my departure from *Sweden*, we were already, on our ſide, diſpoſed to this expedition. It is eaſy to believe, that thoſe diſpoſitions are ſince increaſed, in proportion as the animoſity of the Court, where you are, hath continued increaſing. There is therefore now no other queſtion, but of the means to ſatisfy our juſt deſire of revenge. We have in *Sweden* troops more than enough for that purpoſe; but what ſuſpends our entering upon action, is that,

Firſt, We have not the ſhips neceſſary as well for tranſporting the troops, as for the convoy itſelf.

Secondly, We do not know how it is propoſed to maintain the troops, when they ſhall be arrived at the place intended.

Thirdly, Horſes muſt forthwith be found to mount the cavalry. It is well known, that, when one enters into an open Country, the firſt impreſſion muſt be made by the cavalry.

Fourthly, We muſt know the number of troops, that is thought requiſite for this expedition, in order to regulate thereby the armament of the ſhips.

It is true, Sir, that, for ſeveral months laſt paſt, we have had ſome preliminary Negotiation upon theſe matters with the Court of *Avignon*. They have declared themſelves very well ſatisfied with the manner, in which we have ſpoken to them, and have promiſed not only to give the neceſſary explanations upon the advances of money propoſed, but alſo to furniſh inſtantly wherewithal to prepare on our ſide, during this winter, every thing, that concerns the firſt ſtep; being themſelves of opinion, that, if any thing be intended to be done, it muſt be entered upon immediately after the obſtacles, which a hard winter might bring to Navigation, are removed; but hitherto all this has ended only in vain hopes. However, I have not, on my part, loſt any time for this enterprize. I have beſtirred myſelf to find out men of war: I have actually found out ſome, and have even made bargains for purchaſing ſix of between ſixty and ſeventy guns, all armed and rigged; and they are to be delivered at *Gottenburg* in the beginning of the month of *March*. The advance of money, which I aſked from the Court of *Avignon*, was only deſigned for the purchaſe of thoſe ſhips; and the ſum did not exceed ſixty thouſand pounds. If I have propoſed the expedient of furniſhing us with this money upon the foot of a common loan, it was only done, Sir, with a view, the better to ſecure thoſe, that were concerned on both ſides, from the danger of a diſcovery, and thoſe, that ſhould give the money, againſt the accidents, in caſe any ſuch ſhould be, that might render the deſign impracticable. It is alſo the fear either of ſome treachery or diſappointment, which cannot be foreſeen, that will hinder us from declaring before we come to the place, where we are to ſhew ourſelves.

Our friends will have nothing to object againſt this precaution, if they will but conſider, that, if we throw off the maſk too ſoon, and ſhould afterwards miſs our blow, we ſhould give the *Engliſh* Miniſters a very good argument to carry the Nation into a war againſt us, into which they would not have a great deal of trouble to draw *Holland* alſo.

This is a riſque of the laſt conſequence; and would they have us run into it, Sir, for a trifle? I do not know how elſe to ſtile the money buſineſs in queſtion.

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1716-17. of these men, who, nevertheless, call themselves by the name of Protestants, what we must look for, should a Popish Prince ever sit upon the Throne of these Kingdoms. Whilst they allow us no better a character than that of *Schismatics* and *Heretics*, of men cut off from the Communion of Christ's Church, and all the hopes of salvation, What can be expected from *professed Papists*, who account no better of them (however they may flatter themselves) than they do of us; but that both they and we shall be utterly destroyed by them?' 1716-17.

But

The naval armament at *Gottenburg* cannot be useful to us, unless for the design, which they propose to us; and the money we ask will not be sufficient even for that armament.

As to the rest, however just and solid I allow your friend's reasoning in other matters, yet I cannot reconcile the opinion, which your friend seems to have of the good faith of the King, and his interest, with the fear, which is nevertheless shewn, that we have no other end than to procure for ourselves the restitution of the Duchy of *Bremen*.

Pray, Sir, which way can the King of *Sweden* better secure to himself the recovery and possession of his said Duchy, than by reducing King *George* to be nothing more than an Elector of the Empire? By which means the King of *Sweden* will make himself be courted by the House of *Lunenburg*, as in former times. Can good faith and a man's word be put in the scale against so solid and so evident a reason, after we have experienced how little account ought to be made of a security founded in words or in treaties? To be short, Sir, the question is with us an affair already decided; nothing remains but to consider the means.

As I understand the matter, those, that shall furnish the money, will be in no danger; they may give it under the name of *Dutch* Merchants, and under pretext of the great gain, that is to be made in dealing with me. The better to colour the thing, they may even give commission to some *English* Merchants, to make an agreement with me upon the foot of the contract, which I have had the honour to communicate to you. After this there would remain no other risque than that of losing the money, in case the design should not be executed; but, if they had the least confidence in the word of the King, this scruple would vanish immediately. His Majesty piques himself too much upon performing his engagements, to leave any room to mistrust him. We have fresh proofs of this; notwithstanding the vast expence, that we are obliged to bear, his Majesty would have the pretensions of Mr. *Cook*, and the other Merchants in *France*, touching the money advanced to him in *Turkey*, satisfied, and I have actually paid those creditors.

To conclude, I must tell you again, Sir, that they must come to a resolution speedily, or think no more of the affair for all the next year.

It would also be necessary, that those, who mean us well, should labour to get half the troops, that are now on foot in *England*, broken, and to hinder any naval armament till the month of *May*.

It concerns us also to know, for our direction, what number of regular troops will remain, after they shall have got one half of them disbanded. I reckon, that we might employ from ten to twelve thousand *Swedes* in this expedition; amongst whom there should be four thousand horse.

When things shall be put upon the foot abovementioned, I intend to go into *Sweden* myself, to push on the execution; for I do not like to rely on the care of others in such a particular. I had also rather concert this affair directly, and with you, than by the other way, which I think too long.

My Lord's relation hath indeed sent word, that the Czar has some dispositions to peace, which we will not fail to make advantage of, that we may be in a condition the better to push on the affair in question. The Czar is to be here very speedily. If it could be ordered, that the said relation of my Lord *Mar* should speak to me, I should quickly perceive what might be done there. You will easily judge, Sir, that an agreement with the Czar would give great weight to the other affair.'

In answer to this letter, Count *Gyllenburg*, on the 18th of *December*, *N. S.* 1716, wrote the following to Baron *Gortz*: 'I received, two days ago, the letter your Excellency did me the favour to write me of the 11th, and I have not deferred the execution of your orders one moment. I hope to be able to give you an account of them by the next mail. In the mean time, I shall have the honour to answer to your Excellency's postscript, that I shall not fail to govern myself as you there direct. If I have hitherto done otherwise, it has been, that I might not be accused of not representing matters as they were on one side and the other, leaving it afterwards to our Ministers to make choice of that, which they thought most proper. Your Excellency, according to your wonted goodness, will forgive me, however, for saying, that, in my opinion, whatsoever resolution we take, it would, notwithstanding, be well to keep the people here in good humour; that is, that we should seem not intirely to reject their proposals, for otherwise they will be prying into the motives, which render us so intractable, and will perhaps discover the true one, in which case they will cause it to miscarry. Besides, a little hopes would make them put off longer the pushing the affair in Parliament; and I think that is what your Excellency seems to desire. Methinks, to this end, it would be necessary, that your Excellency should write *Petkum* an answer, who complains of having received none to his letters, to shew your acknowledgement of the pains he has taken, and to desire him to go on, in order to keep the Ministers in the same good way, till your Excellency has received an answer to the account, which you have given his Majesty of the whole affair; and then we may act with more vigour. As *Petkum* generally shews all his letters to *Townshend* and *Bothmar*, I fancy they will thereby be easily persuaded to believe what they wish. If this letter comes before the arrival of King *George*, it will perhaps prevent the impression, which the *Germans* and *Sunderland* will be apt to make with their usual violence at their first coming over.'

The two next letters relate principally to bills of exchange, shipping, corn, salt, *&c.* for *Sweden*; but in one from Count *Gyllenburg* to Baron *Gortz*, dated at *London*, *Decemb.* 29, 1716, he writes as follows:

'I am once more obliged to defer the departure of my express till *Friday*, one of the principal of our friends being not yet returned to *London*; but he will be here to-morrow. I have the letters ready for the Physician, but dare not venture them by the post. While I am waiting for the principal of my friends, I shall dispatch to-morrow a Gentleman to the Czar, to endeavour to possess him with pacific thoughts. I have given him letters for my brother, that he may introduce him to your Excellency, who will give him such instructions, as you shall judge necessary. He is a *Muscovite* by birth, and having been a long time known to my friend, and perhaps even employed on the like messages, he assures me, that we may put intire confidence in him. I have intimated to him, that he may alledge, for the pretext of his voyage, his natural inclination to serve the Czar, by which he was induced to discover to him, that King *George* is making all the offers imaginable to acquire *Bremen* of the King of *Sweden*, at the expence of the Czar, who is to be the sacrifice of that acquisition. Your Excellency will add what other hints you judge convenient. I should think, however, it might be proper, that this man should be kept ignorant of the canal of the Physician. I have another letter for him, which may introduce my brother to his acquaintance; and then he may convey messages between your Excellency and the Physician, till your Excellency shall think fit to have an inter-

view

1716-17. *Debate at* Oxford *about an addreſs.*

But the Univerſity of *Oxford* did not ſhew themſelves ſo loyal; for, at a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor, and other Heads of the Univerſity, Dr. *Dunſter*, Warden of *Wadham-College*, having made a motion for an addreſs to the King, and being ſupported by Dr. *Wynne*, Biſhop of *St. Aſaph*, and by the Warden of *Merton-College*; Dr. *Smalridge*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, deſired to know the ſubject of the addreſs. Biſhop *Wynne* readily anſwered, That they might addreſs upon theſe three heads: 1. *The ſuppreſſion of the late unnatural Rebellion*: 2. *The King's ſafe* 1716-17.

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view with him. We are aſſured here, that King *George* will have none with the Czar; and they ſeem to be very little ſatisfied with that Prince.

Your Excellency will have the goodneſs to remember what I had the honour to write to you in my laſt, about my Lord *Sunderland*. I have learnt ſince, that that Lord does all he can to make thoſe of his party fond of King *George*'s project, to open a port at *Harbourg*; aſſerting, that *England* will gain more by it, than even by its *Weſt-India* trade. One ſees very well whither all this tends. I am working againſt it. A Member of Parliament has deſired me to inform him of the ſituation and nature of that port.'

On the 1ſt of *January*, Count *Gyllenburg* writes thus to Baron *Gortz*, after a long account of private buſineſs, hiring of ſhips, *&c.*: 'Since writing what goes before, my friend has been with me, and has told me, that the money, as far as twenty thouſand pounds, was ready, if I would but give my acquittance, that I had received it for the uſe of the King my Maſter; and this only, that he might have ſomething to ſhew to thoſe, who made this collection, ſuppoſing, that hereafter they ſhould aſk for it. I anſwered him, That I could not give any ſuch acquittance, without your Excellency's order, which I would write for this poſt. He told me likewiſe, that they had already, by order of the Court of *Avignon*, remitted eight thouſand pounds to Baron *Sparre*.

Since writing theſe lines, the *Dutch* mail of the 25th is juſt come in, by which my brother adviſes me, that your Excellency was ſetting out upon your journey. It will therefore be unneceſſary to ſend the expreſs, eſpecially ſince the two letters intended are now become uſeleſs. I will, however, ſend a duplicate of this next *Monday* by the *French* poſt, together with the pieces abovementioned.

Your Excellency will receive, this day, the copy of a letter, which M. *Petkum* writ yeſterday to Baron *Sparre*, the contents of which confirm the ill intentions of thoſe warm men, into whoſe hands the management of affairs is going to be put; particularly if it be true, as Mr. *Petkum* has aſſured me, that my Lord *Townſhend*, to whom he read the ſaid letter, owned, that what he had writ, in relation to our affairs, was true. All that we have to flatter ourſelves with, is, that the miſunderſtanding, which there is among theſe Gentlemen, may perhaps be of ſervice to us. Thus much, at leaſt, is certain, that, if we ſet ourſelves in earneſt about the great work, the ſucceſs cannot poſſibly fail.'

The next is a letter from Count *Gyllenburg*, to Baron *Gortz* then at *Paris*, dated at *London*, *January* 7, 1716-17, as follows: 'Yeſterday I received the letters your Excellency did me the favour to write me of the 29th paſt. That concerning the conduct of this Court came very ſeaſonably. I gave it to read to one of the principal Whigs, with whom I have found means of contracting a friendſhip. As I am to dine with him to-morrow, I ſhall know what effect it has had. He is already in a good way, and I queſtion not but may be carried yet further by ſuch juſt reaſoning.

M. *Petkum* is charmed with your Excellency's letter to him. He exclaims publickly againſt the *Hanoverians* for the groſs falſehood they have told of him. I believe him innocent as to this fact. He has told me, he will write himſelf to your Excellency by this poſt. Mr. *Walpole*'s reply is remarkable. My friend, who is one of the Champions of the Whigs, has told me the ſame thing. If it be not the effect of the preſent diſcontent, and the Court does not find expedients to regain thoſe people, I do not know whether the Court will ever venture to bring that matter upon the ſtage; but I ſhall not be ſatisfied with that.

I am trying to get it brought into Parliament my own way. My friend is labouring that point with me, and, to that end, is endeavouring to inform himſelf thoroughly of the whole. It was for him, that I demanded the other day of your Excellency the particulars of *Harbourg*; and it is likewiſe upon his requeſt, that I beg your Excellency will ſend me, as ſoon as may be, all that you ſhall be able to pick up in relation to the treaty concluded between *Hanover* and our enemies; particularly if you can procure the agreement, by which the aſſiſtance of an *Engliſh* force is ſtipulated to them. Your Excellency ſees hereby what I am now doing on one ſide and the other; that is to ſay, with regard to our friends. I can do nothing before I have received your Excellency's orders upon my laſt.'

The following letter from Baron *Gortz*, to Count *Gyllenburg*, is dated from *Paris*, *January* 8, 1717.

I could not acquaint you before this day, that I am now authorized to enter into the affair, which you know of; and that I am allowed the liberty to do in it whatever I ſhall think convenient. You will be able to judge of this yourſelf by the incloſed copy of the full power, that has been ſent to me. Which way ſoever I turn this affair, I do not ſee, that we can engage in it upon any other foot, than that, which I propoſed to you at firſt. As intereſt is the moſt certain ſecurity of treaties, and what we are ſollicited to undertake is of ſo great importance to us, and the moſt expeditious means to re-eſtabliſh our affairs, that can be deviſed; no man can doubt, that we ſhall apply ourſelves to it heartily and earneſtly; and that we could wiſh for nothing better, than to do it without the concurrent aſſiſtance of others, if the juncture of time would ſuffer us to diſpenſe with that aſſiſtance.

The only thing I ſee wanting for our purpoſe are men of war and tranſports. Of the firſt I can have two in *Holland*, and ſix in *France*, all rigged and armed; and thoſe, who have the diſpoſal of them, oblige themſelves to deliver them in that condition at *Gottenburg* in the month of *March*. The laſt we ſhall not want, but we muſt immediately put our hands to the work, which requires money. Mr. *Sparre* had aſſured me, that I ſhould find an hundred thouſand crowns ready here; but I learnt at my arrival, that our friends, far from doing what they had promiſed, are now grown cool; ſo that I thought beſt, Sir, to deſire you to preſs your friends to a ſpeedy reſolution, whether on the foot propoſed they will forthwith ſupply us with money, which we muſt have to purchaſe thoſe men of war, or not. In caſe they will, it is neceſſary they ſhould order it to be paid to me here as ſoon as poſſible, that I may put thoſe, who are to furniſh me with the ſhips, upon getting them ready. If they will not, this buſineſs ought to be broken off intirely, without thinking any further of it.

To loſe four weeks more would be loſing all, for this year at leaſt; and afterwards the circumſtances of affairs will ſo change, that there can be no thinking of it any longer.

For the reſt, our intention was to tranſport twelve thouſand men; eight thouſand of them infantry, and four thouſand cavalry, of which five hundred mounted. We were to carry with us a ſufficient train of artillery, arms for ten or twelve thouſand men more, with requiſite ſtores of ammunition. We were to land at the places, whither we ſhould be directed; ſo that we ſhould have carried with us all that is neceſſary excepting horſes, which we expected to find in the Country; and all might have been executed without the leaſt umbrage being taken; provided, that on the other ſide the ſecret was kept. Mr. *Sparre* tells me, that the reaſon of the coolneſs of theſe Gentlemen in this Country is the treaty between this Court and *England*, and

6-17. *ſafe return:* 3. *The favour ſhewn by the Court to the Univerſity, in granting their late requeſt*, that the Officers of *Sterne*'s regiment, quartered at *Oxford*, ſhould not burn publickly, on the day of his Majeſty's arrival, the effigies of the *Devil*, *Pope*, *Pretender*, *Ormond*, *Mar*, and others. The Biſhop, *Smalridge*, replied, 'The Rebellion had been ſuppreſſed long before; a thankſgiving had already been obſerved for it, and therefore he thought it now too late to addreſs upon that ſubject.' As to the ſecond, 'There would be no end of addreſſes, if they made one upon ſuch 1716-17.

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and the enſuing departure of the Pretender out of this Country. For my part, I take this reaſon to be a very weak one; for as this treaty, and the departure of the Pretender out of this Country, muſt make the Court of *England* think themſelves in perfect ſafety, and deprive them of the pretext of keeping up their troops, our enterprize is become more eaſy, and more ſure. And to imagine, that this Court, at the bottom of their heart, would not be better pleaſed to have the Pretender on the Throne of *England* than the Elector of *Hanover*, eſpecially if the firſt continued to carry himſelf well towards this Court, is to have a wrong notion of its intereſt, and of the private ſentiments of the Duke Regent.

Mr. *Sparre* tells me further, that our friends here think we ſhould not have occaſion for any more men of war than thoſe eight, which we have at *Gottenburg*; but they are to know, that thoſe ſhips are but of forty guns each; ſo that it would be hazarding too much, and expoſing a body of choſen troops (for ſuch we ſhould take on this expedition) for three or four large ſhips would be ſufficient to give them chace, and to take them all. But, when we ſhall have the eight ſhips, which carry from ſixty to ſeventy guns, nothing leſs than a ſquadron could oppoſe them, and, before they could be fitted out, the blow would be ſtruck.

To conclude, Sir, I wait here for a ſpeedy yea or no; and I continue to adviſe you not to ſend any account of this matter to the Court; for our Miniſters themſelves are ignorant of it, and know not for what intent they have been obliged to give the turn they have to the full power, which they diſpatched. *Aut nunc aut nunquam: Now or never*, as well for our friends as our enemies.

When you have fixed this affair, at leaſt for what relates to the men of war here, I am very deſirous you ſhould come over to meet me in *Holland*, under pretext of being ordered thither; and that you ſhould put the Court in hopes of returning with ſome acceptable offer, to the end we might concert together all that remains for our enterprize; after which I would ſet out myſelf for *Sweden*, to order every thing for making ſure of the execution. I communicate to you the ſubjoined copy of *the full power*, which his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to give me:

We *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *Sweden*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, Great Prince of *Finland*, Duke of *Schonen*, *Eſtonia*, *Livonia*, *Carelia*, *Bremen*, *Verden*, *Stetin*, *Pomerania*, *Caſſubia*, and *Vandalia*, Prince of *Rugen*, Lord of *Ingria* and *Wiſmar*, *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Bavaria*, *Juliers*, *Cleves*, and *Bergues*, &c. do hereby make known, and atteſt, that whereas we have committed to the fidelity and dexterity of the moſt illuſtrious and noble, our intirely-beloved Baron *Gortz*, Privy-Counſellor of the moſt ſerene Duke of *Holſtein*, and Chief Marſhal of his Court, various affairs for our ſervice, to be tranſacted in thoſe places, where he ſhall reſide: And whereas the preſent circumſtances of the times and affairs do not eaſily permit, that we ſhould be able to furniſh him with particular credential letters (commonly called a *full power*) for every ſeveral tranſaction: To prevent therefore all delay, which might thence ariſe, we have judged it neceſſary to conſtitute by theſe preſents him, the ſaid Baron *Gortz*, our Miniſter Plenipotentiary, and to grant him full power, as by virtue of theſe preſents we do grant him full power, to treat and conclude, in our name, with all and ſingular perſons of what condition ſoever, all matters, which may relate to our ſervice, and be for our intereſt; promiſing on our Royal word, that we will approve and ratify, and put intirely in execution, whatever the ſaid Baron *Gortz* ſhall ſo tranſact and conclude. In ſure teſtimony whereof we have cauſed our ſeal to be affixed to theſe preſents, and ſigned the ſame with our own hand.

Given at *Lund* in *Schonen*, the 23d day of *October*, 1716.

CAROLUS.
(*L. S.*)
H. G. de Muliern.

On the 13th of *January*, *N. S.* 1717, Baron *Gortz* wrote from *Paris* the following letter to Count *Gyllenburg*:

'I am to acquaint you, that our friends here are charmed with my ſcheme. They have cauſed one hundred thouſand livres to be paid me down, and have promiſed to get the reſt paid to me in *Holland*, to the ſum of one million of guilders. I will go therefore, and give orders for working with all diſpatch poſſible on the men of war, and for providing and bringing together all neceſſaries. I ſhall alſo go back with all expedition to *Holland*; whence you will have further advice from me. I ſhall wait there with impatience the coming of your expreſs, and of the perſon, who is to ſpeak to the Phyſician.'

At the ſame time Mr. *Guſtavus Gyllenburg* wrote to the Count his brother the following note:

'After the Baron had ſigned his letter to you, he ordered me to tell you in his name, that it is abſolutely neceſſary our friends ſhould determine ſpeedily, and cauſe the money to be remitted, and paid to us, without any delay; for otherwiſe we cannot have the men of war from this Country time enough.'

Upon the receipt of Baron *Gortz*'s letter of the 8th of *January*, with the King of *Sweden*'s full power, Count *Gyllenburg* wrote an anſwer to the Baron at *Paris*, dated at *London*, *January* 15, 1717, wherein he begs leave to know, 'Whether his Excellency would have him, for the future, add the title of *Plenipotentiary* to the direction of his letters. As to our affair, *continues he*, I went immediately to the houſe of one of the principal of my friends, and, without taking notice of any coldneſs of the Gentlemen in *France*, I told him, in order to engage him to ſpeak, that I had juſt received your Excellency's orders to give ſuch an acquittance, as had been demanded of me. He ſeemed very well pleaſed, and told me in anſwer, that, he, who had the direction of the whole affair, being gone again into the Country, and being not to return before *Saturday* next, nothing could be done till *Monday*; but that then he queſtioned not but I ſhould be ſatisfied. We ſhall ſee what that Gentleman will ſay at his return; and unleſs the Gentlemen in *France* have made my friends here alter their opinions (which I do not yet find they have) I hope all will go as we would have it; and, in caſe that ſhould not happen ſo, I am very much of your Excellency's opinion, that we ſhould leave all thoſe Gentlemen to their ill deſtiny, and go another way to work.

My Whig friend was charmed with your Excellency's letter, which he read over and over. Many others of the ſame party begin to change their language in our favour. I ſend my brother a little piece, which is juſt publiſhed at my charge, and writ in a pretty moderate ſtile. There is ſomething in it of my own. What is ſaid in the poſtſcript, in praiſe of the Prince, is in order to gain the Prince's party, which is already well inclined towards us.

If your Excellency thinks it proper to order me to *Holland*, I ſhould be of opinion, that you ſhould ſend the like orders to Monſieur *Petkum*, on pretence, that you would receive information from us both together, concerning the poſture of affairs here with regard to our common intereſts. That would not give any um-

1716-17. ſuch an occaſion.' And as for the third, 'The late favour they had received was overbalanced, by having a whole regiment quartered upon them.' Dr. *Charlett*, the Maſter of *University-College*, urged, 'That there was no precedent for addreſſing a King, who returned from his *German* Territories.' Dr. *Gardiner* was againſt addreſſing, to ſave charges, on pretence, that *they were out of caſh*. Dr. *Cobb* and others made other objections, and ſo the motion for addreſſing dropped. But the Univerſity of *Cambridge* did not follow their example, but preſented a loyal

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bridge, and one might eaſily find out ways of amuſing M. *Petkum*.'

Before this letter reached Baron *Gortz*, he writ another to Count *Gyllenburg*, dated at *Paris*, *January* 16, 1717, *N. S.* as follows:

'I have juſt now received here your letters of the 1ſt, 2d, 4th, and 7th. You may depend upon it, Sir, and aſſure your friends, that the expedition to *England* does at preſent take up all our thoughts and attention. It will depend but upon two things; one is, the procuring four or five ſhips of war; and the other is money. I know where to get the former, but I can do nothing without the other. I cannot ſign the contracts, that are offered me. Your friends muſt take care to remove that obſtacle, and to provide for the other ſquadron. There is not a moment to loſe: The time is very ſhort: Our friends on this ſide have aſſured me, that the money ſhould be ready forthwith. By your letters I am to believe, there are 20,000 *l.* ready. I herewith ſend you the acquittance, which I have given here, that you may draw yours conformably to it, which you will exchange hereafter for mine, which I will ſend you, after you have let me know the names of the Creditors, and that you have received the money. We are here agreed upon the plan of our enterprize; and I am promiſed a man to be ſent to *Holland*, who will bring me what farther informations may be wanting. You may likewiſe aſſure your friends, that our Prince will certainly be of the party; but I conjure you to give nothing in writing about this Negotiation, except what relates to the acquittances upon the foot abovementioned.

I do not expect to hear from you any more here, but in *Holland*; and, if your man ſhould have been got thither in my abſence, he would have found *Stambke* fully inſtructed.

I herewith ſend you back the contracts ſigned according to your deſire. The poſitive promiſe of letting them have iron puts me under ſome difficulty, becauſe I had no thoughts of preparing for ſo great a quantity. As to your money, you may keep an account of what you ſhall receive, four thouſand crowns. I have not yet propoſed to the King that augmentation; but I am in hopes of obtaining it for you.

In the mean time, employ all your ſkill, in order to give the Court all the trouble, that is poſſible, in the next Seſſion, in relation to their conduct in the affairs of the North; and tell me from whence proceeds the good diſpoſition, wherein *Walpole* ſeems to be.'

The form of the acquittance mentioned and incloſed in this letter of Baron *Gortz* to Count *Gyllenburg*, is as follows: 'I, the underwritten Plenipotentiary of his Majeſty the King of *Sweden*, acknowledge to have received of for the ſervice of his *Swediſh* Majeſty, the ſum of which the ſaid has found means of lending to his ſaid Majeſty; which ſum of I promiſe, on the part of his Majeſty, in virtue of the full power, which I have from his ſaid Majeſty, and which I have produced in due form, to cauſe to be repaid to the ſaid or his order, in the ſpace of two years, to commence from the date of this acquittance; ſo that every four months there ſhall be paid a ſixth part of the principal, together with intereſt at the rate of one half *per cent.* by the month, and ſo on, to the full payment of the total ſum. In virtue and token whereof, I have ſigned theſe preſents, the eleventh of *January*, 1717.

The Baron de Gortz.

The next letter is from Count *Gyllenburg* to Baron *Gortz*, dated at *London*, *January* 18, 1717, *N. S.* as follows:

'My friend, that directs the whole affair, came back from the Country laſt *Saturday* night, as I had the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that he would, in my laſt. He hath this day let me know, that upon a letter, which he received from my Lord *Mar*, to remit forthwith 20,000 *l.* into *France*, to the Queen Dowager of *England*, who was to pay it to us, he had actually remitted that money, which he hoped was already paid to your Excellency. He aſked my pardon for not having communicated this to me ſooner, having been obliged to go into the Country the moment the affairs was diſpatched. He added, that he had deſired further orders from my Lord *Mar*, with reſpect to the place, where the reſt of the money ſhould be paid. I doubt not but that Baron *Sparre* has already had advice of all this, and that he has acquainted your Excellency with it; which however, I beg you would forthwith let me know, that I may quiet the minds of my friends here, who imagine, that the ſaid Baron doth not act in concert with your Excellency in an affair, wherein the leaſt miſunderſtanding might do a great deal of miſchief. I have told them, that your Excellency deſigned, that I ſhould come to you in *Holland*, to concert every thing with you; with which they were very well ſatisfied. But I have told them, that I will not go thither with empty hands, and that they ought at leaſt to get 10,000 *l.* ready for me to carry with me. I have alſo deſired them to get me a letter from the brother of the Czar's Phyſician, which might ſerve to introduce me to him, if your Excellency think fit to employ me to ſpeak to him. I cannot expreſs to your Excellency my concern, that the affair abovementioned ſhould have taken a turn, which I did not expect; and which, for aught I know, may not be pleaſing to your Excellency. Even my friends are diſſatisfied at it, every thing being done unknown to them. But, as they are obliged to have great regard for the director of the affair, who is a perſon of very great conſequence, they muſt ſeem to be ſatisfied. If your Excellency, after this, thinks it neceſſary for me to come to *Holland*, I beg your orders therein as ſoon as poſſible, that I may take my meaſures.

After I had written theſe lines, I received the favour of your Excellency's of the 13th, from whence I perceive, with a great deal of pleaſure, that our affair is begun. I read it to one of my friends, who told me, that that was the ſum, of which he had ſpoken to me ſome days ago, and which I mentioned in one of my former; that he then believed it to be 8,000 *l.* but that it was but 6,500 *l.* which exactly anſwers that, which has been paid to your Excellency, and which makes part of the 20,000 *l.* that has been remitted. He has promiſed me to haſten the reſt, but I ſhould think, that it would be neceſſary, that our friends in *France*, from whom they expect the orders, ſhould pray them to diſpatch it with all haſte. He has given me hopes, that I ſhall have a good ſum with me, when I go to *Holland*.'

The next letter is of Count *Gyllenburg* to Baron *Gortz*, dated at *London*, *January* 23, 1717, in which he writes thus:

The day before yeſterday I received the favour of your Excellency's of the 16th. The incloſed triplicate of that which I had the honour to write your Excellency by the laſt poſt, will ſhew you the train, that our affairs is in. In the mean time, I have told our friends, that your Excellency thought my voyage to *Holland* abſolutely neceſſary, in order to concert with me the neceſſary meaſures for the enterprize; but, that your Excellency would by no means have me ſtir from hence, without carrying with me what money ſhould be neceſſary. That it therefore lay upon them

now

16-17. loyal addreſs, wherein they owned the King to be their only *rightful* and *lawful* Sovereign (1).

Bill to hibit mmerce ith Swe-n.

Three or four days after their addreſs, the Commons paſſed a bill for prohibiting all commerce with *Sweden*, as long as the King ſhould think it neceſſary for the ſafety and peace of the Nation. The bill was approved by the Lords, and received the Royal aſſent. The trade with *Sweden* was of great moment to the Merchants, but the indignation was ſo general in both Houſes, that the bill met with little oppoſition. Before the Supplies were ſettled, the Commons voted ten thouſand ſeamen for the year 1717. Then they took into conſideration the eſtimates of the land-forces. In the debate, the Tories alledged, that, the late Rebellion being ſuppreſſed, and the *Swediſh* Conſpiracy ſeaſonably diſcovered, there was reaſon to hope, the Counties would be ſoon eaſed of the grievous burden of quartering ſoldiers; but, if it appeared that the King of *Sweden* perſiſted in his deſign to invade *Great-Britain*, they would all readily give their votes for keeping the preſent forces on foot. The contrary party urged the neceſſity of taking ſpeedy and vigorous reſolutions in relation to the army. At length it was reſolved, without dividing, that the ſum of 959,943 *l.* ſhould be granted, for maintaining the guards, garriſons, and land-forces for the enſuing year. Not long after, they paſſed the mutiny and deſertion bill, by which the ſoldiers were exempted from arreſts for debts. When this bill was before the Lords, the licentiouſneſs of the army, and the diſorders committed by the ſoldiery, particularly at *Oxford*, were complained of, and a motion was made, that, before they paſſed a bill in their favour, they ſhould inquire into the riot, which happened in that City on the Prince of *Wales's* birth-day. The Court inſiſted on the neceſſity of paſſing the bill without delay; but readily conſented, that the *Oxford* riot ſhould be inquired into. Some Lords of the other ſide, who were apprehenſive, that the Univerſity would get no credit by ſuch an examination, endeavoured to wave it, by propoſing a general inquiry into the conduct of the army. This was oppoſed by the Court Lords, who obſerved, that they ought not to arraign a conſiderable body of men, againſt whom there was no legal complaint; and that ſuch a proceeding could not but be diſagreeable, and even injurious to the King, who, by his prerogative, has the command of the army; and, if any abuſes and diſorders are committed by the ſoldiers, the complaints ought firſt to be laid before him: But, ſince it had been moved to inquire into the *Oxford* riots, which had indeed made a great noiſe, and been examined in Council, they ought to addreſs his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe all the papers, relating to that affair, to be laid before the Houſe. The addreſs was reſolved and preſented, and, the papers being laid before the Lords, there aroſe a great debate. The Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Biſhops of *Rocheſter* and *Cheſter*, endeavoured to juſtify the Univerſity, alledging, among other things, 'That for forty years paſt they had not paid any regard to the birth-day of any Prince of *Wales*, or even of the Prince

Debate about the Oxford riot.

1716-17.

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now to make the beſt uſe of the time, which was ſo precious to us, and to put me in a condition of going with the firſt opportunity.

They promiſed me to do their beſt, that my voyage might not be deferred longer than the end of the next week. In caſe I can by that means bring them to haſten their diſburſement, it will afterwards depend upon your Excellency's pleaſure, whether, I ſhall go to pay my reſpects to you or not.

Your Excellency may be aſſured, that I do all in my power to traverſe the ill deſigns of our enemies. The printed piece incloſed, wherein I have ſpoken intirely as an *Engliſhman*, is a ſmall ſpecimen of what is to follow. I do not know whether Mr. *Walpole*'s expreſſions were the effect of his firſt rage, on account of his brother-in-law my Lord *Townſhend*'s being removed, or whether they came from his heart. We ſhall be better able to judge of thoſe Gentlemen after the King's arrival, when it ſhall appear, if they have reaſon to be ſatisfied; for it is from thence, that they will form their ſcheme of politics.

It is ſtrongly reported here, that your Excellency has made a declaration, that the King, having waved all preliminary demands, has accepted the Emperor's mediation, and agreed to ſend his Plenipotentiaries to *Brunſwick*. I moſt humbly beg your Excellency will let me know what truth there is in it.'

The next letter is from Baron *Gortz* to Count *Gyllenburg*, dated at *Paris*, *January* 27, 1717, *N. S.* wherein he ſays: Yours of the 18th, with the duplicate, is come ſafe to my hands. Your friends are in the wrong, to imagine, that Mr. *Sparre* and I do not act in concert in this affair.

He has communicated every thing to me with the greateſt exactneſs, and not being authorized himſelf to enter upon this affair, nor to receive the money, he left all to my diſpoſal. I have even put into his hands acquittances, where the ſum is left in blanks, that he may make uſe of them in my abſence, as ſoon as the money is come. The friends, which are in *France*, ſhall be writ to, to preſs thoſe in *England*, to furniſh, as ſoon as poſſible, the million of *Dutch* guilders, which we have agreed on; and I muſt needs tell you, that I cannot take the leaſt ſtep in relation to the ſhips, which are abſolutely neceſſary to us for carrying on this enterprize, before I am in poſſeſſion of that whole ſum; for, if I ſhould begin, and the money afterwards not come in, the ſum employed upon this occaſion would be loſt; not to ſpeak of the diſgrace it would be for me, to have entered upon an affair, without being able to go through with it.

As for your voyage into *Holland*, that likewiſe depends on the payment of this money. When you have ſecured that point, you will do me a pleaſure in coming over to me, furniſhed with all the informations tending to the execution of our deſign, which may ſtill be wanting. I will write next poſt to *Petkum* to come along with you.'

(1) Theſe addreſſes were followed by a long one from the Diſſenting Miniſters, in which they ſaid:

'We think it the particular honour of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, that their ſtrict adherence to the intereſt of your Illuſtrious Family, before your Majeſty's Acceſſion, and their loyalty to it ſince, have drawn upon them ſo much of the fury of their fellow-ſubjects; we are not conſcious what elſe could render us obnoxious to them: Our principles being as we hope the moſt friendly to mankind, and amounting to no more than thoſe of a general Toleration to all peaceable ſubjects, univerſal love and charity for all Chriſtians, and to act always in matters of Religion, as God ſhall give us light into his Will about them.

We do not ſo much as expect or deſire any thing that ought to give any one the leaſt diſturbance; we only wiſh, that under your Majeſty, as the common father of all your loyal people, thoſe of our perſuaſion might not want capacity, as we hope your Majeſty will find they never want an inclination, to promote the true intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion, and of their Country.'

1716-17. Prince ſitting on the Throne, by making public rejoicings: That the Univerſity had a method of expreſſing their loyalty more conſiſtent with the dignity of their Founders, and the characters of their Perſons, than illuminations, bonfires, and firing of guns: That, as for the Mayor and Magiſtrates of the City of *Oxford*, they had this to plead for their excuſe, that they were ignorant it was the Prince's birth-day: That, the ſeveral affidavits and informations, upon which the Mayor and Magiſtrates grounded their complaints, having been ſent up to Court, copies of the ſame were returned to the Officers of the regiment quartered at *Oxford*, in order to give them an opportunity to juſtify their proceedings; which produced another ſet of affidavits and depoſitions in behalf of the Officers: That the Magiſtrates had no opportunity to make any replication in their own defence; and therefore it was moved, that the Houſe would come to no reſolution, upon the foot of the two ſets of affidavits; but that they would adjourn the further proceedings, and appoint a day, when they would hear the perſons concerned in theſe informations. They inſiſted upon this method, becauſe nothing could ſet this matter in a truer light, than the croſs-examining and confronting the evidences on each ſide; urging, that this method, their Lordſhips very well knew, was the conſtant practice of the Courts below, and even of all the hearings at the bar of their Lordſhips Houſe; and that their Lordſhips had never yet refuſed to admit of a replication: That as to the diſreſpect to the Prince Regent, charged upon the Univerſity for their neglect of ringing the bells on his Royal Highneſs's birth-day, of the ſixteen Colleges in the Univerſity, only three had any bells to ring: And that it appeared plainly by the affidavits taken before the Mayor and Magiſtrates, that the riotous proceedings were occaſioned by the inſolence and rude behaviour of the ſoldiers, encouraged by ſeveral Members of the Univerſity, calling themſelves the *Conſtitution Club*; and by the neglect of the commanding Officers of the regiment, in not iſſuing proper orders to ſuppreſs the diſturbance.' The Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Abingdon*, the Lords *Harcourt*, *Trevor*, *North* and *Grey*, and ſome others, ſpoke alſo in favour of the Univerſity and Magiſtrates of *Oxford*.

The Lord *Coningsby*, who ſpoke firſt on the other ſide, ſaid, 'That he knew the uſage of the Univerſity to have been otherwiſe than had been repreſented; and gave a ſhort account of their behaviour in the Reigns of King *Charles* II. and *James* II; and diſtinguiſhed between their paſt and preſent loyalty.' He owned, 'That, in theſe two Reigns, they had expreſſed their loyalty in a moſt extraordinary manner, and had made ſuch great advances to countenance an unlimited power in the Prince, that, if Providence had not miraculouſly interpoſed, they had, as far as in them lay, deſtroyed the liberties of their Country, which would have involved the Univerſity in certain ruin.' The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Kingſton*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord *Parker*, the Lord *Townſhend*, the Lord *Cadogan*, and ſome other Peers, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, obſerved in general, 'That the diſreſpect to the Prince Regent, charged upon the Univerſity and City of *Oxford*, was manifeſt, becauſe the Major of the regiment did, about ten o'clock in the morning, go to the Mayor, and complained, that he had ſhewed no regard to the Prince's birth-day, by ringing the bells; to which the Mayor returned a ſhuffling anſwer, pretending, he did not know it to be the Prince Regent's birth-day. That upon this the Major told him, He would draw out the regiment to celebrate the day, with proper rejoicings, which he did accordingly; but that the Mayor, inſtead of joining in the rejoicings, with a vaſt mob after him, filled up the public ſtreets; and ſome of his attendants inſulted the ſoldiers on their march, and gave them opprobrious language, crying out, *Down with the Roundheads*. That they proceeded ſo far in their inſults, as to throw dirt and ſtones at the ſoldiers, and even attempted to diſarm ſome of them. That the Houſe, wherein the Officers of the regiment and ſome of the Collegians met to celebrate the feſtival, was, in an inſolent manner, aſſaulted, and the windows broke by ſtones thrown from the oppoſite houſe of one *Hurſt*, an Ironmonger, upon which the ſoldiers, to revenge the affront, began likewiſe to break windows, of which the Major was no ſooner informed, but he immediately went out and bid them deſiſt. That it was indeed affirmed in ſome of the affidavits produced in behalf of the Univerſity and Magiſtrates, that a certain Collegian went round the bonfire, and encouraged the ſoldiers to break the windows of *Hurſt*, and all that were not illuminated; but, that the ſame was contradicted by no leſs than five or ſix perſons, who upon oath declared, that the Collegian was from ſeven till ten that evening in their company, and had not ſtirred from the houſe all that time. That, upon the Mayor's applying to the Major of the regiment, the latter gave immediate orders for patrolls to go through the City, and ſend home to their quarters all the ſoldiers they ſhould find in the ſtreets. And that, the patrolls being inſulted by ſome of the Mayor's attendants, two or three of the ſoldiers fired, but with powder only, purſuant to the orders given them.' During this debate the Earl of *Abingdon* offered a petition from the Vice-Chancellor, and the Mayor, and Magiſtrates of *Oxford*, praying to be heard; and inſiſted, that it ſhould be received and read: But it was urged on the other ſide, that, the houſe being in a Grand Committee, the receiving any petitions was irregular. Then it was moved, that the Chairman ſhould leave the chair; which being carried in the negative, the debate was reſumed, and about ſix o'clock in the evening the two following reſolutions were agreed to by a majority of ſixty-five againſt thirty-three.

I. Reſolved, 'That the Heads of the Univerſity, and Mayor of the City, neglected to make any public rejoicings on the Prince's birth-day; but, ſome of the Collegiates, with the Officers, being met to celebrate the day, the houſe, where they were, was aſſaulted, and the windows were broken by the rabble; which was the beginning and occaſion of the riots, that enſued, as well from the Soldiers as the Scholars and Townſmen; and that the conduct of the Major ſeemed well juſtified by the affidavits produced on his part.

II. Reſolved, That the printing and publiſhing the depoſitions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at *Oxford* were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the

17. the Lords of the Committee of Council, and before they had time to come to any reſolution touching the ſame, was irregular, diſreſpectful to his Royal Highneſs, and tending to ſedition.'

The Commons, proceeding upon the Supplies, among other things granted 24,000 *l.* for the payment of four battalions of *Munſter*, and two of *Saxe-Gotha*, which the King had taken into his ſervice, to ſupply the place of ſuch as during the Rebellion ſhould be drawn from the garriſons of the *States-General* to the aſſiſtance of *England*. This occaſioned a great debate. It was ſaid, as theſe troops did not ſerve, they ought not to be paid. It was replied, by the treaties, it was agreed that they ſhould be paid whether they ſerved or not, and the circumſtances of the times made ſuch an agreement neceſſary. It was moved, and the queſtion put for an addreſs to the King, that the inſtructions, given to thoſe who tranſacted the treaties for the ſix battalions, might be laid before the Houſe, but it paſſed in the negative by a majority of one hundred and ſixty-five againſt thirty-eight. It was believed theſe treaties were called for, and the addreſs moved by ſome Gentlemen, with a deſign to bring a cenſure on the *German* Miniſters. About 5,500 *l.* was alſo granted to make good the damages and loſſes ſuſtained by the tumultuous and rebellious proceedings in ſeveral Counties, particularly the demoliſhing of the Meeting-Houſes. The money voted for the army, navy, and other particulars amounted to above two millions and a half.

To raiſe theſe Supplies, the Commons granted a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, and the malt-tax. While theſe things were tranſacting, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* delivered to the Houſe the following meſſage from the King:

'His Majeſty being deſirous, above all things, not only to ſecure his Kingdoms againſt the preſent danger, with which they are threatened from *Sweden*, but likewiſe to prevent, as far as poſſible, the like apprehenſions for the future, thinks it neceſſary, that ſuch meaſures ſhould be early concerted, as may conduce moſt effectually to this end.

And, as this may require ſome expence, his Majeſty hopes, that his Commons will, by their aſſiſtance at this juncture, inable him to make good ſuch engagements, as may eaſe his people of all future charge and apprehenſions upon this account.'

The conſideration of this unexpected meſſage was deferred till the next day, when Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* made a motion, 'That a Supply be granted to inable his Majeſty to concert ſuch meaſures with foreign Princes and States, as may prevent any charge or apprehenſions from the deſigns of *Sweden* for the future.' He urged the advantage and ſecurity, that would ariſe to the Nation, by inabling his Majeſty to reduce the King of *Sweden*; and what confidence they ought to repoſe in the King's honour, wiſdom, and œconomy, in the management of what money ſhould be thought neceſſary for that ſervice. Mr. *Shippen* replied, 'That it was a great misfortune, that ſo wiſe and excellent a Prince as his Majeſty was as little acquainted with the uſage and forms of Parliamentary proceedings, as with the language of our Country. That, if he knew either, he would not have ſent ſuch a meſſage, which, he was ſure, was *unparliamentary* and *unprecedented*; and therefore it was his opinion, that the ſame was penned by ſome foreign Miniſter, and then tranſlated into *Engliſh*. That, ſince the King's Acceſſion to the Throne, there had been many reflexions caſt in that Houſe upon the laſt Miniſtry, as if they had betrayed the intereſt of their Country. That, on the contrary, they had often been told, that his Majeſty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the Nation, the effects of which had already appeared in the flouriſhing condition of trade. That, after all this, he could not but be very much ſurprized, to find a motion made for a Supply of money to inable his Majeſty to enter into new meaſures, to ſecure his Kingdoms againſt any future apprehenſions from the *Swedes*. That the neceſſity, that was urged for this, ſeemed to be inconſiſtent with the account of thoſe glorious advantages, which his Majeſty had obtained for us. And he could not help being of the opinion, that if the new Alliances and Meaſures to be concerted were ſuch, as were to be obtained purely by the force of our money, that ever the happineſs or the ſecurity of the Nation could be the conſequence of ſuch Counſels; for, whenever foreigners come to taſte the ſweetneſs of *Engliſh* money, we might depend upon it, that their adherence to our intereſt would laſt no longer than we continued to ſupply their neceſſities.' Mr. *Hungerford*, who ſeconded Mr. *Shippen*, ſaid, among other particulars. 'That, for his part, he could not underſtand what occaſion there was for new Alliances; much leſs, that they ſhould be purchaſed with money. That it muſt needs be very ſurprizing to the whole world, that a Nation, not long ago the terror of *France* and *Spain*, ſhould now ſeem to fear ſo inconſiderable an enemy as the King of *Sweden*; eſpecially when we had ſo good a fleet at ſea, and ſo great an army on land.' Some other ſpeeches were made on the ſame ſide, which gave Mr. *Stanhope* occaſion to ſay, 'That he was ſorry to find Gentlemen grow ſo warm upon a ſubject of this nature: That the King was a Prince of that integrity and honour, and had already given ſuch convincing proofs of his tender care for the true intereſt of the Nation, that they might intirely depend upon his wiſdom in this matter: And therefore he was of opinion, that none would refuſe compliance with this meſſage, but ſuch as either were not the King's friends, or who diſtruſted the honeſty of his Miniſters.' This gave offence to ſeveral Members; and Mr. *Lawſon*, one of the Knights of the Shire for *Cumberland*, replied, 'That he was very much ſurprized to find ſuch unguarded expreſſions fall from that worthy and honourable Gentleman, for whom, he was ſure, the whole Houſe had a very great regard. But, ſince he had thought fit to ſpeak ſo openly, he hoped he might well be juſtified in ſaying, that if every Member of this Houſe, that uſed freedom of ſpeech on any ſubject of debate, muſt be accounted an enemy to the King, when he happens not to fall in with his Miniſters; he knew no ſervice they were capable of doing for their Country in that Houſe; and therefore it was his opinion, that they had nothing elſe to do but to retire to their Country-ſeats, and leave the King and his Miniſters to take what they pleaſed.' Mr. *Boſcawen*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, Mr. *Horace Walpole*,

1717.

1717. *Walpole*, and ſome other Gentlemen, backed Mr. *Stanhope*'s motion; but Mr. *Grimſtone*, Member for *St. Alban*'s, and ſome other Whig Members, ſpoke againſt it, on the other ſide; and what was ſtill more obſervable, was the ſilence of Mr. *Walpole*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. However, it was moved and reſolved, that the Houſe would in a Committee conſider on the 8th of *April* of Mr. *Stanhope*'s motion for a Supply. Mean time the King was addreſſed for a copy of the treaty made by King *William*, with the King of *Sweden*, in 1700, which was read and examined. With the treaty there was printed, and delivered to the Members, an account of the damages ſuſtained by the *Britiſh* ſubjects in ſhips and lading confiſcated in *Sweden*, amounting to above 69,000 *l.* and of the loſſes ſuſtained by the *Muſcovite* Company, amounting to above 45,000 *l.*

Diviſion among the Whigs.

It was now obvious, that there was a miſunderſtanding among the King's Miniſters, and that the Whigs were divided. This more plainly appeared, in the courſe of the debate about Mr. *Stanhope*'s motion for a Supply againſt *Sweden*. For, when it came to be reſumed on the day appointed, it was urged by thoſe who oppoſed it, 'That it was unparliamentary to grant a Supply, before the occaſion was known, and an eſtimate of the expence was laid before the Houſe. That the King's meſſage about this matter was ſo unprecedented, that his Miniſters ſeemed to be divided about it; and that it was a great misfortune ſuch diviſions ſhould happen among the Miniſtry; for then a Parliament cannot have a true information of things. That they could not eaſily apprehend, what occaſion there was to make new Alliances, ſince we had a ſtanding army in *Great-Britain*, and a conſiderable fleet at ſea, which ſufficiently ſecured his Majeſty's Kingdoms againſt any dangers from *Sweden*. That if we deſigned to make an offenſive war againſt that Crown, Why did we not ſend part of our forces on board our fleet; eſpecially, ſince we were now ſecure at home, both by the ſuppreſſion of the late Rebellion, and by the concluſion of the triple Alliance, which the Regent of *France* had begun faithfully to perform, by cauſing the Pretender to paſs the *Alps?* However, if the Court inſiſted on the neceſſity of entering into new engagements againſt *Sweden*, they thought it proper to addreſs his Majeſty, to acquaint the Houſe with the nature of thoſe engagements, and the ſum, that was requiſite to make them good.' To this it was anſwered by Mr. *Stanhope*, and ſome others, 'That the diſcovery of the late Conſpiracy, carried on by the *Swediſh* Miniſters, in conjunction with the diſcontented party at home, ſufficiently evinced the neceſſity of a ſtanding army in *Great-Britain*. That the treaty of triple Alliance ſeemed indeed to ſecure us againſt any danger on the part of *France*; but it was to be obſerved, that treaty had met with ſo great oppoſition at the *French* Court, that, had not the Regent ſtickled ſtrenuouſly for it, the ſame would have infallibly miſcarried: And, though hitherto we had all the reaſon imaginable to commend the honeſty and candour of that Prince, yet in good policy we ought not to depend on that treaty any longer, than it ſhall be the intereſt of *France* to obſerve it.' And, as for the addreſs, 'the ſame would be injurious to the King's prerogative of entering into ſuch Alliances, as his Majeſty thinks neceſſary for the ſecurity of his Dominions, without communicating the ſame to his Parliament: Which prerogative was grounded on very good reaſons; for, if the Crown was obliged to impart the ſecret of affairs to ſo great a number of perſons, the moſt important Negotiations might thereby miſcarry.' Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, who ſpoke on the ſame ſide, mentioned the great loſſes and damages, which the *Britiſh* ſubjects had ſuſtained by their ſhips being made prize, and confiſcated in *Sweden*; and, beſides thoſe, contained in the printed account, which was that day delivered to the Members, produced a liſt of other loſſes; concluding, 'That, the King of *Sweden* having ſeveral times refuſed to make ſatisfaction for the ſame, and, on the contrary, his Miniſters having endeavoured to raiſe a new Rebellion in his Majeſty's Dominions, there was a ground to declare war againſt him.' To this Mr. *Gould* replied, 'That, the *Dutch* having ſuſtained as great loſſes by the *Swedes*, they had an equal concern with *Great-Britain* to declare war againſt them; and therefore it would be proper, before we proceeded further, to engage *Holland*, in the firſt place, to prohibit all commerce with *Sweden*, as we had done.' Mr. *Stanhope* ſaid, 'He made no doubt, but the *States* would readily come into any meaſures, that ſhould appear neceſſary for the good of both Nations in general, and to obtain ſatisfaction for the late depredations of the *Swedes* in particular: That they had lately given ſignal inſtances of their firm adherence to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, in cauſing the *Swediſh* Miniſters to be ſeized in their Dominions upon his Majeſty's deſire: But that the form and conſtitution of their Government, and the good of their Subjects, who moſt ſubſiſt by trade, did not permit them to take ſuch vigorous and ſpeedy reſolutions, as could be wiſhed; and therefore it would not be fair to exact the ſame from them.' Mr. *Craggs* preſſed the neceſſity of making new Alliances againſt *Sweden*, from the late doubtful conduct of a Northern Potentate (meaning the Czar of *Muſcovy*) who, by his inactivity againſt *Sweden*, and the poſts ſome of his troops had taken, gave great umbrage to the Empire.' On the other hand, to the great ſurprize of the generality of the Aſſembly, the Speaker and Mr. *Smith*, one of the Tellers of the *Exchequer*, declared, That, though they were not againſt the Supply, they were againſt demanding and granting it in ſuch an unparliamentary manner: And the Speaker propoſed, That part of the army ſhould be diſbanded, and the money thereby ſaved applied towards the making good ſuch new engagements, as were thought neceſſary to be entered into. But General *Mordaunt*, and ſome others, ſhewed how unſafe and impolitic it would be, at this juncture, to diſband any of thoſe troops. Mr. *Caſwell* cloſed the debate, with obſerving, 'That he had rather pay others for fighting than fight himſelf: That he thought it more advantageous for *Great-Britain* to carry the war abroad, and enjoy peace at home, in order to improve our trade, and reduce our public debts: And, as the employing Foreigners againſt *Sweden* would be a far leſs expence than national troops, he therefore was for complying with his Majeſty's meſſage.' At laſt the queſtion was put, and it was carried for a Supply, by a majority of fifteen voices only; one

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The next day, this reſolution being reported to the Houſe, a ſhort debate aroſe. The aſking and granting ſupplies without an eſtimate of the expence was inſiſted on again as unparliamentary, and it was propoſed, either to preſent an addreſs to the King to aſſure him, that the Houſe would effectually make good all the engagements he ſhould think proper to enter into; or that the King be deſired to diſband part of the army, and apply the ſavings towards the new Alliances. Both theſe expedients were rejected by the Speakers on the other ſide, and Mr. *Hampden*, in particular, ſaid, 'He remembered, that, about ten or eleven years before, a great man in that Houſe made a motion for allowing and providing for about nine hundred thouſand pounds, which the Government had expended, without laying any eſtimate before the Commons.' To this the Speaker, who was the perſon meant, ſaid, he wondered that Gentleman would bring in as a precedent a buſineſs, that was tranſacted ſo many years ago, and which was not parallel to the preſent caſe. Mr. *Hampden* replied, 'He did not mean to reflect upon Mr. Speaker, ſince he had the honour to vote with him upon that occaſion.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the reſolution for granting a Supply was agreed to, though by a majority only of four votes, one hundred and fifty-three againſt one hundred and forty-nine.

gu in fi- The carrying of this vote, by ſo ſmall a majority, could not but give the King ſome uneaſineſs; and it being evident, that the great oppoſition, which the Court found on this occaſion in the Houſe of Commons, chiefly proceeded from a party of which the Lord *Townſhend* was ſaid to be the head; Mr. *Stanhope* wrote that very evening, by the King's command, a letter to acquaint him, that his Majeſty returned him thanks for his paſt ſervices, but had no farther occaſion for him as Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

The next morning Mr. *Walpole* waited upon the King to reſign his places of firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. The King ſhewed great regret to part with him, and with many kind expreſſions endeavoured to perſuade him to keep his poſt; but though Mr. *Walpole* aſſured him, that he would never ſwerve from his duty to ſo good and gracious a Maſter: Yet at the ſame time he repreſented, how impoſſible it was for him to ſerve him in the preſent circumſtances of affairs. Mr. *Methuen* and Mr. *Pulteney*, Secretary at war, followed Mr. *Walpole*'s example, and the ſame morning reſigned their reſpective places.

On the 12th of *April*, the Commons, in a Committee of the whole Houſe, conſidered of the Supply againſt *Sweden*; and, Mr. *Stanhope* having made a motion for granting to the King 250,000 *l.* to inable him to concert meaſures againſt *Sweden*, there was for a minute or two a great ſilence in the Houſe. Mr. *Pulteney*, who broke it firſt, expreſſed his ſurprize at it; and added, 'He had not yet ſaid any thing to this matter, becauſe he thought it inconſiſtent with decency to oppoſe a motion, that came from the Court, while he had the honour to be his Majeſty's immediate ſervant; but that, having reſigned his place, that he might act with the freedom becoming an *Engliſhman*, he could not forbear declaring againſt the granting a Supply, in a manner altogether unparliamentary and unprecedented. That he could not perſuade himſelf, that any *Engliſhman* adviſed his Majeſty to ſend ſuch a meſſage; but he doubted not, the reſolution of a *Britiſh* Parliament would make a *German* Miniſtry tremble.' The Lord *Finch* ſeconded Mr. *Pulteney*, and objected to ſome ſteps, which had been taken in relation to the affairs of the North, alledging, 'That it appeared by the memorial preſented by the *Ruſſian* Miniſter, and by the anſwer, which had been returned to the ſame, that ſuch meaſures were purſued, as were likely to engage us in a quarrel with the Czar.' Mr. *Stanhope*, in a long ſpeech, vindicated the King and his Miniſters, in relation both to the Czar and the King of *Sweden*. With reſpect to the Czar, he obſerved, 'That hitherto he had been obliged to be ſilent; but he was now at liberty to ſet this matter in a clear light, and to acquaint the Houſe, that the coldneſs, which appeared of late between the King and the Czar, proceeded from his Majeſty's refuſing to become guarantee of his Czariſh Majeſty's conqueſts; and from his ſolliciting the Czar to withdraw his troops from the Duchy of *Mecklenburg*. That, as to the firſt, his Majeſty's conduct deſerved the applauſe and thanks of a *Britiſh* Parliament, ſince it appeared, that his Majeſty was tender not to engage the Nation in foreign quarrels. That this indeed had been his principal care ſince his happy Acceſſion to the Throne; and he might aſſure them, that *Great-Britain* was intirely free from any engagements, and at liberty to follow ſuch meaſures, as beſt ſuit with her intereſt. That as for the inſtances, which his Majeſty has cauſed to be made with the Czar, and the meaſures he may have concerted to get the *Ruſſian* troops out of the Duchy of *Mecklenburg*, his Majeſty has acted in all this as Elector and Prince of the Empire. That he was perſuaded, all the Gentlemen there would agree with him, that the King's dignity, as King of *Great-Britain*, was never underſtood to tie up his hands with reſpect to his intereſts in *Germany*, and as Prince of the Empire: But, beſides, he muſt deſire Gentlemen to conſider, that, long before his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Crown, *Great-Britain* was in ſtrict union with the Emperor and Empire; ſo that if, by virtue of antient Alliances, the Emperor ſhould require *Great-Britain* to uſe theſe inſtances with the Czar, which the King has made only as Elector of *Hanover*, *Great-Britain* could not avoid complying with his requeſt. That, in relation to *Sweden*, the King's conduct was not only blameleſs and unſpotted, but worthy of the higheſt commendations. That in the late Queen's time, *Great-Britain* interpoſed to procure a neutrality in the North, whereby the King of *Sweden* might have preſerved his poſſeſſions in theEmpire. That the Regency at *Stockholm* agreed to this overture; but that the King of *Sweden* rejected it with haughtineſs, and the utmoſt ſcorn, declaring, he would uſe thoſe as his enemies, who ſhould pretend to impoſe ſuch a neutrality upon him.

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That, during the whole courſe of that Negotiation, the King, then Elector of *Hanover*, uſed all friendly offices in favour of *Sweden*. That the ſame having proved ineffectual, through the King

1717. King of *Sweden*'s obſtinacy; and the King of *Denmark* having, by the fortune of war, reconquered the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, his Majeſty, as Elector of *Hanover*, had purchaſed the ſame with his own money for a valuable conſideration. That although it was never in his Majeſty's thoughts to engage *Great-Britain* in a war to ſupport that acquiſition; yet, if Gentlemen would give themſelves the trouble to caſt their eyes upon the map, and ſee where *Bremen* and *Verden* lie, he hoped they would not be indifferent as to the poſſeſſor of thoſe two Duchies, but would agree with him, that their being in the King's hands ſuits far better with the intereſt of *Great-Britain*, than if they were in the hands either of the Czar, who gives already but too much jealouſy in the Empire, or of the King of *Sweden*, who endeavoured to raiſe a new Rebellion in *Great-Britain*, and harbours our fugitive Rebels.'

This ſpeech made a great impreſſion upon the majority. However, Mr. *Smith* thought fit to anſwer Mr. *Stanhope*, and ſaid, 'He had already declared his reaſons for oppoſing the granting this Supply in ſuch an extraordinary manner; and ſome expreſſions, that had eſcaped a Gentleman in the Miniſtry, inſtead of making him alter his opinion, rather confirmed him in it. That he did not pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with affairs abroad; but, having had the honour to ſit ſo long in that Houſe, where ſo great a variety of buſineſs, both foreign and domeſtic, had often been debated, he might preſume to have ſome knowledge of them. That however he would not ſay any thing to what had been advanced by the honourable Member, who ſpoke laſt; but, if an eſtimate of the conduct of the Miniſtry in relation to affairs abroad was to be made by a compariſon of their conduct at home, he was ſure they would not appear altogether ſo faultleſs, as they were repreſented. Was it not a miſtake, *added he*, not to preſerve the peace at home, after the King was come to the Throne, with the univerſal applauſe and joyful acclamations of all his ſubjects? Was it not a miſtake, upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, not to iſſue a Proclamation, to offer pardon to ſuch, as ſhould return home peaceably, as had ever been practiſed before upon ſuch occaſions? Was it not a miſtake, after the ſuppreſſion of the Rebellion, and the trial and execution of the principal Authors of it, to keep up animoſities, and drive people to deſpair, by not paſſing an Act of Indemnity and Grace, by keeping ſo many perſons under hard and tedious confinement, and by granting pardons to ſome, without leaving them any means to ſubſiſt? Is it not a miſtake not to truſt to a vote of Parliament for making good ſuch engagements as his Majeſty ſhall think proper to enter into; and, inſtead of that, to inſiſt on the granting of this Supply in ſuch an extraordinary manner? Is it not a miſtake to take this opportunity to create diviſions, and render ſome of the King's beſt friends ſuſpected and obnoxious? Is it not a miſtake, in ſhort, to form *parties* and *cabals*, in order to bring in a *bill to repeal the act againſt occaſional conformity?* To this ſpeech Mr. *Stanhope* replied, 'That he had the honour to ſerve his Majeſty ſince his happy Acceſſion to the Throne, but, as there were other perſons (ſome of them in, and others out of place) who had a greater ſhare than himſelf in the adminiſtration of affairs, he left it to them to juſtify themſelves. That, however, he would clear a principal point, by aſſuring the Aſſembly, that he had ſome time ago the King's orders to draw up an *Act of Indemnity* (1).

Mr.

(1) Mr. *Barrington Shute* anſwered Mr. *Smith* more at large, and ſaid, 'That the King was indeed come to the Throne with the joyful acclamations of moſt of his ſubjects; but that the diſaffection, that appeared ſoon after, did not proceed from the ill conduct of his Miniſters, but ſolely from the removal of ſome perſons in great employments. That, nevertheleſs, in the changes, that were then made, his Majeſty had followed the rules of prudence, juſtice, and gratitude, ſince he advanced thoſe, who in the worſt of times had given undoubted proofs of their affection and attachment to his intereſt, in the room of thoſe, who had been preferred in the laſt Reign, as the fitteſt inſtruments to deſtroy the Proteſtant Succeſſion, even before it took place, and who had ſince been in open Rebellion againſt his Majeſty. That, as for the other miſtakes charged upon the Adminiſtration, they might be reduced to theſe two, The not paſſing the *act of Indemnity*, and the deſign to repeal the *Occaſional Bill*. That, as to the firſt, there were various opinions about it; and, conſidering the reſtleſs ſpirit of the diſcontented party, it was hard to determine, whether an *Indemnity* was a proper way to reduce them, ſince it was notorious, that the repeated inſtances of clemency, which his Majeſty had given ſince his Acceſſion, have been abuſed and deſpiſed. That, as to the repeal of the act againſt the *Diſſenters*, nothing, in his opinion, was either more juſt or reaſonable; and he could not but wonder, that a Gentleman, who had been turned out of his employment in the laſt Reign, and reſtored ſince the King's coming to the Crown, ſhould account it a miſtake, on the other hand, to make his Majeſty's undoubted friends eaſy.' Mr. *Smith*, after an explanation demanded and given, about his being turned out of place and reſtored, replied to the laſt part of Mr. *Shute*'s ſpeech, 'That he ever was for allowing liberty of conſcience to the Diſſenters, and had even voted againſt the *Occaſional Bill*; but that, the ſame being paſſed into a law, it was his opinion, that it could not be repealed without diſquieting the whole Nation.' The deſign mentioned in theſe ſpeeches, of repealing the *Schiſm* and *Occaſional Conformity* acts, took its riſe from hence: Mr. *Hillerſden*, Member for *Bedfordſhire*, and Mr. *Tuckfield*, Member of *Aſhburton*, happening to meet at a Tavern, and complaining to each other of the breach of Court promiſes, with regard to the Diſſenters, came to a reſolution each of them to invite three Members to meet the next night at the ſame place. When theſe met, they all entered into the ſame way of thinking; and, when they parted, every one agreed to invite their friends. In a little time, the number increaſed to above two hundred Members of the Houſe of Commons, who, on the 26th of *March*, had a meeting at the *Roſe-Tavern* near *Temple-Bar*, in order to conſult together, 'Whether a bill for repealing the act againſt Occaſional Conformity ſhould be brought in?' The Lord *Molſworth*, Mr. *Jeſſop*, Sir *Richard Steele*, and ſome others, made ſpeeches, to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of eaſing the Diſſenters of thoſe hardſhips, which had been put upon them in the laſt Reign, chiefly upon account of their zeal and affection for the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and of putting them in a capacity to ſerve their King and Country; urging, that they had reaſon to believe, that ſuch a bill would be very acceptable to the King. The majority of the Aſſembly inclined to this opinion: But Mr. *Tufnel*, who had conſulted a perſon in a high poſt, and found, that the Court were apprehenſive, ſuch a bill would meet with ſtrong oppoſition in the Houſe of Peers, made a ſpeech, wherein, he ſaid, That, as for his own part, he had already ſo often declared againſt *the Occaſional Act*, that he hoped

Mr. *William Young*, ſon of Sir *Walter Young*, ſaid, ‘ That ſome days before he had been againſt the motion for granting a Supply upon the King's meſſage, becauſe he thought it *unparliamentary*; and it was then his opinion to addreſs the King to enter into ſuch engagements, as his Majeſty ſhould think proper; and that the Commons would make good the ſame. But that, ſince the majority of the Houſe had determined to grant a Supply, they had brought themſelves into this *dilemma*, either to grant what was aſked as neceſſary for the ſervice, or to tell the King, that ſervice muſt remain unperformed, which they, in a manner, determined to be neceſſary, by granting a Supply. This ſpeech was ſupported by Sir *John Brownlow*, and Mr. *Gould*, who owned, ‘ That we could not carry on our trade to the *Baltic*, without bringing the King of *Sweden* to reaſon; and therefore he was for granting this Supply.’

Mr. *Walpole*, who cloſed the debate, ſaid, ‘ That, having already ſpoken for the Supply, he would not refuſe the Court his vote; and, the ſum being named, he was for granting it (1). Upon this moſt of the Tory Members, who were divided among themſelves as to the ſum, going out of the Houſe; it was carried, ‘ That a ſum not exceeding 250,000 *l.* be granted, to enable his Majeſty to concert ſuch meaſures with foreign Princes and States, as may prevent any charge or apprehenſions from the deſigns of *Sweden* for the future.’ Which reſolution was afterwards paſſed in form.

By this time there was almoſt a total change in the Miniſtry. The Earl of *Sunderland* was appointed Secretary of State, as was alſo Mr. *Joſeph Addiſon*: Mr. *Stanhope* was made firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the *Exchequer*; Lord *Torrington*, Mr. *Wallop*, Mr. *Baillie* of *Jerwiſwood*, and Mr. *Micklethwaite* were the other Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; Sir *William St. Quintin*, Mr. *Methuen*, and Mr. *Edgecombe*, being removed, Mr. *Craggs* was declared Secretary at war; Mr. *Charles Stanhope*, Coadjutor to Mr. *Lowndes*, Secretary to the Treaſury; and Mr. *Joſeph Micklethwaite*, Secretary to Mr. *Stanhope*, as Chancellor and under Treaſurer of the *Exchequer*. The Earl of *Orford* reſigned his place of firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, which was given to the Earl of *Berkley*. The reſt of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty were Mr. *Aylmer*, Sir *George Byng*, Mr. *Cockburne*, and Mr. *Chetwynd*. The Duke of *Bolton* was appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; and his place of Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold was beſtowed on the Duke of *Newcaſtle*. The Duke of *Devonſhire* reſigned his place of Preſident of the Council. 1717.

The Commons, having been adjourned during theſe changes, met again the 6th of *May*. All the expedition poſſible had been uſed to fit out a fleet for the *Baltick*, conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire-ſhips. This fleet, under the command of Sir *George Byng*, arrived at *Copenhagen* the 11th of *April*, in order to ſail into the *Baltick*, to obſerve the motions of the *Swedes*. An expreſs of his arrival in the *Sound* came juſt before the meeting of the Parliament. The King thought proper to acquaint the Parliament with the news, which, as it was unexpected, could not but agreeably ſurprize both Houſes. To this end he came to the Houſe of Lords, and delivered to the Chancellor the following ſpeech: *A fleet ſent to the Baltick.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech to both Houſes, May 6. Pr H. C.

“ IT is with great ſatisfaction, that, after this “ ſhort receſs, I can acquaint you with the “ certain advice I have received, that my fleet is “ ſafely arrived in the *Sound*, which, by the “ bleſſing of Almighty God, will ſecure theſe “ Kingdoms againſt any immediate danger of “ an Invaſion.

“ I have, by this means, an opportunity, “ which is very acceptable to me, of making a “ conſiderable reduction in our land-forces, “ having eſtabliſhed it as a rule with myſelf, to “ conſult the eaſe of my people in every thing, “ ſo far as is conſiſtent with their ſafety. And, “ for my own part, as I ſhall always place my “ greatneſs in the proſperity of my ſubjects, ſo “ I ſhall always deſire, that my power may be “ founded in their affections.

“ It is upon theſe conſiderations, that I have “ given orders for the immediate reducing of “ ten thouſand men.

“ That nothing may be wanting in me to “ quiet the minds of all my ſubjects, I have “ likewiſe given directions to prepare an Act of “ Grace; and, however it may be received by “ thoſe, who are obſtinately bent on the ruin of “ their Country, I promiſe myſelf, that it will “ raiſe a due ſenſe of gratitude in all ſuch, as “ have been artfully miſled into treaſonable prac- “ tices againſt my Perſon and Government, and “ preſerve them from ſtanding in need of the “ like mercy for the future, when ſuch an in- “ ſtance of clemency may not be ſo expedient “ for the public welfare, as it would be agreeable to my own inclinations.

Gentlemen

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hoped nobody would ſuſpect him of entertaining any doubt concerning its repeal. For, beſides the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of it, they ought, out of gratitude, to take off a mark of infamy, which the enemies of the Proteſtant Succeſſion had put on them, who appeared moſt zealous for it. But that, in his opinion, the queſtion now before them was not, whether the repeal of the act was reaſonable and juſt, for he hoped, the whole Aſſembly were ſatisfied as to that; but whether the bringing of it in ought not to be put off till a more favourable opportunity?’ Several Members were of a contrary opinion; but, Mr. *Stanhope* having declared for it, the Aſſembly agreed to meet again about a week after, and debate on the affair. At the meeting, the Lord *Moleſworth* was choſen Chairman. Several ſpeeches were made to ſhew the neceſſity as well as reaſonableneſs and juſtice of bringing in the bill for a repeal at this juncture; and a Miniſter of State having ſent an intimation, that moſt of the obſtacles, that might have obſtructed its paſſage, were removed, it was reſolved to conſider further of the affair. But though the debate was again reſumed; and though it was reported, that ſix or ſeven Biſhops, being made ſenſible of the hardſhips put on the Diſſenters by theſe acts, had promiſed not to oppoſe the repeal, yet the matter took not effect at this time.

(1) Mr. *Walpole*, upon bringing in a bill concerning the window-tax, juſt after the reſigning his places, told the Houſe, ‘ He now preſented the bill as a Country Gentleman, but hoped it would not fare the worſe for having two Fathers, and that his Succeſſor would take care to bring it to perfection.’ *Pr. H. C.*

1717.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I thank you for your readineſs to ſupport " me in the preſent juncture of affairs, and for " the Supplies, which you have given me; " and do promiſe you, that they ſhall be em- " ployed for the uſes, to which you deſigned " them.

" I ſhall order ſuch faithful accounts to be " laid before you the next Seſſion, as will make " it appear, there was no other view in aſking " any particular Supply, than to prevent a " much greater expence, which the Nation muſt " have unavoidably incurred without it.

" I muſt recommend to you, as I did at the " beginning of the Seſſion, to take all proper " methods for reducing the public debts, with a " juſt regard to Parliamentary credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The year being ſo far advanced, I hope " you will go through the public buſineſs with " all poſſible diſpatch and unanimity; it being " my intention to meet you early the next win- " ter, that the ſitting of Parliament may be " brought into the more uſual and convenient " ſeaſon."

Addreſſes of thanks from both Houſes.

The Lords immediately voted an addreſs of thanks, which they preſented the next day. The like addreſs being moved for in the Houſe of Commons, and reported, Mr. *Shippen* propoſed an amendment. Inſtead of, *The reducing ſuch a body of land-forces is the moſt acceptable pledge you could give your people of your tenderneſs for them*, he propoſed to ſay, *That nothing could more endear his Majeſty to all his ſubjects than the reducing the land-forces to the old eſtabliſhment of guards and garriſons, ſuch as his Majeſty found it at his Acceſſion to the Crown.* To ſupport this motion, he repreſented the danger of a ſtanding army, urging, that in *Cromwell*'s time a force, much leſs than what will remain in *Great-Britain*, had, after the intended reduction, overturned the Monarchy, aboliſhed Epiſcopacy, put down the Houſe of Peers, and drove the Commons from their ſeats. He was ſeconded by Mr. *Bromley*, and ſupported by Mr. *Herne* and General *Roſs*; but they were anſwered by Mr. *Stanhope*, who ſaid, 'That the Member, who ſpoke firſt, could not pitch upon a properer juncture to move for the diſbanding of the army, eſpecially, if the news was true, that the Pretender deſigned to come *incognito* to *Paris*, to confer with a certain Prince;' meaning the Czar of *Muſcovy*, who was now arrived at *Paris*. To this purpoſe it may be obſerved, that the very day before *Iberville* received advice from *France*, that the Pretender was arrived at *Baſil*, in *Swiſſerland*, and had a few days after been ſeen at *Old Briſack*; upon notice whereof the Regent of *France* had ſent orders to all the Governors of the frontier towns, not to ſuffer him to enter the Kingdom of *France*: But it was ſoon after known, that the Pretender had not ſtirred from *Italy*. However, Mr. *Stanhope*, to the great ſurprize of the oppoſite ſide, was ſupported by Mr. *Walpole*, and alſo by Mr. *Pulteney*, who declared, 'That, before the diſcovery of the late *Swediſh* Conſpiracy, while he had the honour to ſerve as Secretary at war, he had received ſuch directions, as ſhewed his Majeſty's intentions, at that time, to reduce ſtill a greater number of forces than at preſent: And therefore he did not doubt but his Majeſty would do it, as ſoon as the ſafety of his Kingdoms would admit of it.' Adding, 'That, in his opinion, the Nation had no reaſon to fear any thing from an army, who, for near thirty years paſt, had given ſignal proofs of their firm adherence to the Proteſtant intereſt, and of their zeal to maintain the liberties of their Country; and, if there was any danger at preſent, it was only from foreign Counſels.' The queſtion being put upon Mr. *Shippen*'s amendment, it was rejected by a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight againſt eighty-three; and the Commons, with their Speaker, preſented their addreſs to the King. 1717.

Inquiry about the Dutch forces in Scotland. Pr. H. C.

In order to paſs a cenſure on Lord *Cadogan*, Mr. *Pulteney* acquainted the Commons, that he was apprehenſive of ſome miſmanagements and imbezzlement of public monies in relation to the ſix thouſand *Dutch* troops, and the ſervice in *North Britain*. Upon this it was reſolved to addreſs for an account of the money given for the pay and tranſportation of theſe forces, and of the diſtribution of the extraordinaries and contingencies for ſervice performed in *Scotland* during the Rebellion. But, after all the inquiry into the affair by Mr. *Pulteney*, Mr. *Walpole*, and others, nothing material was found againſt the Lord *Cadogan*. In the laſt day's debate, Mr. *Lechmere* urged, 'That the inquiry was altogether frivolous and groundleſs: That, as it was the reſult of party pique and malice, ſo it had no other view, than to blacken and aſperſe a perſon, whoſe greateſt crime was, that he had real bright qualities, that eclipſed the tinſel merit of others: That this inquiry was of the ſame nature with thoſe, that had formerly been ſet on foot againſt the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Lord *Townſhend*, and an honourable Member of that Houſe; and he hoped would have the ſame end: That it looked very ſtrange, that the perſons, who now appeared the hotteſt in this inquiry, ſhould have been ſilent about theſe pretended frauds, while they were in place. But that it was ſtill more ſurprizing to hear them exclaim, with ſo much rancour and bitterneſs, againſt a noble Lord, of whom they had been heard to ſay, that the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of the Rebellion in *Scotland* was, under God, owing to his activity and indefatigableneſs; and that, if another General had had the management of that affair, he would have made it a ten years war.' After both parties had maintained the debate ſeveral hours, Mr. *Stanhope* moved, 'That the Chairman leave the Chair.' Which was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and four voices againſt one hundred and ninety-four. This was looked upon as a great victory on the Court ſide; for, had the Tories and their *new Allies*, as Mr. *Shippen* called them, gained their point, it was apprehended, that they deſigned, not only to have paſſed a cenſure on Lord *Cadogan*, but alſo to have carried the inquiry further, that they might have an opportunity of returning thanks to the Duke of *Argyle*, his rival in the buſineſs of *Scotland*. Moſt of the *Scots* Members voted for Lord *Cadogan*; but, though Mr. *Hungerford* ſpoke in his favour, yet he voted with

with his enemies; and the Lord *Finch* and Sir *Thomas Hanmer* were abſent from the Houſe that day. 1717.

The principal buſineſs of this Seſſion was, the reduction of the national debts, which the King had earneſtly recommended to the Commons in his ſpeeches from the Throne. The national debt, by means of long and expenſive wars, carried on in ſupport of the Revolution, and conſequently in defence of the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of *Great-Britain*, was become very large and heavy. And therefore the circumſtances of time, high credit, and low price of money, prompted thoſe, whoſe province it was, to conſider of proper means to make uſe of that favourable opportunity, that the public might ſhare in the common advantage of the flouriſhing ſtate of public credit. For it was thought juſt and reaſonable, that the public ſhould have the ſame liberty, every private man has, to pay off his debts when he is able; or to reduce the high intereſt, which neceſſity had ſubjected him to, as ſoon as he could borrow the money elſewhere at more eaſy rates; unleſs his Creditors would conſent to accept of the common rate of intereſt upon good ſecurity. This method of redemption, among the many ſchemes that were propoſed for reduction of the public debts, was choſen by thoſe who had the management of the affair.

The national debt was conſidered under two heads, *redeemable* and *irredeemable debts*. The *redeemable*, or ſuch debts as had been provided for by Parliament with a redeemable intereſt of ſo much *per cent*, the public had a right and power to pay off whenever they were able, either by providing money for ſuch Proprietors as inſiſted upon money, or by offering new terms, in diſcharge of all former conditions, which offer, if accepted by the Proprietors, was to be deemed an actual redemption of the firſt debt, as if it had been paid off in ready money.

As for the *irredeemable* debts, or the *long* and *ſhort annuities* (ſo called from the greater or leſſer number of years they were granted for) nothing could be done without the abſolute conſent of the Proprietors. The only method therefore to treat with them was to offer them ſuch conditions as they ſhould think it their intereſt to accept.

Upon theſe principles (as will preſently be ſeen) were founded the reſolutions taken by the Commons with relation to the public debts.

Mr. *Walpole* who was then at the head of the Treaſury, and chief projector of the ſcheme, gave the firſt hint of it by a motion in the Houſe of Commons, which was agreed to, 'That whoever ſhall advance or lend any ſum, not exceeding 600,000 *l.* for the ſervice of the public by ſea or land, ſhall be repaid the ſame with intereſt at 4 *l. per cent.* out of the firſt aid to be granted this Seſſion of Parliament.' The putting the intereſt of this intended loan ſo low as four *per cent.* gave reaſon to ſurmiſe, that thoſe, who had the management of the Treaſury, deſigned to put on the ſame foot the intereſts of all public funds: Whereupon Mr. *Lechmere* made a long ſpeech, obſerving, 'That ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals for reducing the national debts had been printed and diſperſed; which gave the perſons concerned in the public ſecurities the greater uneaſineſs, becauſe there was reaſon to apprehend, thoſe ſchemes came abroad with the privity and countenance of men in great places: That the general alarm, which this had occaſioned among monied men, might very ſenſibly affect public credit, and be, at this juncture, of very dangerous conſequence. To prevent which he thought it neceſſary, and therefore moved, that the Houſe would come to a reſolution, *effectually to make good all parliamentary engagements*.' To this unexpected motion Mr. *Walpole* replied, 'That his Majeſty having, with great tenderneſs, recommended to them, from the Throne, *the reducing, by degrees, the debts of the Nation*; and the Commons having in their addreſs promiſed *to apply themſelves, with all poſſible diligence and attention to that great and neceſſary work*, they ought to exert themſelves to make good that promiſe, and appoint a day to take that important matter into conſideration. And he did not doubt but the Commons would then ſhew all poſſible regard to juſtice and public faith. He owned, there had been indeed ſeveral ſchemes publiſhed relating to the reduction of the national debts; but that the ſame were made by private perſons; and he durſt aſſure the Houſe, without the participation of any of his Majeſty's Miniſters; and therefore not to be regarded; but that, in a ſhort time, ſuch propoſals would be laid before the Houſe, as, he hoped, would give them ſatisfaction, and meet with their approbation.' He therefore moved, that Mr. *Lechmere*'s motion might be thus altered, 'That this Houſe will effectually make good the deficiencies of all parliamentary engagements;' which, after a ſhort debate, was approved, and a day was appointed to conſider of the national debt.

By this time the ſurmize, that force would be uſed in the reduction of the public debts, had heightened the uneaſineſs of monied men and ſtock-jobbers, in ſome, to a degree of extravagance and madneſs, in others, of ſullen diſcontent, ſo that many did not ſcruple to inveigh againſt the preſent Adminiſtration, as if the public debts were to be ſpunged off, and all ſeemed combined to diſtreſs the Government, by not advancing any money towards its ſupport; by which means in three days not above 45,000 *l.* was ſubſcribed to the loan of 600,000 *l.* in the land-tax. This diſappointment, at ſo critical and dangerous a juncture, furniſhed Mr. *Lechmere* with matter for another ſpeech on the 8th of *March*, when, the Commons being in a Grand Committee on the Supply, he told them, 'He was ſorry he was obliged to take notice, that their late vote for a loan at four *per cent.* intereſt was like to prove ineffectual; and, as the preſent exigency required a ſpeedy ſupply, ſo he thought it neceſſary, and therefore moved, that a day be appointed to conſider further of that matter.' Mr. *Robert Walpole* declared, 'That he ſeconded this motion, there being the greater neceſſity for it, becauſe he was informed, that ſome Stock-jobbers, in order to deter the Parliament from purſuing the deſign of reducing the public debts, had formed a combination to diſtreſs the Government, and ruin public credit, which was the occaſion, that the late vote for borrowing 600,000 *l.* at four *per cent.* had not the deſired effect.' To this Mr. *Lechmere* anſwered, 'That as none but the moſt wicked of men could enter into

1717. into ſuch a combination againſt the good of their Country; ſo the honourable Member, who ſpoke laſt, would do well to name them, that the Honeſt might ſhew the utmoſt reſentment and indignation againſt them. But that, in his opinion, the ill ſucceſs of the loan was rather occaſioned by ſome reflections on the monied men and ſtock-jobbers, and by certain maxims lately advanced, That the Parliament may exert its authority to extricate themſelves by reducing the national debts: That ſuch maxims could not but alarm any perſons concerned in the public ſecurities; and the more, when they ſaw, that a ſlur had been put upon the motion made three days before, *That all parliamentary engagements ſhould effectually be made good.* That he ſtill thought ſuch a vote abſolutely neceſſary, both to remove people's fears and jealouſies, and to vindicate the honour and juſtice of the Nation: That the ſame was intirely agreeable to his Majeſty's ſentiments, who, in his firſt ſpeech to this Parliament, had been pleaſed to recommend to the Commons, in a particular manner, *the ſtrict obſervance of all parliamentary engagements, than which nothing could more contribute to the ſupport of the credit of the Nation:* With which opinion of his Majeſty the Commons did intirely concur; and that he could not believe any of his Majeſty's Miniſters could be ſo regardleſs of his honour, and known equity, or put ſo hard a thing upon him, as to make him, in the leaſt, contradict what he had, in ſo ſolemn a manner, declared from the Throne. 'He added, That, the Commons having already appointed a day, to conſider the State of the Nation with relation to the public debts, he would not anticipate that important affair: But he could not forbear declaring, on this occaſion, his private opinion, that it would be the greateſt ingratitude, as well as injuſtice, in the leaſt to wrong thoſe perſons, who had ſupported the Government in the moſt preſſing exigencies, and moſt perillous junctures, and who, on all occaſions, had ſhewn their zeal and affection for the Proteſtant Succeſſion. That he had nothing to ſay as to ſuch public ſecurities, as were redeemable by Parliament; but, as to annuities granted for terms of years, he would be poſitive, that they could not be meddled with, without breaking in upon parliamentary engagements, and violating the public faith; ſince thoſe annuities were not to be looked upon as debts, but as a ſale of annual rents for a valuable conſideration, of which contract the Parliament had propoſed and made the terms and conditions, and the rentees became purchaſers upon the parliamentary faith and ſecurity. And that, beſides the injuſtice of breaking through a national contract, thoſe annuities could not be touched without occaſioning great confuſion and diſpute in private families, by reaſon that moſt of theſe annuities had been ſettled for portions, jointures, and the like.' Upon this Mr. *Walpole* declared, there never had been a deſign to uſe any compulſion with relation to the annuities: That, indeed, an alternative might be offered to the proprietors of the ſame; but it ſhould be in their choice, either to accept or refuſe it. And, as for ſuch funds as were redeemable, nothing would be propoſed, that ſhould not intirely conſiſt with juſtice and public faith (1).

Three days after, the Commons ordered to be laid before the Houſe, an account of the public debts at the *Exchequer*, diſtinguiſhing what the funds were; when granted; what term remained; how much the original money was; how much had been paid off, and how much unpaid; and what the annual intereſt was, that was payable for the ſums advanced (2).

On

(1) The Commons having ordered, that the ſums advanced for the ſervice of the public ſhould be repaid with 5 *l.* *per cent.* the whole loan of 600,000 *l.* was immediately filled up.

(2) An ACCOUNT of the PUBLIC DEBTS at the *Exchequer* as they now ſtand, diſtinguiſhing what the funds are; when granted; how much the original principal money was; how much has been ſince paid off, and how much remained; and what the annual ſums are that are paid or payable for the principal ſums advanced, with the rate of intereſt, excluſive of the deficiencies of Parliamentary grants.

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
10 *l.* LOTTERY, *Michaelmas*, *anno* 1710. by way of annuity.				
Act of the 8th of Queen *Anne*, 9 *l.* *per cent.*				
Charges a duty of 3 *s.* *per* chaldron on coals, and an additional duty on windows, for the term of 32 years.	1500000	——	1500000	135000
10 *l.* LOTTERY, *Michaelmas*, *anno* 1711.				
Act of the 9th of Queen *Anne*, 6 *l.* *per cent.* and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges a ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage upon exported goods from the 8th of *March*, 1710, a duty of 2 *s.* a chaldron on coals from the 8th of *March*, 1710, an additional duty of a half-penny a pound on tallow-candles, and 4 *d.* a pound on wax-caudles, from the 25th of *March*, 1711, for the term of 32 years.	1928570	262500	1666070	135000

LOTTERIES.

On the day appointed to consider of the national debt, Mr. *Walpole*, having in his hand the account of the public debts at the *Exchequer*, made proper remarks on them, and then communicated 1717.

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
Claſs LOTTERY, *Michaelmas*, *anno* 1711.				
Another act of the 9th of Queen *Anne*, 6 *l. per cent*, and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges 700 *l.* a week out of the Poſt-Office, from *Michaelmas* 1711; the duty on leather, *&c.* 1 *d.* a pound, from the 24th of *June* 1711; new ſtamp duty on bills of lading, almanacks, licences, and certificates, from the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1711; duty of 5 *s.* a week on eight hundred hackney-coaches, from the 24th of *June* 1711; and 10 *s. per ann.* on two hundred hackney-chairs, from the 24th of *June* 1711; and a duty of 6 *d.* a pack on cards, and 5 *d.* a pair on dice, from the 11th of *June* 1711: All for the term of 32 years.	2602200	76230	2525970	18667●
10 *l.* LOTTERY, *Chriſtmas*, *anno* 1712.				
Act of the 10th of Queen *Anne*, 6 *l. per cent*, and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges the duty of 1 *d.* a pound on ſoap, from the 10th of *June* 1712; 15 *s. per centum ad valorem* on foreign printed, painted, or ſtained linnen, 6 *d.* a yard on ſilks, 3 *d.* a yard on callicoes, and 2 *d.* a yard on linnen and ſtuffs printed, painted, and ſtained in *Britain*, from the 20th of *July* 1712; ſeveral duties on paper, paſtboard, and books, from the 24th of *June* 1712; a new ſtamp duty on ſurrenders, 2 *s.* 3 *d.* on every transfer of ſtock in any Company, and the ſtamp duty on news-papers, *&c.* from the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1712; all for the term of 32 years.	2341740	83220	2258520	168003
Claſs LOTTERY, *Michaelmas*, *anno* 1712.				
Another act of the 10th of Queen *Anne*, 6 *l. per cent*, and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges the additional duty of a half-penny a pound on leather, from the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1712; 1 *s.* a pound on coffee, 2 *s.* a pound on tea, and 20 *l. per cent. ad valorem* on drugs, from the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1712; duty of 8 *d.* an ounce on gilt wire, and 6 *d.* an ounce on ſilver wire imported, from the 1ſt of *July* 1712; and a duty of 2 *s.* 4 *d.* upon policies of inſurance, *&c.* all for the term of 32 years.	2341990	29925	2312005	168003
Civil Liſt LOTTERY, *Michaelmas*, *anno* 1713.				
By letters patents of the 13th of *October* 1713, and by an act of the 11th of Queen *Anne*, 4 *l. per cent.* the principal to be repaid.				
Charges the Civil Liſt Revenues with the annual ſums of 35000 *l.* for the term of 32 years.	633010	33820	599190	35000
LOTTERY act, *Michaelmas*, *anno* 1714.				
Act of the 12th of Queen *Anne*, and 1ſt of King *George*.				
Blanks, 5 *per cent.* 1157360 Prizes 4 *per cent.* 719040 1876400 and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges a duty of 1 *d.* a pound on foreign ſoap, and a half-penny a pound on ſoap made in *Great-Britain*, from the 2d of *Auguſt* 1714; additional duty on paper, *&c.* from the ſame time, coals exported on foreign bottoms, 5 *s.* a chaldron, and on *Britiſh* bottoms, 3 *s.* a chaldron, and the deficiency to be yearly computed at *Michaelmas*, and to be made good out of any unappropriated money, for the term of 32 years.	1876400	64300	1812100	116573 12

1717. municated his ſcheme, both for paying off, or reducing the intereſt of redeemable funds, and for offering an alternative to the Proprietors of annuities; which was generally approved. After which, the Commons came to the following reſolutions: 'I. That all the public funds redeemable by law, that do now exceed 5 *l. per cent. per annum*, be redeemed according to their reſpective proviſoes or clauſes of redemption, contained in the acts of Parliament for that purpoſe, or

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
For the Bank upon their annuities.				
Act of the 5th and 6th of King *William* and Queen *Mary*.				
Charges five ſeventh parts of the ſecond additional 9 *d. per* barrel exciſe, for raiſing 1200000 *l.* granting to all perſons liberty to ſubſcribe any ſum, not exceeding 2000 *l.* in one name, for which an annuity of 100000 *l.* ſhall be paid, and the Subſcribers be incorporated by the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of *England*, from the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1694, to the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1705; when, upon a year's notice, and repayment of the capital, the Corporation to ceaſe.	1600000	——	1600000	100000
And by an act of the 7th of Queen *Anne*, 6 *l. per cent.*				
The Bank lent 400000 *l.* more without any additional intereſt (that is to ſay) they reduced the intereſt of their primitive ſtock from 8 *l.* to 6 *l. per cent.* which, with 4000 *l. per ann.* for management, fills up the original 100000 *l.* annuity, this 400000 *l.* and the 1200000 *l.* to be repaid before the Corporation be diſſolved.				
Act of the 5th of Queen *Anne*, 4 *l.* 10 *s. per cent.*				
Charges the duty upon houſes or windows, from the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1710, for ever, for raiſing 1500000 *l.* by iſſuing *Exchequer* bills to that value; by this act the Bank undertook to circulate thoſe bills, upon the conſideration of 4 *l.* 10 *s. per cent. per annum*, and *Exchequer* bills to be iſſued for the intereſt, till the fund commences. The Bank to remain a Corporation till the bills be redeemed.	1775027 17 10½	——	1775027 17 10½	106501 17 6
And by another act of the 7th of Queen *Anne*, 6 *l. per cent.*				
It was enacted, That the Bank ſhould pay off and cancel all the *Exchequer* bills before extant, which amounted to 1775027 17 10½, upon allowing 6 *l. per cent.* intereſt for that ſum; to which purpoſe, an annuity was eſtabliſhed of 106501 17 6, to be paid to the Bank out of the duty aforeſaid, until the principal be paid off upon a year's notice.				
The Bank for *Exchequer* bills.				
Several acts of the 7th and 12th of Queen *Anne*.				
Grant 4676812 *l.* 10 *s.* by iſſuing *Exchequer* bills —	4676812 10	115787 10	4561025	328561 18 6
Act of the 1ſt of King *George*, 7 *l.* 4 *s.* 0¾ *d. per cent.*				
The fund for theſe *Exchequer* bills in the general or aggregate funds.				
Eaſt-India Company.				
Two acts of the 9th of King *William*.				
Grant additional duties on ſtamp paper and parchment, from the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1698; and a duty of 2 *s.* 4 *d. per* buſhel on ſalt, from 1698 and 1699, for ever; both theſe duties are given for 160000 *l. per annum*, to raiſe by ſubſcriptions 2000000 *l.* at 8 *l. per cent. per annum*, the Subſcribers to have the ſole liberty of trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, redeemable upon payment of the principal, and three years notice after *Michaelmas* 1711.				

17. or (with conſent of the Proprietors) be converted into an intereſt or annuity, not exceeding 5 *l. per cent. per annum*, redeemable by Parliament. II. That his Majeſty be inabled to borrow of any perſon or perſons, bodies politic or corporate, ſuch ſum or ſums of money, as ſhall be 1717.

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
By one act of the 6th of Queen *Anne*, 5 *l. per cent.*				
It is enacted, That the *Eaſt-India* Company ſhall pay into the *Exchequer* 1200000 *l.* to have their 8 *l. per cent.* granted them in the 9th of King *William* reduced to 5 *l. per cent. per annum*, and to have the trade to *India* continued to them ſolely to *Lady-Day* 1726; this, together with the former ſum advanced, with all arrears of the 160000 *l.* to be repaid before the Company ſhould be determined.	3200000	——	3200000	160000
By the act of the 10th of Queen *Anne*.				
The Corporation of the *Eaſt-India* Company and their ſole trade made perpetual, but the fund may be redeemed upon three years notice, after the 25th of *March* 1733, upon repayment, by Parliament, what is due to ſuch Companies as ſhall be then intituled thereunto.				
South-Sea Company.				
Two acts of the 9th and 10th of Queen *Anne*, and one act of the 1ſt of King *George*, 6 *l. per cent.*				
600000 *l. per annum* is charged upon ſeveral duties, impoſitions, &c. to the *South-Sea* Company, and 8000 *l. per annum* for management, for paying the intereſt of 10000000 *l.* at 6 *per cent. per ann.* the Company to continue for ever, but the annual ſum of 608000 *l.* to ceaſe upon a year's notice after the 25th of *December* 1716, repaying what ſhall then be due to the Company.	10000000	——	10000000	608000
ANNUITIES.				
Annuities, 14 *l. per cent. Jan.* 25, 1692, afterwards turned into a certain term of 99 years.				
Years purchaſe. Act of the 4th of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and of the 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th, of King *William*, and 1ſt of Queen *Anne*. 11 years and a half, 12 years, 11 years, and 15 years.				
Grants 9 *d. per* barrel exciſe upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for the term of 99 years.	1491639 6 10	——	1491639 6 10	124866
Survivors.				
Act of the 4th of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, 7 *l. per cent.*				
The ſame 9 *d.* is charged with a further ſum on the benefit of ſurvivorſhip, till the number of Survivors be reduced to 7, and then the ſhare or 7th part of each of them as they die to revert to the Crown.	108100	——	108100	7567
Annuities on the 2 7ths exciſe.				
Act of the 5th of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and of the 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th of King *William*, and 1ſt of Queen *Anne*.				
Grants two ſeventh parts of a 9 *d. per* barrel exciſe to Subſcribers for raiſing 300000 *l.* in annuities, from the 29th of *September* 1694, at the rate of 14 *per cent.* on one life, 12 *per cent.* on two lives, or 10 *per cent.* on three lives, which was thus advanced:				

	Principal money,	Annual intereſt.
On 1 life	107847 13 9——	15098 13 6
2 lives	170917 2 3——	20510 1 0
3 lives	21235 4 0——	2123 10 4
	300000 0 0——	37732 4 10

A half, 12 years, 11 years, and 11 years.

1717. be requiſite to redeem the ſaid redeemable funds, at any rate not exceeding 5 *l. per cent. per annum*, and to ſecure the ſame upon the funds ſo to be redeemed. III. That the annuity of 106,501 *l.* 13 *s.* 5 *d. per annum*, payable to the Governor and Company of the Bank, out of the

ANNUITIES.		The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
Afterwards by ſubſequent acts the full term for 96 years is given to the Purchaſers, and accordingly the reverſion of 1 life was made up to that term, for which there was paid	61229 8	369704 8	——	369704 8	36070 2 3
The Contributors of the 2 and 3 lives did not purchaſe the remainder. And in the year 1702 it appeared, there was fallen into the Crown, of the 2 and 3 lives, 565 *l. per annum*, which, by an act then paſſed, were ſold for 15 years purchaſe, which produced	8475				
	369704 8 0 37732 4 10				
There is ſo many of the Contributors dead of the 2 and 3 lives, which abates the annual charge	1662 2 7				
So the preſent annual charge for all theſe annuities is ——	36070 2 3				
ANNUITIES on 3700 *l. per* week exciſe, *Lady-Day*, 1704.					
Act of the 2d of Queen *Anne*, 15 years.					
Charges the 3700 *l.* a week, iſſuing out of the hereditary and temporary exciſe, for the term of 99 years —— ——		1569664 18 6	——	1569664 18 6	104745 19 6½
Act of the 3d of Queen *Anne*, 15 years.					
Charges the ſame 3700 *l.* a week exciſe, for 99 years.		690000	——	690000	46000
Act of the 12th of King *William*, 6 *l. per cent.*					
Charges the ſame 3700 *l.* a week exciſe, with Bankers annuities, redeemable by Parliament, on payment of a moiety of the ſaid principal, which is —— —— ——		664263	——	664263	39855 16 0½
ANNUITIES, *March* 25, *anno* 1706.					
Act of the 4th of Queen *Anne*, 15 years and a half.					
Grants one third additional cuſtoms of tonnage and poundage, and the third additional 9 *d. per* barrel exciſe upon beer, ale, *&c.* for 99 years		2855761	——	2855761	184242 14
ANNUITIES, *March* 25, *anno* 1707.					
Act of the 5th of Queen *Anne*, 16 years.					
Grants duties on low wines, from the 23d of *June* 1710, for 96 years; additional duty on ſtamp paper and vellum, from the laſt of *July* 1710, for 96 years; duty on hawkers and pedlars, from the 23d of *June* 1710, for 96 years; duty on ſweets for 99 years, from the 24th of *March* 1707; and the additional cuſtoms of tonnage and poundage, granted in the 4th of the Queen, for 98 years, continued one year more after that term; the overplus of the annuity fund, granted in the 4th of the Queen, computed at *Lady-Day* yearly, or within 6 days after, for 99 years.		1155000	——	1155000	72187 10
40000 *l. per annum* ANNUITIES, *March* 25, *anno* 1708.					
Act of the 6th of Queen *Anne*, 16 years.					
Charges the overplus of the annuity funds before-mentioned, granted in the 4th and 5th of the Queen, to be computed at *Lady-Day* yearly; as alſo the overplus of the firſt 9 *d.* exciſe, granted from the 25th of *January* 1692, after the 29th of *September* 1710, to be computed at *Midſummer* yearly, for 99 years.		640000	——	640000	40000

1717. the Houſe-money, by virtue of ſeveral acts of Parliament in that behalf, for the principal ſum of 1,775,027 *l.* 17 *s.* 10 *d.* ½ by them advanced, be redeemed, or (by conſent of the ſaid Governor and Company) converted into an intereſt or annuity, not to exceed 5 *l. per cent. per annum*, redeemable by Parliament. IV. That ſo much of the fund, commonly called the Aggregate Fund, ſettled by an act of Parliament, in the firſt year of the Reign of his preſent Majeſty, as is applicable to the intereſt, circulation, exchanging or cancelling the preſent *Exchequer* bills, be alſo redeemed. V. That his Majeſty be inabled to authorize the High Treaſurer, or the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury for the time being, to treat and agree with any perſon or perſons, bodies politic or corporate, for circulating ſuch a number of *Exchequer* bills, at a rate not exceeding 4 *l.* 10 *s. per cent. per annum* for intereſt, exchanging, and circulation, as may be charged and ſecured upon that part of the ſaid aggregate fund to be ſo redeemed. VI. That the annuities of 600,000 *l.* and 8000 *l. per ann.* payable to the Governor and Company of Merchants of *Great-Britain* trading to the *South-Sea*, be alſo redeemed. VII. That the annuities payable by an act of Parliament of the twelfth year of the Reign of King *William* (of glorious memory) to certain Patentees therein named, their heirs and aſſigns, out of the weekly ſum of 3700 *l.* charged on the exciſe, be alſo redeemed. VIII. That the ſeveral terms of years remaining in the duties appropriated by the two lottery acts, made and paſſed in the ninth year of the Reign of her late Majeſty Queen *Anne* (of bleſſed memory) and by the two lottery acts, made and paſſed in the tenth year of her ſaid late Majeſty's Reign, be made perpetual. IX. That the ſaid duties, comprehended in the ſaid four lottery acts, be made one general fund for the future. X. That the Proprietors of the orders, grounded on the ſaid lottery acts, do, within a limited time, make their elections, either to accept annuities after the rate of 5 *l. per cent. per annum*, redeemable by Parliament, out of ſuch general fund, or be paid ſo much as remains due to them on their orders reſpectively. XI. That, in all caſes where the Proprietors ſhall chuſe to 1717. have

ANNUITIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual ſums.
80000 *l. per annum* ANNUITIES, *June* 24, *anno* 1708.				
Another act of the 6th of Queen *Anne*, 16 years.				
Charges one moiety, or half part of the old ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage upon wines, goods, and merchandizes, for 96 years, from the 31ſt of *July* 1712; the intermediate intereſt was ſupplied out of the purchaſe money, and alſo, by an act of the 10th of the Queen, out of ſeveral appropriated branches of the revenue, for 99 years.	1280000	———	1280000	80000
ANNUITIES at 9 *l. per cent. March* 25, *anno* 1710.				
Act of the 8th of Queen *Anne*, 9 *l. per cent.*				
Charges 3 *d.* a barrel on beer, ale, and other liquors; 18 *d.* a pound on pepper; 5 *s. per* 100 *l.* weight on raiſins; a double duty on nutmegs and other ſpices; 3 *s.* a pound on ſnuff, from the 6th of *February* 1709; and, if there be a deficiency, to be ſupplied out of the duty on coals and window tax, for 32 years.	900000	———	900000	81000
Bank ANNUITIES.				
Two acts of the 1ſt of King *George*, 5 *l. per cent.*				
Charges the general or aggregate fund, after the intereſt and allowances, to *Exchequer* bills, and after 120000 *l.* for his Majeſty's civil Government, with theſe anniuties payable at the Bank of *England* at 5 *l. per cent. per ann.* redeemable by Parliament.	1069000	———	1069000	54600
	47268883 1 2½	665782 10	46603100 11 2½	3118448 0 10½

ABSTRACT.

By Lotteries	13223910	549995	12673915	944249 12
Bank { By Annuities	3375027 17 10½		3375027 17 10	206501 17 6
Bank { By *Exchequer* bills	4676812 10	115787 10	4561025	328561 18 6½
Eaſt-India Company	3200000		3200000	160000
South-Sea Company	10000000		10000000	608000
Annuities	12793132 13 4		12793132 13 4	871134 12 10
	47268883 1 2½	665782 10	46603100 11 2½	3118448 0 10½

Exchequer, *March* 14, 1716,
JOS. FOX.

1717. have their principal, the 5 *l. per cent. per annum* ſaved thereby, be made another fund, towards anſwering ſuch ſums of money, as ſhall be advanced (towards diſcharging the ſaid principal) by loans, or other ſecurities, as ſhall be thought proper. XII. That his Majeſty be inabled to give power for receiving voluntary ſubſcriptions from any perſon or perſons, intitled to any of the annuities iſſuing out of the public funds, for the reſidue of the reſpective terms of 99, 96, 89, or 32 years, formerly purchaſed therein (not being ſubject to redemption) who ſhall be willing to accept, in lieu thereof, perpetual annuities, redeemable by Parliament, to allow for remaining terms in the ſaid annuities, which were purchaſed for 99, 96, or 89 years (at the election of the reſpective Subſcribers) either ſo much as the ſame annuities ſhall amount to at 19 years purchaſe, to be made good by new annuities of 4 *l. per cent. per annum*, redeemable by Parliament, or 17 years and a half purchaſe, to be made good by new annuities of 5 *l. per cent. per annum*, to be redeemable in like manner; and to allow for the remaining terms in the ſaid annuities, which were purchaſed for 32 years (at the election of the reſpective Subſcribers) either ſo much as the ſame annuities ſhall amount to at 14 years and a half's purchaſe, to be made good by new annuities of 4 *l. per cent. per annum*, redeemable by Parliament, or 13 years and a half purchaſe, to be made good by annuities of 5 *l. per cent. per annum*, redeemable in like manner; and that the ſaid annuities ſhall be ſettled and ſecured accordingly. XIII. That all ſavings, that ſhall ariſe upon any of the preſent funds, by the propoſed redemptions or reductions, be reſerved and applied, after all deficiencies, that may happen upon any of the ſaid funds, are made good, towards diſcharging and reducing the debts of the national debt. XIV. That all the ſaid duties now in being, or to be continued, ſhall immediately ceaſe and determine, after the ſaid national debt, and all intereſt, due thereupon, is diſcharged and paid off.' Theſe reſolutions being approved of in form, bills were ordered to be brought in upon them. 1717.

Before theſe bills were preſented, there happened a change in the Adminiſtration, which occaſioned the new Officers of the Revenue to think ſome alterations in the meaſures likewiſe neceſſary: But, however, they were forced to build upon Mr. *Walpole*'s foundation, who had now reſigned his poſt, and who, believing theſe variations detrimental to the public, made ſome oppoſition to them.

As the foundation of the ſcheme for reducing the national debts was built upon paying off or ſatisfying the public Creditors, many Conferences had been held with the Money-Corporations, in order to provide money for ſuch as ſhould be willing to receive their principal and intereſt in ready money. For this purpoſe, the Bank agreed to furniſh two millions and a half, and the *South-Sea* two millions, or as much as ſhould be called for, and, for the money advanced, theſe Companies were to have annuities of 5 *l. per cent.*

The propoſals of the Bank and *South-Sea* being agreed to (1), three bills were brought in, upon the reſolutions that had been made in relation to the public debts, and all three paſſed into laws; namely, the *General Fund Act*, the *Bank Act*, and the *South-Sea Act*.

The *General Fund Act* recites the ſeveral acts of Parliament for eſtabliſhing the four lotteries of the ninth and tenth years of Queen *Anne*, the terms of years for which thoſe revenues were granted, and ſtates the annual produce of the ſeveral funds; namely, 135000 *l.* 18667 *l.* 16800 3 *l.* 16800 3 *l.* which, together with the Banker's debt 39855 *l.* 15 *s.* 7 *d.* ½, and another ſmall ſum of about 27317 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.*, amounted in all to 724,849 *l.* 6 *s.* 10 *d.* ½, which is the *General Fund*, the deficiency whereof is to be made good annually, out of the firſt aids granted by Parliament. And, to the end that a ſure and ſufficient ſecurity may be ſettled for the

The Ge... and Fu... Act.

(1) In the debates on theſe propoſals, a quarrel had like to ariſe between Mr. *Stanhope* and Mr. *Walpole*. Mr. *Pultney* having ſaid, 'He did not know what *private advantage* ſome perſons might have for accepting the propoſal of the *South-Sea Company*,' Mr. *Stanhope* (who thought the reflection of *private advantage* was chiefly levelled againſt him) vindicated himſelf, and began with owning his incapacity for the affairs of the Treaſury, which were ſo remote from his ſtudies and inclination: That therefore he would willingly have kept the employment he had before, which was both more eaſy, and more profitable to him; but, that he thought it is duty to obey the King's commands. That, however, he would endeavour to make up, by application, honeſty, and diſintereſtedneſs, what he wanted in abilities and experience. That he would content himſelf with the ſalary and lawful perquiſites of his office; and, though he had quitted a better place, he would not quarter himſelf upon any body to make it up: That he had no brothers, nor other relations, to provide for; and that, upon his firſt entering into the Treaſury, he had made a ſtanding order againſt the late practice of granting reverſions of places.' Mr. *Walpole*, being touched with theſe innuendo's, complained in the firſt place of breach of friendſhip, and betraying private converſation. He frankly owned, 'That, while he was in employment, he had endeavoured to ſerve his friends and relations; than which, in his opinion, nothing was more reaſonable and juſt. That, as to the granting reverſions, he was willing to acquaint the Houſe with the meaning of it. That he had no objections againſt the *German* Miniſters, whom his Majeſty brought with him from *Hanover*, and who, as far as he had obſerved, had all along behaved themſelves like men of honour; but, that there was a mean fellow, of what Nation he could not tell, who took upon him to diſpoſe of employments: That this man, having obtained the grant of a reverſion, which he deſigned for his ſon (Mr. *Walpole*) thought it too good for him, and thereupon kept it for his own ſon. That thereupon the foreigner was ſo ſaucy as to demand of him the ſum of 2500 *l.* under pretence, that he had been offered ſo much for the reverſion; but, that he was wiſer than to comply with his demand. And that one of the chief reaſons, that made him reſign his places, was, becauſe he would not connive at ſome things, that were carrying on.' Mr. *Stanhope* anſwered; Mr. *Walpole* replied; and, ſome ſevere expreſſions having eſcaped them in the heat of the diſpute, Mr. *Hungerford* ſaid, 'That he was ſorry to ſee thoſe two great men fall foul upon one another. However, *ſays he*, in my opinion, we muſt ſtill look upon them as Patriots, and Fathers of their Country; and, ſince they have, by miſchance, diſcovered their nakedneſs, we ought, according to the cuſtom of the Eaſt, as the Scripture tells us, to cover it by turning our backs upon them.' He added, 'That this unlucky accident had, however, produced ſome good, in that it

the regular payment of all ſuch annuities, as ſhall be payable by this act; all the duties and the revenues, mentioned therein, ſhall continue *for ever*. With a proviſo, that the revenues, by this act made perpetual, ſhall be ſubject to redemption. 1717.

Proprietors, who are willing to accept 5 *l. per cent.* redeemable annuities, in lieu of their *lottery orders*, ſhall ſignify their option by ſubſcribing.

And ſuch, as are willing to receive their principal and intereſt in ready money, ſhall likewiſe declare their option in writing.

As for the *Bank Act*, it muſt be obſerved, the Bank at that time, as Proprietors of *redeemable* debts, were intitled to an annuity of 106,501 *l.* 13 *s.* 5 *d. per annum*, in lieu of *Exchequer* bills formerly cancelled, amounting to 1,775,027 *l.* 17 *s.* 10 *d.* ½. And the *Exchequer* bills ſtanding out, on the 22d of *March* 1716, are ſtated at 4,561,025 *l.* over and above the charge of circulation which was then due to the Bank. The Bank, by virtue of their contracts for circulating and exchanging theſe bills for ready money, were intitled to 3 *l. per cent.* for all theſe bills, and the bills carried an intereſt of 2 *d.* a day, which together made 6 *l. per cent*, or the whole ſum of 4,561,025 *l.* of *Exchequer* bills. There was alſo granted, on the change of Queen *Anne*'s Miniſtry, the ſums of 45000 *l.* and 8000 *l.* a year, which make together 7 *l.* 4 *s.* 0 *d.* ¼ *per cent*, upon all the *Exchequer* bills. The annuity payable to the Bank for the cancelled *Exchequer* bills, together with the whole charge to the public for circulating the *Exchequer* bills then ſtanding, amounted to above 435,000 *l.* a year. In theſe circumſtances the *Bank Act* ſays, The Governor and Company of the Bank are willing to accept one annuity of 88751 *l.* 7 *s.* 10 *d.* ½, being after the rate of 5 *l. per cent. per ann.* or the principal of 1,775,027 *l.* 17 *s.* 10 *d.* ½, in lieu of the preſent annuity or ſum of 106,501 *l.* 13 *s.* 5 *d. per annum*. In the ſame manner the act goes on, and declares the Bank willing to diſcharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many *Exchequer* bills as amount to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of 100,000 *l.* being after the rate of 5 *l. per cent*, redeemable after one year's notice, to circulate the remaining *Exchequer* bills at 3 *l. per cent.* and 1 *d.* a day, the former allowances to be continued to *Chriſtmas* 1717; and, after that, the Bank to have for circulating the 2,561,025 *l.* remaining *Exchequer* bills, an annuity of 76830 *l.* 15 *s.* at the rate of 3 *l. per cent*, till redeemed, over and above the 1 *d.* a day for intereſt. The Bank is then required to advance a ſum not exceeding 2,500,000 *l.* towards diſcharging the national debts, if wanted, and to have 5 *l. per cent.* for as much as they advance, redeemable by Parliament.

As for the *South-Sea Act*, the original ſtock of the *South-Sea* was 9,471,325 *l.* but, as the funds granted were ſufficient to anſwer the intereſt of ten millions, at 6 *l. per cent.* in the year 1716, the *South-Sea* Company advanced to the Government 528,675 *l.* which compleats the ſum of ten millions, for which they received an intereſt or annuity of 600,000 *l.* and likewiſe 8000 *l.* a year for management. Now by this act the Governor and Company declare, they are willing to accept an annuity of 500,000 *l.* in lieu of the 600,000 *l.* with 8000 *l.* a year for management. The Company are to continue a Corporation till their annuity is redeemed, towards which, not leſs than a million is to be paid at a time. The Company is alſo required to advance a ſum not exceeding two millions, towards diſcharging the principal and intereſt due on the four lottery funds, of the 9th and 10th years of Queen *Anne*.

Purſuant to theſe acts, the Bank, which was in poſſeſſion of receipts out of the *Exchequer*, amounting to 435,063 *l.* 16 *s.* 0 *d.* ½. *per ann.* accept voluntarily of three annuities, amounting to about 304,531 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.* ½, whereby the ſaving to the public was 130,532 *l.* 14 *s.* 8 *d.* ½. a year.

The Proprietors of the *Lottery Orders*, amounting to above nine millions, ſubſcribed their orders at the Bank, and accepted Bank annuities in lieu of the ſame.

Thus, though the Bank and *South-Sea* had agreed to advance four millions and a half towards the payment of thoſe that ſhould demand ready money, not one farthing was ever demanded in money, except very ſmall ſums, amounting in the whole to 471 *l.* 4 *s.* (1). All the annuities, that were ſettled by virtue of theſe three acts, were *redeemable perpetuities* granted at the rate of 5 *l. per cent. per annum*, upon a principal of about 25,869,247 *l.* the amount of the national debt at that time redeemed or reduced.

The ſinking Fund conſtituted.

In the *General Fund Act* is the clauſe that eſtabliſhes the *ſinking Fund*. As the reduction of the intereſt to 5 *l. per cent.* would make a ſurplus or exceſs upon the appropriated funds, the act

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it had revealed a piece of ſecret hiſtory, the ſcandalous practice of ſelling places and reverſions.' And therefore he moved, 'That the honourable Member, who made the diſcovery, might be called upon to name the perſon.' But no body ſeconded this motion. Mr. *Boſcawen*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, acted the part of a common friend between Mr. *Stanhope* and Mr. *Walpole*, ſaying, 'That it was melancholy to ſee, that any difference ſhould happen between thoſe two worthy Members, unbecoming their own characters, and the dignity of that Aſſembly; but that it would ſtill be a greater misfortune, if they ſhould go out with any reſentment: And therefore he moved, That the Houſe would lay their commands upon them, that no farther notice be taken of what had paſſed.' Mr. *Methuen* ſeconded Mr. Comptroller, whoſe motion being unanimouſly applauded, the Speaker put it immediately in execution.

(1) 10 *l.* Lottery, 1711.

	Principal. *l.*	*s.*
Margaret Woolrich	20	
Roger Altham, D. D.	100	
10 *l.* Lottery, 1712.		
Roger Altham, D. D.	60	
Banker's Annuity.		
David Marſhal	150	
William Harriſon and *Fr. Osborne*	71	4
George Bloodworth	70	
	471	4

(1) In

1717. act declares, 'That all the monies arising from time to time, as well for the surplus by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the Bank and of the *South-Sea* Company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the *General Fund*, and the overplus monies of the *General Fund*, shall be appropriated and employed for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debts as were incurred before the 25th of *December*, 1716, in such manner as shall be directed or appointed by any future act of Parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.' This clause constitutes the *Sinking Fund*, and shews of what it consists, and to what uses it is appropriated. Though there had been *Sinking Funds* before this time for the payment of particular debts (1), yet a *Sinking Fund*, for discharging the national debt in general, was first projected and formed in the year 1716, and till that time unheard of.

A motion in favour of Dr. Snape *carried by the Tories.*

As the change in the Ministry had caused a division among the Whigs, some adhering to those that were in, and others to those that were out of place, an opposition was formed by those last in conjunction with the Tories on several occasions. This evidently appeared when Sir *William Wyndham* (who had been discharged) moved, that Dr. *Snape* should be appointed to preach on the Restoration of King *Charles*. The Doctor was one of the King's Chaplains, and Master of *Eaton-School*, but was of High-Church principles, and had lately attacked the Bishop of *Bangor*. Sir *William*'s motion was seconded by Mr. *Shippen*, and supported, not only by several Tories, but also by all the Whigs, who had lately resigned their employments. Mr. *Horace Walpole*, who spoke after Mr. *Shippen*, said, 'That it was unusual, on such occasions, to put the negative on any man, whom a Member of that House had thought fit to name; and that Dr. *Snape* was not only a person of merit, and great learning, but had likewise the honour to be one of his Majesty's Chaplains.' To these commendations Mr. *Robert Walpole* added, 'That he knew Dr. *Snape* to be both a very learned, and a very honest man: That he had not only intrusted him with the education of his own children, but also recommended the sons of the Duke of *Devonshire* and Lord *Townshend* to his care; and therefore he could not but think, that he might be trusted with preaching a Sermon before that Assembly. Mr. *Lechmere* observed, 'That he could not but wonder, that a Member, who had been one of the Managers against Dr. *Sacheverel*, should now speak in behalf of a Divine, who had asserted the same notions of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, for which the other had been prosecuted; and who had lately attacked a worthy Champion of the Revolution and Protestant Succession.' Mr. *Aislabie* answered, That he gave his vote to Dr. *Snape*, because he looked upon him as a learned and honest man: And, as for his having written against the Bishop of *Bangor*'s Sermon, he did not think it a sufficient reason to put upon him a negative, which would be prejudging of a controversy, that did not properly belong to their cognizance.' The Lord *Guernsey* spoke with still more vehemence in behalf of the Doctor, so that, the motion being thus strongly supported, he was appointed to preach by a majority of one hundred and forty-one against one hundred and thirty-one.

The Controversy mentioned in this debate between the Bishop of *Bangor* and Dr. *Snape*, was occasioned in this manner: Dr. *Benjamin Hoadly* (the present Bishop of *Winchester*) famous for his steady adherence at all times to the principles of the Revolution (for which he had been recommended to the Throne by the House of Commons, and advanced to the See of *Bangor*) had lately published, *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors*; and, soon after *, preached a Sermon before the King, which was printed under the title of, *The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ* (2). To this sermon Dr. *Snape* published an answer; and, presently after, the Lower-House of Convocation (as they had before done with regard to Dr. *Samuel Clarke*'s *Scripture-Doctrine*) entered upon the subject, both of the Bishop of *Bangor*'s Sermon, and of his *Preservative*. They appointed a Committee of six of their Members, Dr. *Moss*, Dr. *Sherlock*, Dr. *Friend*, Dr. *Sprat*, Dr. *Cannon*, and Dr. *Bisse*, to examine them, and made their report to the House. The Committee sat and drew up a representation, in which both the *Preservative* and Sermon were censured, as tending,

'I. To subvert all Government and Discipline in the Church of Christ, and to reduce his Kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion.' And,

'II. To impugn and impeach the Regal Supremacy in causes Ecclesiastical, and the authority of the Legislature, to inforce obedience in matters of Religion by civil sanctions.'

This charge was supported by passages taken out of the *Preservative* and Sermon (3), and the whole drawn up in the form of a report, to be laid before the Convocation. But the Government, out of regard to the interest of the Constitution in Church and State, thought proper to put a stop to these proceedings, by a prorogation to the 22d of *November*. As this was industriously represented to be the effect of the Bishop's sollicitation, and an argument of his fear, he publickly declared before the world, that the prorogation was ordered, not only without

(1) In most of the funds that were granted for circulating and exchanging *Exchequer* bills, there was a surplus of the fund itself, computed to be sufficient to cancel and discharge annually some part of the bills: And, in the *Aggregate Fund Act* of the first of King *George*, there was a sum of 270,999 *l.* 7 *s.* directed to be paid annually towards discharging the *Exchequer* bills. In all short annuities likewise granted for thirty-two years, the principal being to be sunk at the end of the term granted, this may be looked upon as a *Sinking Fund*, attending those particular debts. But the first mention that ever was made in Parliament of a *Sinking Fund*, for discharging the national debt in general, was in this Session.

(2) The text was, *My kingdom is not of this world.*

(3) The Bishop, in the conclusion of his answer to this Representation, has confronted the passages, on which the charge against him was founded, with the

without his ſeeking, but without ſo much as his knowledge or even ſuſpicion of any ſuch deſign till it was reſolved. It muſt be obſerved that the repreſentation was never approved of by the Lower-Houſe, ſo as to be made the act of it: Though many have been led to think it was, by the artifice made uſe of in the title-page to the printed copy of it. 1717.

The prorogation of the Convocation did not put an end to the controverſy. For ſeveral of the Members, ſince they could not attack the Biſhop, as a public Aſſembly, reſolved to take up

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the oppoſite doctrines, which muſt be true, if his are falſe.

The propoſitions contained in thoſe paſſages of my Sermon and Preſervative, *which are made the foundation of the charge in the Repreſentation:*

1. Chriſt himſelf is King in his own Kingdom.

2. Chriſt is the ſole Law-giver and ſole Judge of his ſubjects, in all points relating to the favour, or diſpleaſure of Almighty God. In other words,

3. No one of his ſubjects is Law-giver and Judge over others of them, in matters relating to ſalvation. In other words thus,

4. No men upon earth have a right to make any of their own declarations or deciſions to concern and affect the ſtate of Chriſt's ſubjects, with regard to the favour of God.

5. The more cloſe and immediate the regard of men to Chriſt is, the more certainly and evidently true it is, that they are of his Kingdom.

6. It is worthy of all Chriſtians, to live and act as becomes thoſe who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial Judge; and in ſuch a behaviour to be without fear of man's judgment, who is both ignorant of many things neceſſary to form that judgment, and partial in the forming it.

7. We muſt not frame our ideas, from the Kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be, in a viſible and ſenſible manner, in Chriſt's Kingdom.

8. Our title to God's favour depends upon our real ſincerity in the conduct of our conſciences, and of our own actions under them.

The propoſitions, contradictory to them: Which, therefore, muſt be maintained to be True and Chriſtian, by all who condemn the others:

1. Chriſt himſelf is not King in his own Kingdom.

2. Chriſt is not the ſole Law-giver and ſole Judge of his ſubjects, in all points relating to the favour, or diſpleaſure of Almighty God.

3. Some of his ſubjects are Law-givers and Judges over others of them, in matters relating to ſalvation.

4. There is a right in ſome men, to make their own declarations and deciſions to concern and affect the ſtate of Chriſt's ſubjects, with regard to the favour of God.

5. A cloſe and immediate regard to Chriſt himſelf, is not ſo certain and evident a mark of being of his Kingdom, as a cloſe and immediate regard and reſpect to frail men, ſubordinate to him.

6. It is not worthy of all Chriſtians to live and act as becomes thoſe who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial Judge; but it becomes them, at the ſame time that they live and act thus, to be under a fear of man's judgment, who neither has capacity nor authority to determine their condition; and who, in very many caſes, contradicts the judgment which Chriſt will make.

7. We muſt frame our ideas, from the Kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be, in a viſible and ſenſible manner, in Chriſt's Kingdom.

8. Our title to God's favour doth not depend upon our real ſincerity in the conduct of our conſciences, and of our own actions under them; but upon our actual being in the right.

9. Humane benedictions—abſolutions—denunciations—excommunications—do not determine either God's favour, or anger, towards Chriſtians: And therefore, are vain words, when they pretend ſo to do.

10. Whoever has a right to add ſanctions to Chriſt's laws, is ſo far King, and has ſo far regal power in Chriſt's Kingdom.

11. The ſanctions of Chriſt's laws, appointed by himſelf, are not the rewards of this world; not the offices or glories of this ſtate; not the pains of priſons, baniſhments, fines, or any leſſer and more moderate penalties; nay, not the much leſſer negative diſcouragements that belong to humane ſociety. He was far from thinking that theſe could be the inſtruments of ſuch a perſuaſion, as he knew to be acceptable to God.

12. Chriſt choſe the motives which are not of this world, to ſupport a Kingdom which is not of this world.

13. The maxims, oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his Kingdom, are contrary to the intereſts of true Religion.

14. To apply worldly force or worldly flattery, worldly pleaſure or worldly pain, to the caſe of Religion; is a method oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his Kingdom: And therefore, contrary to the intereſts of true Religion.

15. Chriſt knew the nature of his own Kingdom, or Church, better than any ſince his time.

16. Chriſt left no ſuch matters to be decided againſt himſelf, and his own expreſs profeſſions.

17. To teach Chriſtians that they muſt either profeſs, or be ſilent, againſt their own conſciences, be-

9. Humane benedictions—abſolutions—denunciations—excommunications—do determine God's favour, and anger, towards Chriſtians: And therefore, are not vain words, when they pretend ſo to do.

10. Men may have a right to add ſanctions to Chriſt's laws, without having any part of regal power in his Kingdom.

11. The ſanctions of Chriſt's laws, appointed by himſelf, are the rewards of this world; the offices and glories of this ſtate; the pains of priſons, baniſhments, fines, or other leſſer and more moderate penalties; or the much leſſer negative diſcouragements that belong to humane ſociety. Theſe he thought the proper inſtruments of ſuch a perſuaſion, as he knew to be acceptable to God.

12. Chriſt did not chuſe the motives which are not of this world, to ſupport a Kingdom not of this world.

13. The maxims, oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his Kingdom, are agreeable and helpful to the intereſts of true Religion.

14. To apply worldly force or worldly flattery, worldly pleaſure or worldly pain, to the caſe of Religion; is not oppoſite to the maxims upon which Chriſt founded his Kingdom: Or, is not contrary to the intereſts of true Religion, though it be contrary to our bleſſed Lord's maxims relating to it.

15. Chriſt did not know the nature of his own Kingdom, or Church, better than his profeſſed followers do, ſince his time.

16. Chriſt did leave the nature of his own Kingdom, and the maxims of ſupporting it, to be decided, by others after him, againſt himſelf, and againſt his own expreſs profeſſions.

17. To teach Chriſtians that they muſt either profeſs, or be ſilent, againſt their own conſciences, in

1717. up the cauſe in a private capacity. Dr. *Sherlock*, who was one of the Committee who drew up the report, ſeconded Dr. *Snape*, and theſe two were followed by many others, inſomuch that the tracts publiſhed on this occaſion, on both ſides, are ſaid to be about ſeventy (1).

Affairs in the North. During theſe proceedings the Miniſters were no leſs employed than the Parliament. Negotiations were carrying on, particularly to oblige the King of *Sweden* to make peace. The Czar had the laſt year married his niece the Princeſs *Catharina* to the Duke of *Mecklenburg Swerin*, and reſolved to procure the poſſeſſion of *Wiſmar* for him. To that end he had ſent firſt twelve thouſand *Ruſſians* (which were afterwards increaſed to twenty-ſix thouſand) to aſſiſt at the taking of that place then beſieged by the *Pruſſians*, *Hanoverians*, and *Danes*. But, the town having ſurrendered before the arrival of his army, his project fell to the ground, nor would the Allies ſuffer any of his troops to be garriſoned there. The Czar was vexed at this diſappointment, and from hence may be dated ſeveral memorable events, particularly the miſunderſtanding between him and the Court of *Hanover*.

Soon after this, a deſcent on *Schonen* was concerted between the Kings of *Pruſſia* and *Denmark* and the Czar, in order to oblige the King of *Sweden* to quit *Norway*, where he had penetrated with an army of twenty thouſand men, and was advancing towards *Chriſtianſtadt*, the capital of that Kingdom. The Czar ſeemed the moſt forward in this expedition, and took upon him the command of the united fleets of *England*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, and *Ruſſia*, in order to drive the *Swediſh* fleet into port. But this was all outward ſhow. For the appearance of the *Britiſh* fleet under Admiral *Norris* could not be very agreeable to the Czar, as it prevented the deſigns he had formed againſt *Denmark* itſelf after his diſappointment at *Wiſmar*. And therefore when, in a council of war between him and the King of *Denmark*, all things were ſettled for the deſcent in *Schonen*, and the troops ordered to imbark, on a ſudden the orders were countermanded, and the project, which was to reduce the King of *Sweden* to ſuch terms as the Allies ſhould think proper to impoſe on him, was laid aſide, after the great expence the *Danes* had been at for the tranſportation of the forces, and other preparations. The Czar pretended the ſeaſon was

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cauſe of the authority of others over them, is to found that authority upon the ruins of ſincerity and common honeſty; to teach a doctrine which would have prevented the Reformation, and the being of the Church of *England*; which diveſts Chriſt of his empire in his own Kingdom, and leads his people to proſtitute their conſciences at the feet of men.

18. Chriſt never interpoſeth, ſince his firſt promulgation of his law, either to convey infallibility; or to aſſert the true interpretation of it.

regard to the authority of others, is a very good doctrine; very conſiſtent with the ſincerity and honeſty becoming Chriſtians; very uſeful for the juſtification of the Reformation, and Church of *England*; perfectly conſiſtent with Chriſtians regard to Chriſt as their King; and not at all leading them to proſtitute their conſciences at the feet of weak men.

18. Chriſt does interpoſe, ſince the firſt promulgation of his law, to convey infallibility to ſome of thoſe who interpret it; or to aſſert the true interpretation of it.

for us to find it out (with the aids and means, he has put in our power) in thoſe points which concern our eternal ſalvation, and therefore require all ſufficient plainneſs: Though the taking in the advice and aſſiſtance of others, and attending to their arguments, is perfectly conſiſtent with the foregoing propoſition.

7. No argument can be admitted by Proteſtants, which deſtroys the very eſſence of Proteſtantiſm: Nor can any reaſoning conclude juſtly in favour of any powers amongſt them, which they conſtantly and ſtrongly condemn in the Church of *Rome*.

8. No authority therefore, can be claimed by any Reformed Church, which was juſtly condemned and oppoſed, in order to the Reformation itſelf. Conſequently,

9. No ſubmiſſion in religious affairs can juſtly be demanded from Proteſtants, by Proteſtants, upon any ſuch foundation, as would have abſolutely prevented the Reformation itſelf.

10. Whatſoever was true at the time of the Reformation, is true ſtill.

11. Whatſoever principles are true and juſt, when urged againſt Papiſts, are likewiſe ſo, amongſt Proteſtants.

12. Whatever principles and conduct, are unjuſtifiable in Papiſts, are equally ſo, in all Proteſtants.

13. Whatſoever was the foundation of the Reformed Church of *England* then, is ſo ſtill: And whatſoever was neceſſary to juſtify it at firſt, is neceſſary to defend it now.

14. Nothing therefore, which contradicts the main principle of the Reformation; and that, without which the Church of *England* itſelf could not juſtly have been in being; can be for the true intereſt of this Church, as it is a Proteſtant Church.

15. As it is a Chriſtian Church, nothing can be ſuppoſed either to ſupport or defend its intereſt, which, admitted as true, would have prevented even the reception of Chriſtianity itſelf; or which contradicts the main deſign of the Goſpel.

16. The principles therefore, which alone can juſtly and unexceptionably ſupport it, are ſuch as are uniformly and conſiſtently Chriſtian and Proteſtant.

After this the Biſhop adds a particular view of thoſe principles, which ought to be the meaſures of judging in ſuch important matters:

1. Chriſt has the ſupreme authority of Legiſlator, and Judge, with reſpect to all Chriſtians.

2. No authority, therefore, can be juſtly claimed by any Chriſtians, of what rank ſoever, in any Chriſtian Church, which deſtroys the ſupreme authority of Chriſt.

3. The will of Chriſt is delivered to all Chriſtians for the conduct of their lives.

4. No human, fallible authority, therefore, can determine Chriſtians in points of Religion, which they themſelves do not judge to be agreeable to the will of Chriſt.

5. Whatſoever equally concerns the ſalvation of all Chriſtians, is equally propoſed to the underſtandings of all.

6. There can, therefore, be no ſuch thing as ſubmitting our underſtandings, out of humility or out of lazineſs, to any other men whatſoever, in points relating to eternal ſalvation; without either ſuppoſing that Chriſt did not deliver his will for us, in things which concern us; or did not deliver it plainly enough

(1) Dr. *Snape* on the 26th of *June*, publiſhed, *A ſecond letter to the Biſhop of* Bangor, being a reply to the Biſhop's anſwer to his firſt, wherein the Doctor puts the following queries to the Biſhop:

'I pray

17. was too far advanced, and that it would be better to defer the expedition till the ſpring. This was ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt in a long manifeſto by the King of *Denmark*, to which the Czar, knowing his own ſecret motives, returned no anſwer. The Czar had for ſome time been diſcontented with the Allies, who were all for preventing his having any footing in *Germany*, ſo jealous were they of his power; and this diſcontent of the Czar was probably what hindered the utter ruin of the King of *Sweden*, and was now like to reconcile him to his moſt powerful enemy, if Baron *Gortz* ſucceeded in his project of making a peace between them, of which not only *Denmark*, *Pruſſia*, and *Poland*, but *England* itſelf was to feel the effects (1). The firſt ſtep to this reconciliation was by the means of Dr. *Erſkine* to ſound Prince *Menzikoff*, who, pleaſed with the deſign, ſoon brought the Czar into it. But it will preſently be ſeen, how deſirous he was to clear himſelf from ſuch an imputation.

The Czar, having ſent his forces into *Mecklenburg*, reſolved to take a tour to *France*. He arrived at *Amſterdam* in *December*, where he expected the Czarina, who attended him in his travels; but ſhe, being big with child, happened to be delivered of a Prince, as ſhe was preparing to ſet out from *Weſel*, and came not to *Amſterdam* till the 10th of *February*. The Czar remained there and at the *Hague* till the 4th of *April*. When King *George* paſſed through *Holland*, in his way from *Hanover*, the Czar was there, and, had they deſired it, might have had an interview, but the Czar excuſed himſelf on pretence of an indiſpoſition. During the Czar's ſtay in *Holland*, the letters of Baron *Gortz* and Count *Gyllenburg* were publiſhed in *England* by the King's ſpecial command. In theſe letters, there were ſome paſſages relating not only to Dr. *Erſkine* the Czar's Phyſician, but to the Czar himſelf, reflecting on his conduct in regard to King *George*. Upon this the Czar ordered *Weſſelouſki* to preſent a long memorial to King *George*, wherein he expreſſes a ſurprize at the malice of his enemies, to make him a party concerned in the conſpiracy in favour of the Pretender: Shews the improbability of it, as the Pretender would not fail (ſhould he ſucceed) of aſſiſting the King of *Sweden* againſt him: Mentions his offering, the laſt year, to guarantee the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Great-Britain* in the Houſe of *Hanover*, though he had obſerved ſeveral diſagreeable ſteps taken by the *Britiſh* Miniſters at the Courts of *Vienna*, *Pruſſia*, and *Denmark*, and even at the diet of *Ratisbon*; and though he had been informed that the Court of *England* was privately treating of a ſeparate peace with the King of *Sweden*, promiſing him aſſiſtance on his yielding up *Bremen*, as too plainly appeared by Count *Gyllenburg*'s letters: Offers, however, to eſtabliſh the antient good underſtanding between them, and to concert meaſures for the vigorous proſecution of the war againſt the common enemy: Concludes with ſaying, he could not but be very much concerned at the King's cauſing

1717-18. *The Czar's memorial to the Court of Great-Britain.* Mar. 12.

'I pray recollect yourſelf, and put theſe queſtions home to your own conſcience, whether your *abſolutely*'s and *properly*'s, and ſuch evaſive words, were not omitted in your Sermon, as it was originally compoſed? Whether you did not, before it was preached, ſhew it to a certain perſon without ſuch limitations? And whether you was not with difficulty prevailed upon by him to inſert them by way of caution? If you think fit to anſwer in the negative, a perſon of as high a ſtation as your Lordſhip will charge himſelf with the proof of the affirmative.'

The Biſhop two days after in an advertiſement ſolemnly denies all this, and challenges the Doctor to name his Author.

The Doctor, preſſed by the ſolemnity of the challenge, names the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, who, being called upon to prove what he had aſſerted, diſputed a while with Dr. *Snape*, affirming he had not ſaid, the words were put in before the Sermon was preached, but before it was publiſhed; owning withal, that he knew there was ſuch a perſon in the world who had averred the ſame. The Biſhop of *Carliſle*, being preſſed to name him, names Dr. *White Kennet*, and writes to him of what had paſſed, telling him he did not queſtion but he would own his own words. Dr. *Kennet* poſitively denied the fact, ſaying, *I never affirmed, never ſuggeſted to any mortal that the late Sermon of the Biſhop of* Bangor *was preached with my knowledge, or ſubmited to my correction*. Notwithſtanding this, the Biſhop of *Carliſle* aſſerted in print, that Dr. *Kennet* was the man that told him he had prevailed with the Biſhop of *Bangor* to put in the forementioned words. In ſhort, the Biſhop of *Carliſle* pledges his eternal ſalvation that Dr. *Kennet* did ſay ſo: Dr. *Kennet*, in one of his papers, ſays, God ſo help him, and judge him, if he did. They went on advertiſing againſt each other, till the Biſhop of *Carliſle* reſolved to give no more anſwers to whatever ſhould be ſaid. However, the Biſhop of *Bangor*, reſolving that calumny ſhould lie where it ought to lie, publiſhed a long advertiſement, as Dr. *Kennet* did another, to fix the fact upon the Biſhop of *Carliſle*, and to convict him of forgetfulneſs at leaſt, in charging a fact upon the Biſhop of *Bangor*, which was not true, and quoting a witneſs for it who knew nothing of the matter. In a word, after lying dormant ſome months, this controverſy was revived in *October* following, on account of the Biſhop's entertaining in his houſe *Francis de la Pillonere*, who had been a Jeſuit, but had now renounced the Popiſh Religion. The Biſhop's three principal adverſaries were Dean *Sherlock*, Dr. *Snape*, and Dr. *Cannon*, whom the Biſhop ſeemed to outdo in reaſon and argument as far as they did him in virulence, perſonal reflections, and reproachful language. He was painted in the moſt odious colours, both from the Preſs and the Pulpit, and all for aſſerting, that Chriſt is the ſole Lawgiver, and ſole Judge in his Kingdom, in all points relating to the favour or diſpleaſure of God, a propoſition as evident as the ſun at noon-day. Dr. *Cannon* vindicated the *Convocation*, and Dean *Sherlock* attacked the Biſhop upon a popular point, the repeal of the *Teſt Act*, which he aſſerted to be the deſign of the Biſhop's Sermon. The Dean ended his treatiſe with a moſt unjuſt and reproachful reflection, which the Biſhop immediately anſwered, by ſetting the matter in a clear light. In *November*, Dr. *Sherlock* and Dr. *Snape* were both removed from being King's Chaplains, nor has the *Convocation* ſate to do any buſineſs ever ſince.

(1) The Czar's laying aſide the deſcent upon *Schonen* was ſaid to be brought about by the ſecret management of Baron *Gortz*, who was become chief Miniſter and Favourite of the King of *Sweden*. As there was no likelihood of the Czar's making a peace with the King of *Sweden*, unleſs the Provinces he had conquered on the Eaſt and North of the *Baltick* were yielded to him, *Gortz* perſuaded the King of *Sweden* that he would have ample amends made him for relinquiſhing thoſe conqueſts of the Czar, by having the honour of re-placing *Staniſlaus* on the Throne of *Poland*, ſetting the Crown of *England* on the head of the Chevalier *de St. George*, and by reſtoring the Duke of *Holſtein* to his Dukedom. Beſides, that, being united with the Czar, there was nothing they might not undertake.

(1) It

1718. cauſing to be printed the malicious inſinuations of his enemies, which wounded his honour, without a previous communication of the ſame, or demanding an explanation of thoſe paſſages, as a good Ally ſhould have done.

As ſome articles of this memorial related to the King as Elector of *Hanover*, there were two anſwers given to it, one by Mr. *Stanhope*, the other by the Chancery of *Hanover*. The King ſays, he is very far from ſuſpecting the Czar of entering into any engagements in favour of the Pretender: Owns (as nothing can leſſen the good underſtanding between them, but the continuance of the *Ruſſian* troops in the Empire) he cauſed inſtances to be made to the Courts of *Vienna*, *Denmark*, and *Pruſſia*, for uniting their endeavours to perſuade him to remove them: Hopes the Czar will have a due regard thereto, and ſpeedily withdraw his troops, ſince the continuance of them in the Empire intimates a deſign quite contrary to the acting againſt *Sweden*, and creates ſuch diſtruſt and jealouſies as cannot be otherwiſe removed. As for the publication of the letters, it was impoſſible (ſays the memorial) to omit the paſſages concerning the Czar, becauſe the King had weighty reaſons to impart to the Parliament the letters entire as they were found. The anſwer concluded with aſſuring the Czar, that he ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied, provided he would remove the only obſtacle to their mutual good underſtanding, the continuance of the *Ruſſian* troops in the Empire.

Theſe memorials did not reconcile the two Princes: The diſtance of their dominions, the intereſts of their ſubjects with regard to commerce, ſuſpended their reſentments, but they were enemies the reſt of their life. The Czar, curious as he was, would not have failed of viſiting *England* in his progreſs, had the two Monarchs been upon good terms.

The Czar, after having ſpent three months in *Holland*, reſolved upon a tour to the Court of *France*, with deſign to enter into a Confederacy with the Regent of *France*. He offered to pour a numerous army into the Empire, which ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the Regent, provided he would pay him the ſubſidies, he demanded, which were very large. But his offer was rejected, and communicated by the Regent to King *George*. However, the Czar during his ſtay at *Paris* concluded a treaty of friendſhip with *France*, in which the King of *Pruſſia* was included, and, being preſſed by the Regent, he promiſed to withdraw his forces from *Mecklenburg*. The Czar, at his return to *Amſterdam*, admitted Baron *Gortz* (who had been ſet at liberty the day before his arrival) with great privacy to an interview at *Loo* (1). *Gortz* undertook to adjuſt all differences between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*, within three months, and the Czar engaged to ſuſpend all operations againſt *Sweden* till the end of that term. 1718.

This interview having been complained of by the *Britiſh* Reſident at *Petersburg*, the Czar's Miniſters at firſt denied it, but ſoon after were obliged to own it. The late Duke of *Ormond*, with one Mr. *Jernegan*, a *Roman* Catholick, was come to *Mittau* in *Courland* to propoſe a marriage between one of the Czar's daughters and the Pretender, and to offer to go and perſuade the King of *Sweden* to make peace with the Czar, and aſſiſt in ſetting the Pretender on the Throne of *Great-Britain*; but the propoſal of the marriage interfered with Baron *Gortz*'s ſcheme, who had long intended that Princeſs for the Duke of *Holſtein*, to whom ſhe was afterwards married. Mr. *Jernegan* was ſent to *Sweden* for leave that the Duke of *Ormond* might come there as the Pretender's Miniſter. The anſwer he brought to the Duke was, that the King of *Sweden* had ſtrong reaſons for not admitting him. He was ſoon after ſent from *Mittau*, and *Jernegan* was left to manage the buſineſs at *Peterſburg*, with all poſſible ſecrecy. Mean while a Congreſs was formed at *Abo*, between the *Swediſh* and *Ruſſian* Miniſters, which was afterwards removed to *Aland*. *A marriage proposed between the Pretender and the Czar's daughters. Marries.*

The Czar's chief aim was to keep not only *Ingria*, and part of *Carelia*, but alſo *Revel*, with *Eſtonia*, and *Riga*, with *Livonia*, and to reſtore to *Sweden* only *Finland*, and the reſt of *Carelia*. Baron *Gortz* flattered the Czar with the hopes of the King of *Sweden*'s conſent to theſe ceſſions, in conſideration of his aſſiſting him in reſtoring *Staniſlaus*, and retaking what *Denmark* and *England* had conquered upon *Sweden*. The King of *Pruſſia* was to be included in the treaty, and the Czar, the better to make his own terms, engaged to prevail with him to reſtore *Stetin* for an equivalent ſomewhere elſe. Upon theſe foundations Baron *Gortz* and M. *Oſterman*, the Czar's Plenipotentiary, concerted the plan of a peace between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*. By this plan the conqueſt of *Norway* was deſigned. The Czar was obliged to aſſiſt his *Swediſh* Majeſty in that expedition, and both promiſed to unite all their forces againſt the King of *Great-Britain*, in caſe he ſhould interpoſe. This ſeemed to have a view to the intereſt of the Pretender, and a deſign of an invaſion in *Scotland*, after the conqueſt of *Norway*.

When Baron *Gortz* ſet out from *Aland* with the plan of peace, in order to obtain his Maſter's conſent, the King of *Sweden* was with his army before *Frederickſtad*, in *Norway*, where he was killed in the night, between the 29th and 30th of *November*, 1718. Baron *Gortz*, not being informed of his death, was arreſted on the road, and having drawn upon himſelf the hatred of

(1) It may here be obſerved, that the Duke of *Orleans* had interpoſed to bring the King of *Sweden* to a peace, and had ſent the Count *de la March* to him as his Ambaſſador. But the King of *Sweden* would hearken to no propoſals till Baron *Gortz* and Count *Gyllenburg* were ſet at liberty. The Regent, upon this, orders *d'Ibberville* to aſſure his *Britannick* Majeſty, that the King of *Sweden* had declared, he had yet no intention to trouble the tranquility of *Great-Britain*, nor had entered into any of the deſigns, attributed to his Miniſters, and ſhould conſider, as a great injury to him, the ſuſpicion of his having had any concern in their projects. After this declaration on the part of the King of *Sweden*, the Regent hoped, that the King would ſend back Count *Gyllenburg* to his Maſter, and give his conſent that Baron *Gortz* ſhould be alſo releaſed. This was accordingly done, and Count *Gyllenburg* was exchanged for Mr. Reſident *Jackſon*, who had been detained at *Stockholm*.

(1) His

17. of the Nation, and reſentment of the Nobles, whom he had treated with haughtineſs, he was by them condemned to the ſcaffold, where he died with great reſolution. By the King of *Sweden*'s death the face of affairs in the North was entirely changed: *Sweden* was forced to ſubmit; the Czar, King of *Denmark*, and King *George*, as Elector of *Hanover*, remained in poſſeſſion of what they had acquired. Theſe affairs, though not ended till the following year, have been related at once to prevent any farther recourſe to them. But to return to *England*.

The Earl of *Oxford* had now been confined in the *Tower* almoſt two years, and, finding the Seſſion was like to end without entering upon his caſe, he cauſed a petition to be preſented to the Houſe of Lords, wherein he ſubmitted his caſe to their Lordſhips conſideration, praying, that his impriſonment might not be indefinite. The Lord *Trevor*, who preſented his petition, made a long ſpeech in his favour, as did alſo the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Abingdon*, and the Lords *Harcourt* and *North* and *Grey*. It was inſiſted in the Earl's behalf, that the impeachment was deſtroyed and determined, ſince he was not brought to his trial the ſame Seſſions, in which he was impeached; and that the prorogation ſuperſeded the whole proceedings. The Earl of *Nottingham*, who, in 1715, when in favour, had been one of the moſt zealous againſt the Miniſters of the late Queen, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the impeachment's being ſuperſeded by the prorogation, and demanded leave to enter his proteſtation againſt the vote paſſed to the contrary, by a majority of eighty-ſeven to forty-five (1).

This being rejected, the Duke of *Buckingham* moved to appoint a day for the Earl's trial, which, after ſome debates, and appointing a Committee to ſearch for precedents, was fixed and appointed. It is remarkable, that the appointing a day did not occaſion ſo long a debate as the ſhortening the day, and that the Earl's friends preſſed the Houſe to appoint a ſhort day, while the other ſide pleaded for time. Accordingly, the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had made the motion, declared in a ſpeech for a ſhort day, and named the 6th of *June*. But the Earl of *Sunderland* and the Lord *Coningsby* were for ſending a meſſage to the Commons, to know whether they were ready, or to appoint the 13th of *June* for the trial. After ſome debate, the 13th was appointed by a majority of eighty-five againſt forty-four, and a meſſage was ſent to the Commons to acquaint them with the ſame.

This meſſage cauſed no leſs debates among the Commons. They ſaw the face of their affairs a little changed: Some, who had been active in this proſecution when it was firſt begun, and upon whom the Houſe might be ſaid in ſome meaſure to depend for carrying it on, ſeemed to look coldly upon the matter, and to decline the work, or at leaſt to have leſs of that confidence, the Houſe uſually ſhewed them before. This cauſed a vote to appoint a Committee to inquire into the ſtate of the Earl of *Oxford*'s impeachment. The Committee found, upon inquiry, that ſeveral Members of the *Secret Committee* (who begun the proſecution) had been called up to the Houſe of Peers, as the Lords *Onſlow*, *Coningſby*, and *Marſham*, and that others ſeemed remiſs, or were abſent. Therefore the Houſe was moved, and did agree, that Mr. *Carter*, Sir *William Thompſon*, the Serjeants *Birch*, *Pengelly*, and *Reynolds*, ſhould be added to the *Secret Committee*. At their firſt meeting, Mr. *Carter* was choſen Chairman in the room of Mr. *Walpole*, who, with ſeveral others, abſented himſelf. For this reaſon Mr. Secretary *Addiſon*, Mr. *Craggs*, Serjeant *Mead*, and Mr. *Jeſſop*, and a little after Mr. *Lechmere*, now Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*, were added to the number. 1717.

All the eminent Lawyers of the Houſe being thus named to be of the Committee, they immediately fell to preparing to make good the articles of impeachment, in caſe the Houſe ſhould agree to proceed to the trial; but all the while they left people in ſuſpence as to their reſolution, even till the day before the trial was to be. The King had appointed Lord Chancellor *Cowper* to be Lord High-Steward on this occaſion, and all things were in readineſs for the trial; when, on the 12th of *June*, a meſſage was ſent from the Commons to the Lords, to demand longer time for their preparations, purſuant to the following report of the Committee.

'That the Committee had met ſeveral times, and made ſome progreſs in the matters to them referred; but that the proſecution of the impeachment having been interrupted for ſo many months, by the intervention of many weighty and urgent affairs, which more nearly and immediately concerned the welfare, defence, and ſecurity of the Kingdom, it was become abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe, who ſhould be appointed to manage the impeachment, to review and carefully peruſe all the treaties, records, letters, and other papers proper and neceſſary for ſupporting this proſecution; which being voluminous,

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(1) His proteſt was as follows:

Diſſentient'

I. Becauſe there ſeems to be no difference in law between a prorogation and a diſſolution of the Parliament, which, in conſtant practice, have had the ſame effect as to determination, both of judicial and legiſlative proceedings; and conſequently this vote may tend to weaken the reſolution of this Houſe, *May* 22, 1685, which was founded upon the law and practice of Parliament in all ages, without one precedent to the contrary, except in caſes which happened after the order made the 19th of *March*, 1678, which was reverſed and annulled in 1685; and in purſuance hereof the Earl of *Salisbury* was diſcharged in 1690.

II. Becauſe this can never be extended to any but Peers, for by the ſtatute 4 *Edw.* III. no Commoner can be impeached for any capital crime; and it is hard to conceive, why the Peers ſhould be diſtinguiſhed and deprived of the benefit of all the laws of liberty, to which the meaneſt Commoner in *Britain* is intitled; and this ſeems the more extraordinary, becauſe it is done unaſked of the Commons, who, as is conceived, never can aſk it with any colour of law, precedent, reaſon or juſtice.

This proteſt was ſubſcribed by *Nottingham*, *Fra. Roffen'*, *North and Grey*, *Bathurſt*, *Abingdon*, *Manſell*, *Hay*, *Guilford*, *Dartmouth*, *Foley*, *Bruce*.

(1) When

1717. luminous, it would be impoſſible, within the time appointed for the trial, to adjuſt and apply the proper evidence to the ſeveral articles (1).

Upon this meſſage, the Earl of *Sunderland* moved to allow the Commons a fortnight. The Duke of *Devonſhire* ſaid, Twelve days were ſufficient. The Lords *Trevor*, *Harcourt*, and others inſiſted, that, the Lords having fixed a day for the trial, they ought not to grant any farther time: But the Duke of *Devonſhire*'s motion for twelve days was carried by ſeventy-ſix againſt fifty-ſeven; and the 24th of *June* was appointed for the day of trial, of which notice was ſent to the Commons.

Upon this the Commons, to let it be ſeen that they reſolved to go on with the trial, voted the preparatory orders, and appointed the Committee, with four other Members, to be the Managers to make good the articles of impeachment.

On the 24th of *June*, the Lord High-Steward, with the Houſe of Peers, paſſed to the Court prepared for them in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, when the Commons were preſent, as a Committee of the whole Houſe, their Managers coming firſt, and taking their places. The King, the Prince, and Princeſs of *Wales* were ſeated in boxes; as were the reſt of the Royal Family, and the foreign Miniſters. All things being prepared, and ſilence proclaimed, the Earl of *Oxford*, who had been brought from the *Tower* by water to *Weſtminſter*, was conducted to the bar by the Deputy-Lieutenant of the *Tower*, having the axe carried before him by the Gentleman-Jailor of the *Tower*, who ſtood with it on the left hand of the Priſoner, with the edge turned from him. Then the articles of impeachment * were read, with the Earl's anſwer, and the replication of the Commons. After which the Lord High-Steward addreſſed himſelf thus to the Priſoner (after having mentioned the uſual way of exhorting perſons in his condition as to their behaviour) 'But, conſidering the many great Offices your Lordſhip has borne in the State, your long experience and known learning in all Parliamentary proceedings, I cannot but think it would be improper for me to ſpeak to your Lordſhip in that manner.' Mr. *Hampden*, one of the Managers, then made a long ſpeech, which ended, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* ſtood up, in order to make good the firſt article of the impeachment; but, the Lord *Harcourt* having ſignified to the Lords, that, before the Managers proceeded farther, he had a motion to make, they adjourned to their own Houſe, and the Commons returned to theirs.

As ſoon as the Peers were come to their Houſe, the Lord *Harcourt* repreſented, 'That the going through all the articles of impeachment would take up a great deal of time to little purpoſe; for, if the Commons could make good the two articles for High-Treaſon, the Earl of *Oxford* would forfeit both life and eſtate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas the proceeding, in the method the Commons propoſed, would draw the trial into a prodigious length: Urging, that it would be a great hardſhip upon a Peer, who had already undergone ſo long a confinement, to appear every day at their bar like a Traitor, and be, at laſt, found guilty only of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors.' And therefore he moved, That the Commons might not be admitted to proceed, till judgment was firſt

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(1) When this report was read in the Houſe of Commons, there was a ſilence for two or three minutes, till at laſt Mr. *Hungerford* roſe up, and took notice of the great hardſhips, which the Earl of *Oxford* had undergone. Mr. *Boſcawen* expreſſed his concern, 'That a proſecution, which the Commons had begun in ſo ſolemn a manner, and which was thought ſo neceſſary to vindicate the honour and juſtice of the Nation, ſhould, at laſt, be dropped; which he was ſure would be a reflection upon that Houſe.'

Here again was a deep ſilence; and, the Speaker riſing, in order to put the queſtion, Mr. *Samuel Tufnel*, made a long ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that, the Houſe having been aſſured by the Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, that there was evidence againſt the Earl of *Oxford* ſufficient to convict him of High-Treaſon in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, it was that, which ſwayed him to vote for bringing an offender to public juſtice, who had *betrayed the honour and intereſt of the Nation*. Mr. *Bromley* endeavoured to vindicate Mr. *Walpole*, by alledging, 'That, though he was Chairman of the Secret Committee, yet, if any thing were done amiſs amongſt them, it were hard to lay all the blame at his door, ſince the whole Committee were equally concerned in the impeachments.' But, as to the matter then under deliberation, Mr. *Bromley* added, 'That they had been told above a year and a half ago, that the evidence was ready; but that they ought not to give the Lords the trouble of going through the whole impeachment, ſince, in his opinion, twenty of the articles were altogether vain and needleſs.' Some Members being ſhocked at this aſſertion, Mr. *Bromley* immediately explained himſelf, ſaying, 'That, if the two articles, that were for High-Treaſon, could be made good, the other twenty would be needleſs and inſignificant.' Mr. *Shippen* obſerved, 'That this impeachment had been depending ſo long, that every body expected it would be dropped: And indeed, unleſs the two articles of High-Treaſon could be made good, he thought it unreaſonable to give the two Houſes an unneceſſary trouble about the other articles, by keeping them ſitting in the hotteſt part of the ſummer. That, after all, thoſe, who had firſt begun the impeachments, ought to be ſatisfied with having got the places of thoſe, that were impeached; which, indeed, ſeemed to be what they had principally in view. That the truth of this appeared evidently from the behaviour of the Gentleman, who was the moſt forward and active in the impeachments, whoſe warmth was very much abated ſince he was out of place. That he did not mention this as a reflection on that Gentleman, for whom he ever had a great reſpect; but that he was afraid this would leſſen him in the eſteem of others. That, for his own part, he was not in the leaſt ſurprized at his conduct; of which he had, of late, obſerved many inſtances; but that he ever diſapproved it.' After this Mr. *Walpole* made an apology for himſelf, ſaying, among other things, 'That he had of late looked over ſome of the moſt material papers relating to this impeachment; and he was ſtill convinced in his conſcience, that the late Miniſtry had given themſelves up intirely, and were ready to deliver up the Nation to *France*.' Mr. *Lechmere* ſtrongly ſupported the motion for the meſſage, and ſaid, 'It was no wonder, that a certain ſet of men, who had, at firſt, oppoſed the impeachments, ſhould now be for letting them drop: And that this was yet the leſs ſurprizing, in that the ſame Gentlemen had conſtantly oppoſed all that had been propoſed for the ſupport of the preſent happy ſettlement. But that, for his own part, he was of the ſame opinion he ever was, that the Nation could not proſper, till they had brought thoſe to juſtice, who betrayed its Allies in ſo ſcandalous a manner, and brought it to the brink of ruin: And that he would venture his life in this proſecution.' This ſpeech had ſo much weight, that it was carried without dividing, That the meſſage be ſent to the Lords.'

1717. first given upon the articles for High-Treaſon. The Lord *Harcourt* was ſupported by the Lord *Trevor*, and the Earls of *Angleſea* and *Nottingham*. But the Lord *Parker* anſwered them, 'That, in all Courts of Judicature, it is the uſual and conſtant method to go through all the evidence, before judgment be given upon any part of the accuſation: That, though the Houſe of Peers be the ſupreme Court of the Kingdom, yet it has ever a regard to the rules of equity and juſtice, and even to the forms obſerved in the Courts below. And, as for the Priſoner's appearing in the abject condition of a Traitor, it was but a piece of formality, which did him no manner of hurt, and to which perſons of the higheſt rank had ever ſubmitted, in order to clear their innocence.' The Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord *Coningſby*, and the Lord *Cadogan* ſpoke on the ſame ſide. But, the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Argyle*, the Earl of *Ilay*, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Lord *North* and *Grey*, the Lord *Townſhend*, and ſeveral others having ſtrenuouſly ſupported the Lord *Harcourt*'s motion, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eighty-eight againſt fifty-ſix.

This reſolution being declared to the Managers at the Lords return to the *Hall*, Sir *William Thompſon* replied: 'That they conceived it to be ſo much the undoubted right of the Commons to proceed in their own method, in maintenance of the articles exhibited by them, and did apprehend, that this reſolution of their Lordſhips might be of fatal conſequence to the rights and privileges of all the Commons of *Great-Britain*, that they could not take upon them to proceed any further, without reſorting to the Houſe of Commons for their direction therein. 1717.

Upon this proceeding, Conferences, ſearching for precedents, and the like methods of managing ſuch diſputes took up ſome days; and in particular, on the 27th of *June*, the Commons at a Conference delivered a paper, containing their reaſons for aſſerting it as their undoubted right to impeach a Peer either for High-Treaſon, or for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, or, if they ſee occaſion, to mix both in the ſame accuſation (1).

This paper being debated in the Houſe of Lords, they inſiſted on their former reſolution, that the Commons ſhould not proceed till judgment was given upon the articles of High-Treaſon, and ordered likewiſe a paper of reaſons in ſupport of their reſolution to be drawn up and delivered to the Commons at another Conference, wherein they aſſerted it to be a right inherent in every Court of Juſtice to order and direct ſuch methods of proceedings as ſuch Courts ſhall think fit to be obſerved, in all cauſes depending before them (2).

Thus far the two Houſes carried on their debate with ſome calmneſs, but they grew warmer the next day, when the Commons, having conſidered the paper delivered to them by the Lords, ſent a meſſage to deſire a free Conference, and the Lords refuſed it; and now the party for the Earl of *Oxford* began to ſee his deliverance at hand, for the Lords, refuſing to grant

(1) The paper was as follows:

'The Commons having taken into their conſideration your Lordſhips reſolution communicated to their Managers relating to the proceedings on the trial of *Robert* Earl of *Oxford* and Earl *Mortimer*; and being deſirous, as far as in them lies, to maintain a good correſpondence with your Lordſhips, have deſired this Conference, and have commanded us to acquaint your Lordſhips, that they conceive it to be the undoubted right of the Commons to impeach a Peer, either for High-Treaſon, or for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors; or, if they ſee occaſion, to mix both the one and the other in the ſame accuſation.

The impeachment preferred againſt *Robert* Earl of *Oxford* and Earl *Mortimer* is one continued accuſation, conſiſting of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, and alſo of charges of High-Treaſon. The facts, on which the articles preceding thoſe of High-Treaſon are grounded, are laid together in order of time, and follow one another ſucceſſively, in the manner they were committed.

As the Commons thought this the moſt natural method for exhibiting the ſeveral articles againſt the ſaid Earl, they were of opinion, that they ſhould proceed in the proof of theſe ſeveral facts after the ſame method, ſince it is manifeſt, that, in laying open the courſe of ſuch a wicked Adminiſtration, the preceding parts of it give light to thoſe which follow; and that the proof of the ſeveral articles of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors would naturally lead to the proof of thoſe of High-Treaſon.

Your Lordſhips received theſe ſeveral articles of impeachment, without making any exception againſt the form, in which they were exhibited. The ſaid Earl made his anſwer to them in the ſame order, and has no where inſiſted to be tried in any other method: So that the Commons are ſurprized to find a ſtop put to their proſecution by an objection, which has never been ſtarted by the ſaid Earl, and which your Lordſhips had given them ſo little reaſon to expect.

To this muſt be added, That as the Commons only are maſters of the evidence, and as upon that account they are beſt able to determine what to charge firſt, and what next; ſo they are moſt proper to determine in what method to proceed for the advantage of the proſecution, in the event of which all the Commons of *Great-Britain* are ſo highly concerned.

To which they further add, that they ſee no reaſon, but that your Lordſhips may as well invert the whole order of the articles, as to preſcribe to the Commons thoſe particular articles, on which they are firſt to proceed; which will neceſſarily produce ſuch a confuſion, both in the facts and evidence, as is by no means conſiſtent with that clearneſs and perſpicuity, in which the Commons think this affair ought to appear.

The Commons, upon examining precedents, do find divers precedents of impeachments for High-Treaſon, and other High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, in the ſame accuſation; and do not find, that the Lords ever objected to ſuch proceedings, or ever gave judgment upon any particular article of an impeachment before the Commons had gone through, and concluded their evidence upon all the articles, or ſo many of them as they thought fit: And the Commons are at a loſs to conceive what arguments, or precedents, can be brought to ſupport the reſolution of your Lordſhips, to give judgment upon one part of the ſame accuſation, reſerving the other part for a ſubſequent trial, as they are to know what your Lordſhips mean by admitting the Commons to proceed upon the articles of High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, after the judgment is given upon the articles for High-Treaſon, ſuppoſing the judgment proper for High-Treaſon ſhould be given againſt the ſaid Earl.

For theſe reaſons the Commons aſſert it as their undoubted right to proceed on the trial of *Robert* Earl of *Oxford* and Earl *Mortimer*, after the method, in which their Managers were proceeding, when interrupted by your Lordſhips reſolution.

(2) The paper was as follows:

'Their Lordſhips, in order to preſerve a good correſpondence with the Houſe of Commons (which they

[Ball]

1717. grant the Commons a free Conference, ſet the two Houſes into a new diſpute, and put the wiſhed for agreement about the trial quite out of the queſtion.

This refuſal of a free Conference was urged in the Houſe of Lords upon the foundation, That it was a point of judicature in which the Commons had no concern, at leaſt, they could not admit it to be debated; and ſome precedents were brought, in which the Commons had denied the Peers a free Conference, as in money-bills, in which the ſame reaſons were given, namely, That it was a money-bill in which the Lords had no right to make any amendment. Theſe things were going on to great heights, and, the Commons deſiring a Conference upon this ſubject, they gave in a paper to the Managers for the Peers, wherein they inſiſted that it was not a point of judicature, but a point relating only to the proſecution of the Commons, and therefore a free Conference ought not to be denied (1).

The Lords, though many of them were zealous for bringing on the trial, yet being tender of the privileges of the Peers, and ſatisfied, that the Commons were in the wrong, reſolved to inſiſt upon it, that they ought not to grant them a free Conference upon this ſubject; and, having put the queſtion again in their Houſe, it paſſed, not to grant a free Conference, which was ſignified to the Commons.

This meſſage put the Houſe of Commons in a flame, and ſeveral warm ſpeeches were made on the occaſion by Mr. *Stanhope*, Mr. *Craggs*, Mr. *Tufnel*, and others; Mr. *Lechmere* 'lamented the unhappy dilemma to which they were brought, either to ſee ſo great an offender as the Earl of *Oxford* eſcape unpuniſhed, or to acquieſce in proceeding on his trial in the manner preſcribed by the Lords.' He ſaid, 'He thought the latter more eligible of the two, with a ſaving to the rights and privileges of the Commons, and therefore made a motion for it.' He was ſupported by Mr. *Hampden*, and ſeveral other Members, but his motion was rejected. Then a meſſage was brought from the Lords, that they intended preſently to proceed on the trial of the Earl. The Commons took no notice

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ſhall always endeavour to do, as far as lies in their power) have deſired this Conference upon the ſubject-matter of the laſt Conference, and have directed us to acquaint you, that their Lordſhips judge it a right inherent in every Court of Juſtice, to order and direct ſuch methods of proceedings, as ſuch Courts ſhall think fit to be obſerved in all cauſes depending before them; which can have no influence to the prejudice of juſtice, and where ſuch methods of proceedings are not otherwiſe ſettled by any poſitive rule. The power of Judicature on all impeachments being a right unqueſtionably inherent in their Lordſhips, and it not being determined by any poſitive rule, whether the Houſe of Commons may proceed to make good the ſeveral articles exhibited for High-Treaſon; and there being no precedent, where the Commons, upon the trial of any ſuch impeachment, attempted to proceed, in the firſt place, to make good any of the articles contained in ſuch impeachments for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors; their Lordſhips conſidering the nature of the impeachment now depending before them, and the method, wherein the Managers for the Houſe of Commons were beginning to proceed upon the trial, to make good the firſt article thereof, which is a charge for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors only; and alſo conſidering the very different methods of proceeding on an impeachment of a Peer for High-Treaſon, as well before as upon the trial thereof, and the circumſtances attending ſuch a trial, thought themſelves obliged to come to the reſolution communicated to the Commons on the 24th inſtant, as well for the doing juſtice in the caſe depending before them, as for the preventing a new precedent to be made on this trial; in conſequence whereof, a new and unjuſtifiable form of proceeding againſt a Peer, upon an impeachment for High-Treaſon and High Crimes, might be introduced at his trial upon thoſe articles, in which he is charged for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors only, to the prejudice of the Peerage of *Great-Britain* in all time to come, *viz.* The trying a Peer on articles for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors without the bar, the detaining in cuſtody a Peer ſo accuſed, and repeated commitments of him to the *Tower* during the time of ſuch trial, and ſubjecting a Peer to as ignominious circumſtances on his trial, as if he was then on his trial on articles for High-Treaſon: Whereas a Peer, on his trial on articles for Miſdemeanors only, ought not to be deprived of his liberty, nor ſequeſtered from Parliament, and is intitled to the privilege of ſitting within the bar during the whole time of his trial: In all which particulars, the known rule of proceedings in ſuch caſes may be evaded, ſhould a Peer be brought to his trial on ſeveral articles exhibited againſt him on High Crimes and Miſdemeanors and High-Treaſon mixed together, and the Commons be admitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, before judgment be given upon the articles for High-Treaſon. Their Lordſhips have fully conſidered the matters offered to them by the Houſe of Commons, at the laſt Conference relating to the proceedings againſt *Robert* Earl of *Oxford* and Earl *Mortimer*; and their Lordſhips are fully ſatisfied, That the reſolution, they have taken and communicated to the Commons on the 24th inſtant, is juſt and reaſonable; and that the Houſe of Commons are not put under any real inconvenience thereby, in carrying on their preſent proſecution. Their Lordſhips have commanded us to let you know, that they do inſiſt on their ſaid reſolution, *viz.* That the Commons be not admitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles againſt *Robert* Earl of *Oxford* and Earl *Mortimer*, for High Crimes and Miſdemeanors, till judgment be firſt given upon the articles for High-Treaſon.'

(1) The paper was thus:

'The Commons having taken into conſideration your Lordſhips meſſage, *viz.* *That your Lordſhips did not think fit to give a free Conference on the ſubject-matter of the laſt Conference, as was deſired by the Commons:* And they being ſtill deſirous, to the utmoſt of their power, to preſerve a good correſpondence with your Lordſhips, have aſked this Conference; and have commanded us to acquaint your Lordſhips, that they are very much ſurprized to find your Lordſhips deny a free Conference, after your Lordſhips have already agreed to a Conference deſired by the Commons on the ſame ſubject-matter, and after your Lordſhips have, on your parts, alſo deſired a Conference upon the ſame ſubject. That free Conferences are the moſt antient and eſtabliſhed methods for adjuſting the differences, that have at any time ariſen between the two Houſes, and, as the Commons conceive, is the only method to preſerve a good correſpondence between them on ſuch occaſions, which, at this time, is of the higheſt importance, becauſe a miſunderſtanding on this account would tend to defeat the trial of the impeachment of the Commons. That the Commons conceive clearly, that the ſubject-matter of the laſt Conference is not a *point of judicature*, but a point relating only to the proſecution of the Commons, it having ariſen before any matter of judgment had come before your Lordſhips upon the trial. For which reaſons the Commons conceive, that your Lordſhips ought not to have denied them a free Conference upon the ſubject-matter of the laſt Conference.'

(1) In

1717. tice of this meſſage (1). However, ſeeing the Lords were reſolved to proceed, the Houſe adjourned. It was ſuggeſted, this adjournment was ordered, that they might not receive any more meſſages about it, or be ſent to from the *Hall* to appear at the trial.

It appears from the debates above-mentioned, that theſe things were not carried thus without ſome variety of opinions and motions. Some, who were zealous for bringing a great offender (and ſuch they accounted the Earl to be) to juſtice, were for quitting the nicety they contended for, and, not doubting but they ſhould be able to make good the charge of High-Treaſon againſt him, were for giving the Lords the point and proceeding. But others, no leſs zealous for juſtice, and as much convinced of the Earl's guilt, were yet of opinion, that they ought not to make any precedent, which might be uſed by poſterity to the diſadvantage of the Commons, and in prejudice to their rights, but that they ſhould proceed in the ordinary methods of juſtice, and preſerve the privileges of their Houſe entire, as their Anceſtors had done before them.

It was, however, propoſed to proceed by way of Attainder; and Sir *William Strickland* moved it, though in other words, 'That leave be given to bring in a bill, to inflict pains and penalties on *Robert* Earl of *Oxford*, as his traiterous practices and miſdemeanors deſerve, and as ſhall be thought reaſonable.' This bred a high debate, which ended in an adjournment to the 3d of *July*.

In the mean time, the Lords proceeded to the formalities of Judicature. They went down to the *Hall*, took their places, ordered the Earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his Accuſers to appear, and make good the impeachment againſt him. After this, the Court ſat perfectly ſilent, as if expecting the Commons ſhould appear. This ſilence held about a quarter of an hour, when the Lords adjourned to their Houſe, where the queſtion, that the Earl ſhould be acquitted, paſſed in the affirmative, after ſome debate. Then the Houſe returned to the *Hall*, where, one or two excepted, they all gave their votes for the diſcharge of the Earl of *Oxford*, who was immediately ſet at liberty. Is was obſerved, moſt of the Whig Lords retired, before the Peers went the laſt time to the *Hall*, ſo there were not above a hundred and ſeven who gave their votes. 1717.

Thus ended this affair: And it is plain, the Earl owed his diſcharge not only to the diſputes between the two Houſes, but alſo to the late changes in the Miniſtry; without which the Earl of *Nottingam*, the Duke of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Ilay*, the Duke of *Devonſhire*, and the Lord *Townſhend* would certainly not have been in the number of his friends. However, the Commons did not reſt here. For, though Sir *William Strickland*'s bill for inflicting pains and penalties on the Earl was not ſeconded, yet, to ſhew their reſentment at this proceeding, they reſolved that the King ſhould be addreſſed, to except him out of the *Act of Grace*, which was intended to be brought into the Houſe (2). The King had likewiſe, two days before, upon information that the Earl of *Oxford* deſigned to come to Court, thought fit to forbid him.

Act of Grace, July 15. Pr. H. L.

The Seſſion now drew towards an end, and the Houſes were chiefly employed in finiſhing the bills that were depending, when, on the 15th of *July*, the Earl of *Sunderland* delivered in the Houſe of Peers, the *Act of Grace*, which the King had promiſed in his ſpeech of the 6th of *May*. It was immediately read and paſſed, and then ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, where it met with the like diſpatch.

The Seſſion ends, July 15. Pr. H. C.

All things being ready, the King came the ſame day, in the afternoon, to the Houſe of Peers, and, having given the Royal aſſent to all the bills, cloſed the Seſſion with the following ſpeech, which was read to both Houſes by the Lord-Chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's ſpeech.

" I Cannot put an end to this Seſſion without " expreſſing my thanks to you for the diſ- " patch you have given to the public buſineſs, " and declaring the ſatisfaction I promiſe myſelf " in meeting you again early the next winter, " with the ſame good diſpoſitions for the ſer- " vice of your Country.

" The

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(1) It is ſaid, ſome moved not to receive it. *Annals.*

(2) As this addreſs (which was preſented by the whole Houſe on the 5th of *July*) ſets forth the juſt reſentment of the Commons, it is here inſerted with the King's anſwer:

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

'We your Majeſty's moſt faithful ſubjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, do moſt humbly repreſent to your Majeſty, That, in our impeachment exhibited againſt *Robert* Earl of *Oxford* and Earl *Mortimer*, we did ſet forth, That he the ſaid Earl did traiterouſly adhere to, aid, and abet the late *French* King, then an enemy to her late Majeſty, and did begin and carry on a clandeſtine and ſeparate Correſpondence and Negotiation with the Miniſter of the ſaid *French* King; in conſequence of which it is evident, that great part of the forces maintained at the expence of ſo much *Britiſh* treaſure, in order to reduce the power of *France*; as likewiſe great part of the ſame end, were, in reality, made ſubſervient and inſtrumental to awe the good Allies of her Majeſty into a compliance with the hard terms dictated by *France*. The unhappy *Catalans* were abandoned; the Emperor, Empire, and King of *Portugal*, were left to treat for themſelves; the Kingdom of *Sicily* was given to the Duke of *Savoy*, as an inducement and reward to him for quitting the common cauſe, in direct defiance and violation of the Grand Alliance, and of the declared ſenſe of moſt of our good Allies, and eſpecially of the *Dutch*, who, to this day, have never aſſented to that condition of the treaty of *Utrecht*. A ſhameful and diſhonourable treaty of peace was at laſt concluded, by which impracticable terms of trade were impoſed on *Great-Britain*; the demolition of *Dunkirk*, which had been addreſſed for by Parliament, was eluded by a treacherous connivance, as the making of a new canal at *Mardyke*; and the ſecurity which was propoſed, by removing the Pretender out of *France*, was, in the like manner, evaded by a treacherous connivance at his reſiding in *Lorrain*.

It is owing to your Majeſty's unwearied endeavours for the good of your ſubjects, and that juſt regard which is paid to your Majeſty by foreign Princes and States, that we ſee ourſelves delivered, in a great degree, from the effects of theſe pernicious meaſures, which might otherwiſe have proved fatal to your Kingdoms: But as we reflect, with equal gratitude and admiration, on your Majeſty's being able to retrieve ſuch miſcarriages

1717. " The meaſures, we have taken in this Parliament, have, by the bleſſing of Almighty " God, effectually defeated all the attempts of " our enemies, both at home and abroad: And, " as the principles, on which thoſe meaſures " are founded, are equally conducive to the " ſupporting the juſt rights of the Crown and " the liberties of the people, I ſhall always perſe- " vere in them myſelf, and diſtinguiſh thoſe " who adhere to them with the ſame ſteadineſs " and reſolution.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I thank you, in the moſt affectionate man- " ner, for the ſupplies you have granted me, " and for that conſtancy and zeal, which you " have ſhewn in reducing our national debts, " notwithſtanding the many incidents and ob- " ſtructions you have met with in the carrying " on of that great work. As you have furniſh- " ed me with the means of diſappointing any " deſigns of a foreign enemy againſt theſe my " Kingdoms; ſo I cannot but aſcribe, in a great " meaſure, the happy proſpect of our affairs a- " broad to that public ſpirit, which has ap- " peared in your proceedings, and has convinced " the world, that no inſinuations or artifices " can divert you from your duty to your Sove- " reign, and a diſintereſted regard to your fel- " low-ſubjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It is with great pleaſure, that I ſee the " tranquillity of the Nation ſo well eſtabliſhed, " as to admit of an Act of Grace, which I have " long deſired a fit opportunity to grant. I " hope, that ſuch as ſhall, by this means, be " reſtored to the enjoyment of ſecurity, and the " protection of thoſe laws, againſt which they " have offended, will have a due ſenſe of this " my indulgence, and give me the moſt accept- " able return they can poſſibly make me, that " of becoming friends, inſtead of enemies, to " their Country."

Then the Parliament was prorogued to the 12th of *Auguſt*; and afterwards, by ſeveral prorogations, to the 21ſt of *November*. *The Parliament prorogued.*

Thus ended this Seſſion of Parliament, famous for the tranſactions relating to the Earl of *Oxford*, but chiefly for laying the foundation of paying the public debts, without any breach of Parliamentary credit.

The expectation of the *Act of Grace* had long agitated the minds of people. Some, through their impatience for want of it: Others, through fear of being excepted out of it; and others, through their diſlike of the general tenor of it, had appeared diſſatisfied about it, and ſpoke contemptibly of it (1).

This Act of Grace and free Pardon was as a finiſhing to the whole tranſaction of the Rebellion, and therefore it will not be improper to give an account of the perſons who received benefit by it, and alſo of thoſe who were excepted out of it. *Account of the Act of Grace.*

The exceptions by name were no more than, the Earl of *Oxford*, purſuant to the Commons addreſs, Lord *Harcourt*, Mr. *Prior*, Mr. *Thomas Harley*, and Mr. *Arthur Moor*; with five mean perſons, *Criſp*, *Nodes*, *O Bryan*, *Redmayne* (the Printer) and *Thompſon*. Beſides theſe, the Aſſaſſinators in *Newgate* (confined there ever ſince the Aſſaſſination-plot in King *William*'s Reign) were alſo excepted by name. The other exceptions were but five, except ſuch as are uſual in all general pardons. No Act of Grace for many ages paſt, in like circumſtances, had been clogged with fewer exceptions, conſidering the number of Rebels then abroad, and their unwearied diligence to diſturb the peace of the Kingdom (2).

As for thoſe who received the benefit of it, they were firſt the Lords in the *Tower* under ſentence of death, who were immediately delivered. This was directed by an exception in the Act of Grace,

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miſcarriages, eſpecially in a time which has been diſturbed by publick tumults and rebellion; we think it is a great aggravation of guilt in thoſe who gave up ſo many national advantages, at a time when they labour-ed under no ſuch difficulties at home, and when the continued ſucceſſes of a long and glorious war had put them into a condition of gaining the moſt beneficial terms from the enemy.

Your faithful Commons did likewiſe exhibit ſeveral other charges againſt the ſaid Earl, repreſenting him, in many notorious inſtances, as a perſon who had abuſed the truſt and confidence which her late Majeſty had repoſed in him, and ſacrificed the honour of his Sovereign, and the good of her people, to private views of intereſt and ambition.

Your faithful Commons have not been wanting in their endeavours to bring the ſaid Earl to juſtice; but, by reaſon of the unhappy differences that have, in this proceeding, ariſen between the two Houſes, we have found ourſelves diſappointed of our juſt expectation, and reduced to the neceſſity either of giving up rights and privileges of the higheſt importance to all the Commons of *Great-Britain*, or ſeeing this great offender eſcape with impunity for the preſent.

For theſe reaſons, we do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that your Majeſty will be pleaſed to except *Robert* Earl of *Oxford* and Earl *Mortimer* out of the Act of Grace, which your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to promiſe from the Throne, to the end the Commons may be at liberty to proceed againſt the ſaid Earl, in a Parliamentary way.'

To this addreſs his Majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer.

Gentlemen,

' I will give directions, in relation to the Earl of *Oxford*, as you deſire; and it is with pleaſure I obſerve the ſenſe expreſſed in your addreſs of my endeavours for the ſecurity, honour, and advantage of theſe Kingdoms.'

(1) This gave ground to the following expreſſion in a treatiſe publiſhed at that time, ' *That the clemency of King* George *was not only Great and Godlike, but even extended farther than that of God himſelf.* For (ſays the Author) God Almighty, however merciful in his nature, yet has proclaimed pardon to none but the penitent; whereas King *George* has pardoned, not thoſe who have repented only, but even thoſe who contemned the very grace they have received, and inſulted the King that forgave them, receiving the grace with unthankfulneſs, and with ungrateful reproaches againſt the hand that gave it.'

(2) Among the exceptions were all the perſons of the name and clan of *Macgregor*, mentioned in an Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, in the firſt year of King *Charles* I. It ſeems the Family or Clan of *Macgregors*, alias *Campbells*, had been in Rebellion in the time of King

717. Grace, namely, 'All perſons impeached in Parliament, before the 6th of *May* 1717, whoſe impeachment remains undetermined.' So that they who were impeached for Rebellion, and being convicted were under ſentence of death, were not by this article excepted, becauſe the impeachment was determined in law. Conſequently, the Earl of *Carnwarth*, with the Lords *Widdrington* and *Nairn*, Peers, condemned by the Houſe of Lords, were immediately diſcharged. The Lord *Duffus* was continued under confinement, with an allowance of 3 *l.* a week.

Likewiſe the priſon-doors were ſet open all over *England:* Seventeen Gentlemen under ſentence of death in *Newgate* were releaſed; as alſo a great many in the *Marſhalſea* and *Fleet*, and in the hands of Meſſengers; and not only thoſe who were under ſentence, but ſeveral others who were not tried.

In the Caſtle of *Weſt-Cheſter*, about two hundred priſoners taken at *Preſton* were ſet free, none being detained but the Lord *Charles Murray*, ſon of the Duke of *Athol*, and he was only reſerved to be a particular object of the King's clemency, a pardon having paſſed for him a few weeks after.

In like manner the priſoners in the Caſtle of *Lancaſter* were delivered; theſe were in general the common ſoldiers of the Rebels, the reſt of them were either ſent to the Plantations at their own requeſt, or dead in priſon, or had made their eſcape. The priſoners in the Caſtle of *Carliſle*, being twenty-ſix Gentlemen, the chief of the diſaffected people in *Scotland*; moſt, if not all, taken in actual Rebellion, and under ſentence of death, were likewiſe releaſed.

In *Scotland*, all the priſoners remaining in the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*, as the Lord *Rollo*, the Earl of *Strathallan*, and ſeveral others of rank were all diſcharged.

Commiſſioners, for inquiring into the forfeited eſtates, had been appointed ſome time by the Parliament. They had managed their inquiry with great application, but had met with great difficulties and obſtructions from the creditors of the attainted perſons, who, by the ordinary courſe of juſtice, were in poſſeſſion of the eſtates. The Lords of Seſſion had alſo, at the petition of ſome perſons, pretending to be creditors, ſequeſtered all the moſt conſiderable forfeited eſtates, and appointed factors with power to diſtrain tenants for non-payment of rents, on behalf of thoſe creditors. Theſe factors, or receivers, repreſenting, that they acted by the authority of the Court of Seſſion, abſolutely refuſed, though ordered by the Commiſſioners, either to pay the rents into the *Exchequer*, or to give ſecurity for ſo doing. In vain did the Commiſſioners appoint Receivers, as they could not give them a power to diſtrain. Nor would the Court of Seſſion, upon the petition of the Commiſſioners, recal the ſequeſtrations (1). The Barons of the *Exchequer* were next applied to, but they likewiſe refuſed to comply with the Commiſſioners; upon which they ordered all the monies, ariſen from the ſale of the perſonal eſtates, into the Receiver-General of *Scotland*. 1717.

Value of forfeited eſtates in Scotland.

The yearly value of the real eſtates, of which the Commiſſioners had perfected the ſurvey, amounted to 29694 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. ſterling, per annum*, as appeared by their report, which was publiſhed in *July*, by order of the Houſe of Lords (2).

The Commiſſioners in *England* did not meet with ſo much difficulty, by whoſe report (which was alſo printed) the annual rents of the forfeited eſtates in *England* and *Ireland* amounted in the whole to 47626 *l.* 18 *s.* 5 *d.* ½. The improved rents of eſtates on lives, after the lives were expired, they computed at 4798 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* (3)

As

King *James* I, and were reduced. But, on King *James*'s death, they took up arms again, not ſo much on any State account, as to plunder the *Low-Lands*, and injure the Country; whereupon a remarkable act paſſed againſt them. By this act they were all at the age of ſixteen to appear before the Privy-Council, and give ſurety for their good behaviour; and, in order to their exterpation, no Miniſter, within the bounds of the *Highlands*, were to baptize any male-child, with the name of *Gregor*, or *Macgregor*. The famous *Rob. Roy*, head of this Clan, being in the Rebellion, occaſioned perhaps the exception, by which the whole family of the *Macgregors* were excluded the benefit of the Act of Grace.

(1) Theſe ſequeſtrations were founded upon the words of *the act for encouraging ſuperiors*, &c. 'That no conviction or attainder ſhall exclude the right of any creditor remaining peaceable, for ſecurity of any juſt debts contracted before the commiſſion of any of the aforeſaid crimes.' As theſe words ſeemed only to import, that the creditors ſhould be paid their juſt debts, the Commiſſioners ſubmitted the matter to the Lords, Whether the payment of theſe debts was not better provided for by paying the rents into the *Exchequer*, for the benefit of the public and creditors, according to the expreſs directions of the Act of Parliament, than by ſuffering the growing rents to remain at the diſpoſal of the Receivers, who being the Truſtees friends, and agents of the forfeiting perſons, were like to injure both the public, and the creditors.

(2) The abſtracts of the rentals of the forfeited eſtates in *Scotland* were as follow, the ſhillings and pence being omitted:

	per Ann.		*per Ann.*
Wintoun	3393 *l.*	*Wood-End*	83 *l.*
Southeſque	3271	*Fairney*	153
Linlithgow	1296	Maſter of *Nairne*	60
Keir	907	*Dunboog*	170
Panmure	3456	Earl *Mariſchal*	1676
Weddeburne	213	*Kilconquhar*	287
Ayton	323	Lord *Nairne*	740
Kilſythe	864	*Fingask*	537
Bannockbourn	411	*Cromlix*	415
Eaſt Reſton	137	*Nithiſdale*	809
Marr	1678	*Inneray*	281
Invernitie	361	*Kenmure*	608
Auchintoul	347	*Drummond*	2566
Pow-Houſe	377	*Burleigh*	697
Natthill	72	*Scotſtown*	110
Bowhill	27	*Duntroon*	54
Lathrisk	208	*Lagg*	424
Gleubervy	75	*Cornwarth*	863
Preſton-Hall	230	*Baldoon*	1495

(3) The rental was as follows, ſhillings and pence omitted:

	per Ann.
Francis Anderton, Eſq; ———	1425 *l.*
Hugh Anderton, Eſq; ———	131
John Aſhlow ——— ———	60
Richard Butler ———	382

Henry

1717. As the King reſolved not to go into *Germany* this year, the Houſhold removed to *Hampton-Court*, where he reſided for the ſummer.

At the cloſe of the Seſſion, the following alterations and promotions were made: Mr. *Stanhope*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, was created Baron of *Elvaſton*, and Viſcount of *Mahon*; the Earl of *Suffolk*, Mr. *Chetwynd*, Sir *Charles Cook*, Mr. *Docminique*, Mr. *Moleſworth*, Mr. *Pelham*, Mr. *Daniel Pulteney*, and Mr. *Bladen*, were appointed Commiſſioners of trade; Lord *Cadogan* was made General of all the forces in *England*; and Mr. *Boſcawen* Vice-Treaſurer of *Ireland*, of which Kingdom the following perſons were made Peers: *Trevor Hill*, Viſcount *Hillſborough*; Sir *Thomas Southwel*, Viſcount *Southwel*; *Walter Chetwynd*, Viſcount *Fitzharding*; *Alan Broderick*, Viſcount *Middleton*; Lord *Hamilton* of *Strack Allan*, Viſcount *Boyn*; *John Allen*, Viſcount of *Kildare*. *Coniers d'Arcy*, brother to the Earl of *Holderneſs*, was removed from his employment of Gentleman of the Horſe, and one of the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Maſter of the Horſe. The Earl of *Leiceſter* was appointed Conſtable of *Dover-Caſtle*, and Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, in the room of the Earl of *Dorſet*; and the Duke of *Portland* was made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber.

Prince Eugene *defeats the* Turks *before* Belgrade, Aug. 5. Hiſt. Reg.

Whilſt the King was at *Hampton-Court*, Count *Volkra*, the Imperial Miniſter, brought him the news of Prince *Eugene*'s victory over the *Turks* at *Belgrade*. Prince *Eugene*, having aſſembled the Imperial army, before the *Turks* could draw their forces together, reſolved to beſiege *Belgrade*: To this end he marched his army over the *Theyſſe*, upon a bridge of boats laid for that purpoſe, and poſted himſelf on the other ſide of the *Danube*, in ſight of that fortreſs: This unexpected paſſage ſtruck the Infidels into ſuch a conſternation, that their troops ran away in the utmoſt confuſion, while the reſt of the Imperial army paſſed the *Danube* likewiſe over a bridge, that was laid with all poſſible diligence. The place was immediately inveſted, and lines of circumvallation and contravallation were made from the *Save* to the *Danube*, by which means the Imperial camp became ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed as if one fortreſs had laid ſiege to another. This precaution had its effect; for, when the main army of the *Turks* was advanced to relieve *Belgrade*, they found the Beſiegers ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that they were under a neceſſity of opening trenches to approach their lines: But Prince *Eugene* had taken his meaſures ſo well before-hand, that, when the *Ottoman* army appeared, though, they were much more numerous and formidable than could be believed, he was in a condition to expect them in his intrenchments, without diſcontinuing his attacks. It was undoubtedly a very extraordinary ſight, to ſee two ſieges at once, and even the Beſiegers themſelves beſieged; the place being ſhut up on all ſides by the Imperial army; and the Imperial army ſhut up on one ſide between too great rivers, and on the other between a town, defended by a ſtrong garriſon, and the enemy's camp ſtrongly intrenched: Thus there was a neceſſity either to conquer or periſh, and the leaſt falſe ſtep would have decided it. But, when things ſeemed reduced to this dangerous criſis, Prince *Eugene*, inſtead of waiting to be attacked in his intrenchments, marched out of them, and attacked the *Turks* in theirs, with ſo great bravery and conduct, that he gained a moſt compleat victory, over their almoſt innumerable forces, which was followed the next day by the ſurrender of *Belgrade*, the key of the *Ottoman* Empire.

Mean while, the great preparations, the *Spaniards* were making by ſea and land, drew the attention of all *Europe*. When the Emperor ſent his army into *Hungary* againſt the *Turks*, who had invaded the Dominions of the *Venetians* his Allies, the Pope, to whom wars of that kind are always agreeable, obtained repeated aſſurances from the King of *Spain*, both by letters, and by declarations from his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, 'That he would not undertake anything againſt the intereſts of the Emperor, whilſt his arms ſhould be employed in ſo religious a cauſe; and would even aid the *Venetians* with a ſquadron of men of war and gallies.' For which purpoſe he obtained from the Court of *Rome* an *Indulto*, for raiſing a ſubſidy of two millions and a half on the Eccleſiaſtical revenues in the *Indies*; and another for five hundred thouſand ducats on the eſtates of the Clergy in *Spain*. Accordingly, the King of *Spain* ſent out the laſt year a ſmall ſquadron of ſix men of war and five gallies,

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Henry St. John late Lord *Bolingbroke*	2552
Richard Billsborough	19
Thomas Briers	91
Robert Cowper	20
Richard Charley, Eſq;	138
George Clifton	5
George Collingwood, Eſq;	924
Edward Gore	19
Robert Daniel	18
John Dalton, Eſq;	661
Earl of *Derwentwater*	6371
Roger Dicconſon, Eſq;	641
Thomas Foſter, Eſq;	530
In Reverſion — 600,	1100
George Gibſon	227
John Gregory	26
John Hall	70
Gabriel Hesketh	102
Albert Hodgſon	327
Philip Hodgſon	238
Jordan Longdale	79
John Leybourne	275
Duke of *Ormond*, *Eng.* and *Irel.* incumbered	21165
Henry Oxborough	507
John Parkinſon	5
William Paul	42
John Pleſſington	39
Robert Scarsbrook, Eſq;	388
William Shaftoe, Eſq;	714
Richard Sherburne	32
Richard Shuttleworth	3
Ralph Shuttleworth	78
Ralph Standiſh, Eſq;	671
James Singleton	40
Thomas Standley, Eſq;	246
Lord *Seaforth*	517
Edward Swinburne, Eſq;	305
John Sturzeker	10
John Thornton, Eſq;	1585
Chriſtopher Trap	58
Joſeph Wadſworth	12
Thomas Walton	97
Thomas Walmſley	51
Lord *Widdrington*	5154
Edward Winchley, Eſq;	226
Richard Withington	14

(1) The

1717. gallies, which arrived too late in the *Levant*, to be of any ſervice to the *Venetians*, who had before ſuſtained a naval fight with the *Turks*, and had almoſt finiſhed the operations of the campaign. But this year the preparations in *Spain* were ſo extraordinary, as gave a jealouſy, that, inſtead of ſending aſſiſtance to the *Venetians*, the *Spaniards* had a deſign to make ſome conqueſt themſelves on the Emperor's Dominions in the *Mediterranean*. The event juſtified the ſuſpicion. A ſtrong ſquadron of men of war, with about nine thouſand land-forces, commanded by the Marquiſs *de Lede*, ſailed from *Barcelona* the 20th of *July*, and, landing at *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*, made a ſpeedy and entire conqueſt of that Iſland which belonged to the Emperor, and was in no good condition of defence.

Spain attacks the Emperor.

During this expedition, the Marquiſs of *Grimaldo*, Secretary of State at *Madrid*, ſent a letter to the *Spaniſh* Miniſters in foreign Courts, to be publiſhed as a manifeſto or declaration of the reaſons of thoſe proceedings, the ſubſtance of which was: 'That all *Europe*, as well as himſelf, might well be ſurpriſed to find the military preparations of his Maſter, which were deſigned to ſecond the efforts of the Chriſtian army according to promiſes made to the Pope thereupon, on a ſudden turned againſt that very power, in the attack of *Sardinia*; but that, as he had opportunity of learning the reaſons of ſuch a conduct from his Majeſty's own mouth, he thought fit to communicate the ſame, to be, That though his Majeſty had bore with great magnanimity the ſacrifice of many of his territories to the public tranquillity by the late peace; upon the preſumption that ſuch a condeſcenſion would ſecure the repoſe of a Nation, whoſe good fortune was not anſwerable to its virtue; yet as the Arch-Duke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and ſupported the deſertion of his ſubjects in *Catalonia*, by frequent ſuccours from *Naples*, and other places, and ſeemed, by all his meaſures, reſolved on all opportunities of giving him diſquiet in his Dominions; his Majeſty had looked upon the war with the *Turks* to have opened to him a gate of revenge, in recovering thoſe territories which had been uſurped from him by the Arch-Duke. That all overtures of pacification on his Majeſty's ſide, had rather inflamed the Arch-Duke's conduct in his prejudice; and that becauſe declarations had been publiſhed in many parts of *Europe*, injurious to his Majeſty's honour and dignity, and particularly becauſe the great Inquiſitor of *Spain* had been ſeized, though furniſhed with his Holineſs's paſſport, and in deſpite to that authority, neceſſary to ſupport the due regards of his ſubjects; his Majeſty was reſolved to employ thoſe forces in a lawful revenge, which were at firſt deſigned againſt the enemies of the Arch-Duke (1).' Theſe reaſons did not appear ſatisfactory: For whatever, unfairneſs had been practiſed by the Emperor, it was long before the King of *Spain*'s promiſe, not to moleſt the Emperor whilſt he was at war with the *Turks*. And the detention of a ſingle ſubject was too weak a ground for a proceeding of ſuch violence. However, the King of *Spain* promiſed (by the Marquiſs *Beretti Landi*, his Ambaſſador at the *Hague*) to proceed no further againſt the Emperor, and to ſuſpend all operations, in order to give time and opportunity to the powers of *Europe* to think of expedients for reconciling their differences, and ſecuring the tranquillity and balance of power in *Italy*. The Marquiſs alſo complimented the King of *Great-Britain* and the *States*, with the arbitration of that important affair. 1717.

England and France concert meaſures to reconcile Spain and the Emperor.

King *George* and the Regent of *France* were not only guarantees of the neutrality of *Italy*, but the King was moreover engaged in a defenſive Alliance with the Emperor. Purſuant therefore to the King of *Spain*'s promiſe, they concerted meaſures in conjunction with the Imperial Miniſter, for an accommodation between the Emperor and King *Philip*, on ſuch terms as ſhould be equally advantageous and honourable to both, ſupply the defects of the treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, and eſtabliſh, on a more ſolid baſis, the tranquillity of *Europe*; with a reſolution of compelling by force that party, which ſhould refuſe to accede to thoſe ſtipulations, and obſtruct the general good. The Abbot *du Bois* came to *London*, the Lord *Stanhope* was ſent to *Madrid*, and the Lord *Cadogan* to the *Hague*. Theſe Negotiations gave birth to the famous treaty, called the Quadruple Alliance, which was concluded the next year. It was agreed, that the Emperor ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the Crown of *Spain* (a point King *Philip* had much at heart) and part with *Sardinia* to the Duke of *Savoy*, in lieu of which the Duke was to ſurrender *Sicily* to the Emperor. The Succeſſion to the Duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, which the Queen of *Spain* (of the Houſe of *Farneſe*) claimed by inheritance, in default of male-iſſue, was to be ſettled on her eldeſt ſon: The King of *Spain*, not being ſatisfied with this partition, continued to make very formidable preparations by ſea and land, without any regard to the admonitions of *England* and *France*. Upon which King *George* ordered a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips of war to be fitted out, as will preſently be ſeen.

The Earl of Peterborough ſeized at Bologna.

Before the Parliament met, the following incident happened. The Earl of *Peterborough*, whether with deſign only to travel, as was given out, or charged with ſome ſecret Negotiation, was gone into *Italy*. Before his departure, he had conferred with the Duke of *Marlborough*, and at *Paris* had talked with the Duke of *Orleans*: He was ſaid to carry with him larger remittances than was uſual for travellers, even of his rank. The Pretender was then at *Urbino*, where he had notice ſent him from *St. Germains* to be upon his guard, there being a deſign to deſtroy him. He gave information of it to *Rome*, and Pope *Clement* XI. ſent orders to all places

(1) The King of *Spain* had not yet acknowledged him for Emperor.

At the ſame time, the Cardinal *Paulucci*, Secretary of State to the Pope, wrote a circular letter to clear his Holineſs from the imputation of any colluſion in that affair, by greatly enlarging upon the reſentment with which he treated ſo perfidious a breach of promiſe in his Catholic Majeſty, *not to fall upon any of the Dominions of the Emperor during his war with the* Turks, and for the performance of which his Holineſs had engaged in the moſt ſolemn manner.

1717. places round *Urbino* to examine all foreigners, eſpecially *Engliſh*, and ſeize ſuch as ſhould be ſuſpected.

The Earl of *Peterborough* came at that very time to *Bologna* with a few armed followers. He was immediately ſeized with his papers, and confined to *Fort Urbino*, and his people ſent to priſon. His papers were examined, but, nothing being found againſt him, he was himſelf interrogated. He ſaid, he was come to paſs ſome time in *Italy* for the benefit of the air, and that his people were armed for his defence. He was cloſe confined for a month, and no perſon ſuffered to ſpeak with him. He was at length ſet at liberty with all poſſible civilities, and afterwards had an authentic reparation for the inſult, the Cardinal Miniſter having declared, that he had been ſeized unadviſedly, and without ſufficient cauſe. The news of the Earl of *Peterborough*'s confinement was highly reſented by the people in *England*, but the King was content with demanding and receiving reparation for the affront. The Pope agreed to write with his own hand a letter to an Ally of *Great-Britain*, by which he would declare, that the Legate of *Bologna* had violently and unjuſtly, without the knowledge of his Holineſs, cauſed the Earl of *Peterborough* to be ſeized upon ſuſpicions, which proved to be ill-grounded; that then the Cardinal *Paulucci*, Secretary of State, and the Cardinal Legate of *Bologna*, ſhould ſend each a declaration to the *Engliſh* Admiral in the *Mediterranean*; the firſt to ſhew the Pope's diſavowal, and the other to aſſure him, that, out of complaiſance to his friends, and upon unjuſt ſuſpicions, he had ordered a Peer of *Great-Britain* to be apprehended on his travels, for which he had begged the Pope's pardon, and deſired his *Britannic* Majeſty's. This letter and theſe declations were accordingly ſent, and are preſerved, to ſhew the Earl of *Peterborough*'s innocence, and the falſity of the ſuſpicions.

A difference between the King and the Prince.

On the 3d of *November*, the Princeſs of *Wales* was delivered of a Prince, at *St. James*'s, and the King two days after paid her a viſit, and returned to *Hampton-Court*. The young Prince was baptized the 28th of the ſame month, and died not long after. This Baptiſm occaſioned an unhappy difference between the King and the Prince. It ſeems, the Prince had deſigned the Duke of *York*, Biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, the King's Brother, to be one of the Godfathers, and had reaſon to believe the King was ſatisfied with his choice. But, when the ceremony came to be performed, the Duke of *Newcaſtle* ſtood Godfather with the King, not as proxy for, or repreſenting the Duke of *York*, but for himſelf, and in his own name and perſon. This the Prince took ill of the Duke, not as he acted in obedience to his Majeſty's command, but as if the Duke had done, or at leaſt ſeemed officious to do, ſomething which he was not commanded. This proceeding ſenſibly touched the Prince, and raiſed his indignation to that degree, that he could not help ſhewing it; but, as ſoon as the ceremony was over, ſpoke ſome warm words to the Duke, expreſſing his reſentment at what he had done. Upon report of theſe words to the King, his Majeſty thought fit to give a ſudden mark of his diſpleaſure, by ſending his commands to the Prince to keep his own apartment till his pleaſure was farther known; to which he immediately ſubmitted: Soon after this his Majeſty's farther pleaſure was ſignified to the Prince, that he ſhould leave *St. James*'s; accordingly he quitted the Palace, the Princeſs going along with him, and retired to the houſe of the Earl of *Grantham*, in *Albemarle-Street*; but the children, by the King's order, remained at *St. James*'s. Soon after this, his Majeſty's pleaſure was ſignified to all the Peers and Peereſſes of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and to all Privy-Counſellors and their Wives, that all perſons, who ſhould go to ſee the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales*, ſhould forbear coming into his Majeſty's preſence. Beſides, ſuch, as had employments under the King and Prince both, were obliged to quit the ſervice of one of them.

Soon after this difference, there was printed in the *Amſterdam Gazette* a letter in *French*, ſaid to be written by one of the Secretaries of State to the foreign Miniſters, dated at *Whitehall*, *Decemb.* 14, 1717, giving an account of the whole affair, of which the Author of *the Critic* (a weekly paper) publiſhed a tranſlation (1).

The Parliament met the 21ſt of *November*, and the King came to the Houſe of Peers with the uſual ſolemnities. His ſpeech had been prepared with great care, by reaſon of the importance

(1) The letter was as follows:

SIR,

'His Majeſty having been informed that ſeveral reports, for the moſt part ill grounded, are ſpread abroad concerning what has lately paſſed in the Royal Family, he has ordered me to ſend you the incloſed account of it.

As ſoon as the young Prince was born, the King cauſed himſelf to be informed of what was wont to be obſerved in the like caſes in this Kingdom, in regard to the ceremony of Baptiſm; and having found by the records, that, when it was a Boy, and the King was Godfather, it was the cuſtom for him to nominate, for ſecond Godfather, one of the principal Lords of his Court, who for the moſt part was the Lord Chamberlain; he named for this function the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, who now bears that charge; naming at the ſame time for Godmother the Ducheſs of *St. Albans*, firſt Lady of Honour to the Princeſs. Nevertheleſs, his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales* conceived ſuch a diſlike at this, that on *Thurſday* laſt, after the ſolemnity of the Baptiſm was over, finding himſelf no longer maſter of his temper, he drew near to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and gave him very reproachful words, upon ſuppoſition that he had ſollicited that honour in ſpite of him: The King was ſtill in the chamber, but not near enough to hear what the Prince ſaid to the Duke. This laſt thinking himſelf obliged to inform the King of it, and the Prince having confeſſed the matter to the Dukes of *Kingſton*, *Kent*, and *Roxburgh* (whom his Majeſty ſent to him the next day upon this occaſion) his Majeſty ordered him by a ſecond meſſage, not to go out of his own apartment till farther order: On *Saturday* the Prince wrote a letter to the King, and the next day (*Sunday*) another: But, his Majeſty not finding them ſatisfactory, and having beſides other reaſons of diſcontent at ſeveral ſteps the Prince had taken, he cauſed him to be told yeſterday in the afternoon, by his Vice-Chamberlain Mr. *Cooke*, that he ſhould be gone from the Palace of *St. James*'s; and to the Princeſs, that ſhe might continue in the Palace as long as ſhe thought convenient; but that, as for the Princeſſes her daughters, and the young Prince, the King

1717. tance of the matters he had to ſpeak of, and was attended with the expected ſucceſs. The ſpeech was as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I AM very glad I have been able to bring the ſitting of Parliament into a more proper and uſual ſeaſon of the year. I hope, ſuch an early meeting will not only be a benefit to the public, but a convenience to your private affairs.

"As I have always had at heart the ſecurity and eaſe of my people, ſo I never kept up any troops, but for their protection, and have taken every opportunity to diſband as many as I thought conſiſtent with their ſafety. I have reduced the army to very near one half, ſince the beginning of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and leſſened them to ſuch a number, as will neither be a burden to my good ſubjects, nor an encouragement to our enemies to inſult them.

"You cannot but be ſenſible of the many attempts, which have been ſet on foot to diſturb the peace of *Europe*, and of theſe Kingdoms. They only pretend not to ſee, who are not afraid of them. But, as no application has been wanting, on my part, to preſerve the public tranquillity, I have the pleaſure to find my good offices have not been altogether unſucceſsful, and have reaſon to hope they will, in the end, have their full and deſired effect.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I queſtion not, but you are very well pleaſed to find, that your endeavours for leſſening the national debts have, at the ſame time, raiſed the public credit; and that whatever was propoſed, for that end, is actually and compleatly effected. This ſucceſs muſt chiefly be attributed to that juſt and prudent regard you have ſhewn to Parliamentary engagements.

"It was with a view of procuring and ſettling a laſting tranquillity, that I demanded the extraordinary Supply, which you granted me laſt Seſſion. The credit, which this confidence repoſed in me hath given us abroad, has already been ſo far effectual, that I can acquaint you, we have a much better proſpect than we had. I have ordered an account to be laid before you of the very ſmall part of that Supply, which, as yet, has been expended. Any further iſſues, that may be made of it, ſhall be laid before you. And you may be aſſured, that every part of it ſhall either be employed for your ſervice, or ſaved to the public.

"I have ordered to be laid before you a ſtate of the deficiencies of the preſent year, and the ſeveral eſtimates for the ſervice of the next, which you will find conſiderably diminiſhed. I rely upon your making the neceſſary proviſion for them; not doubting of the continuance of that zeal for the good of your Country, which hath been ſo eminently conſpicuous in every Seſſion of this Parliament. 1717.

"I cannot, in juſtice, avoid putting you in mind, that ſeveral arrears of pay and ſubſidy, incurred before my Acceſſion to the Crown, are claimed by foreign Princes and States. I ſhall order them to be laid before you, to the end you may put them in a method of being examined and ſtated; which will very much tend to the honour and credit of the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I could heartily wiſh, that at a time, when the common enemies of our Religion are, by all manner of artifices, endeavouring to undermine and weaken it, both at home and abroad, all thoſe, who are friends to our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, might unanimouſly concur in ſome proper method for the greater ſtrengthening the Proteſtant Intereſt; of which, as the Church of *England* is unqueſtionably the main ſupport and bulwark, ſo will ſhe reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing by the union and mutual charity of all Proteſtants.

"As none can recommend themſelves more effectually to my favour and countenance, than by a ſincere zeal for the juſt rights of the Crown, and the liberties of the People; ſo I am determined to encourage all thoſe, who act agreeably to the conſtitution of theſe my Kingdoms, and conſequently to the principles, on which my Government is founded.

"The eyes of all *Europe* are upon you at this critical juncture. It is your intereſt; for which reaſon, I think it is mine, that my endeavours for procuring the peace and quiet of Chriſtendom ſhould take effect. Nothing can ſo much contribute to this deſirable end, as the unanimity, diſpatch, and vigour of your reſolutions for the ſupport of my Government."

This ſpeech, as it appears, was worded with great caution, particularly with regard to the army, and the Proteſtant Diſſenters. The King, by ſaying he had ſo leſſened the troops, that they would neither burthen his ſubjects nor encourage his enemies, prevented any intended addreſſes for a farther reduction. His wiſhing, that all the friends of the Eſtabliſhment would concur in ſome method for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt, tended to the repeal of the ſevere laws made in the laſt reign againſt the Diſſenters, which had been prevented by the commotions in the Kingdom, and which he thought might be accompliſhed this Seſſion. He had, ever ſince his Acceſſion, declared for Toleration, and ſeems here to promiſe his favour and countenance to ſuch as ſhould be of his mind.

The

King would have them remain with him in the Palace, and that the Princeſs ſhould be permitted to ſee them as often as ſhe deſired it. However, the Princeſs, being unwilling to leave the Prince her Huſband, went with him to the houſe of the Earl of *Grantham* her Lord-Chamberlain, where their Royal Highneſſes lay laſt night.'

1717. *The Lords addreſs.*

The Lords without any debate voted an addreſs, in which they thanked the King for diſbanding ſo many troops, and for his unwearied application towards ſettling the peace of *Europe*, aſſuring him, that nothing ſhould be wanting on their parts towards ſupporting him with the utmoſt zeal and vigour, till his endeavours had the deſired effect. They concluded with ſaying, 'We have a grateful ſenſe of your Majeſty's concern for the Proteſtant Religion, and the Church of *England*, as by law eſtabliſhed; which, as it has always been the chief of the Proteſtant Churches, ſo it can never be ſo well ſupported, as by ſtrengthening and uniting (as far as may be) the Proteſtant intereſt.'

The Commons addreſs.

An addreſs of thanks was alſo voted by the Commons, but not without ſome debates. It was moved by the High-Church party, that the King's general expreſſion, *to concur in ſome proper method for the greater ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt*, ſhould be thus ſoftened, *to concur in the moſt effectual methods for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt of theſe Kingdoms, as far as the laws now in force will permit.* But this motion was rejected, and the addreſs paſſed as it had been drawn up; wherein, after having thanked the King for bringing the ſitting of Parliament into a more proper ſeaſon of the year, and aſſured him of their endeavours to anſwer his gracious intentions, by improving their early meeting (as much as they were able) to the public benefit, they expreſſed their lively ſenſe of his concern for the welfare of the people by the reductions he had made from time to time of the land-forces. 'It is (ſay they) our peculiar happineſs to ſee ourſelves governed by a Sovereign, who is not influenced by any notions of greatneſs that are inconſiſtent with the proſperity of his ſubjects, and who propoſes to himſelf the eaſe of his people, as the chief glory of his Reign.

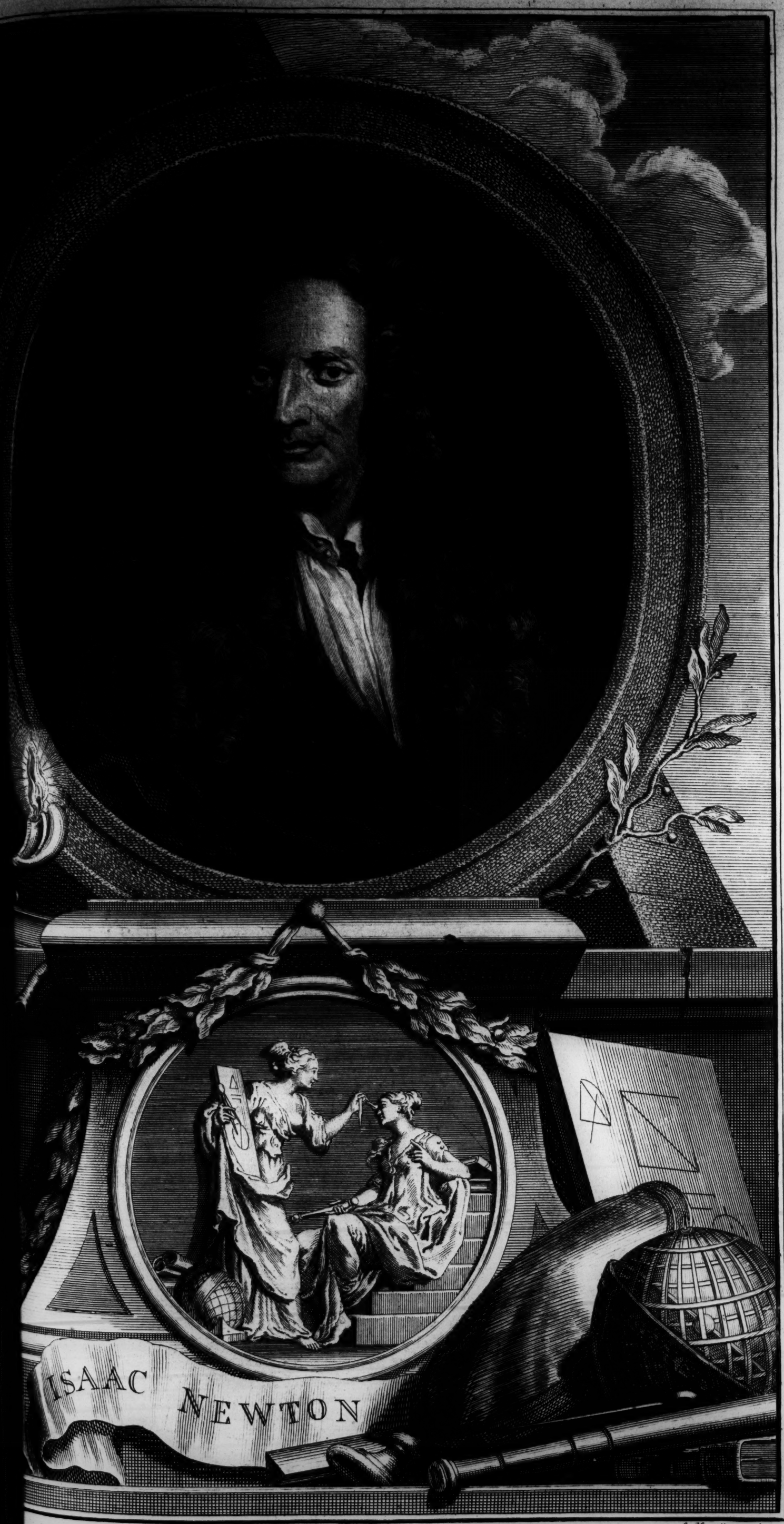
We acknowledge, with hearts full of duty and gratitude, your Majeſty's unwearied endeavours to prevent the many attempts which have been ſet on foot to diſturb the peace of *Europe*, and the quiet of theſe Kingdoms; and have the more reaſon to apprehend the ill conſequences of ſuch attempts, ſince there are thoſe, who, as they would be thought to ſee no danger in them, give us reaſon to believe, that they would not be troubled at their ſucceſs.'

Proceedings of the Commons.

This approbation of the King's ſentiments was followed with aſſurances of moſt effectually ſupporting him in ſuch meaſures as he ſhould judge neceſſary, and of chearfully granting ſuch Supplies as the public ſervice ſhould require. Concluding, 'It is a pleaſure to us, that the eyes of all *Europe* are turned upon us at this critical juncture, ſince we have thereby an opportunity of ſhewing the world the juſt confidence we repoſe in your Majeſty, and our unſhaken reſolutions to ſupport your Government, in ſuch a manner as ſhall enable your Majeſty to ſettle the peace of *Chriſtendom*.'

The Commons began with fulfilling their promiſe concerning the Supplies. Eſtimates and accounts were called for, to ſee what was wanted to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the army, navy, and ordnance as uſual. Ten thouſand men, at 4 *l.* a month each, were voted for the ſea-ſervice; and 224,857 *l.* 14 *s.* 11 *d.* was granted for the ordinary of the navy.

When the motion for a Supply for the [illegible] was made, it was oppoſed by Mr. [illegible], *William Wyndham*, and others. Mr. [illegible] made a ſpeech that laſted above an hour, wherein, beſides the common topic of the danger of a ſtanding army in a free Nation, he inſiſted on four principal points: '1. That whereas they were given to underſtand, that the army was reduced to fifteen thouſand and odd men, it ſtill conſiſted of about eighteen thouſand, which was one third part more than the number of land forces in *Great-Britain* amounted to formerly in time of peace. 2. That there was no due proportion obſerved, either between the number of the horſe, dragoons, and foot, or between the number of the officers and ſoldiers, that were kept ſtanding; inſomuch that, of about 11000 *l.* which the pay of a reduced regiment of foot amounts to, near 7000 *l.* goes towards the pay of the Officers, and 4000 *l.* only to the private ſoldiers. 3. That the keeping up ſo great a number of Officers was, in effect, the maintaining of an army almoſt double of what was intended, ſince the ſoldiers, that were wanting to compleat the Companies and Regiments, might be raiſed with a drum, in twice four and twenty hours. 4. That the pay of General Officers, which amounted to above 20000 *l.* was an expence altogether needleſs, and unprecedented, in time of peace.' Mr. *Craggs*, Secretary of War, anſwered Mr. *Walpole*, and obſerved, in general, 'That, in all wiſe Governments, the ſecurity of the State is the rule chiefly to be regarded; and that his Majeſty, both in the augmentation, and the reduction of his forces, had not only conſulted the ſafety, but likewiſe the eaſe of his people. That, though, as was ſuggeſted, the Nation paid, at preſent, near eighteen thouſand men, yet there were only ſixteen thouſand three hundred forty-ſeven, who could give any jealouſy, unleſs ſome people ſhould think our liberties in danger from the Chaplains, Surgeons, Widows of Officers, and ſuch inoffenſive perſons, who were included in the firſt number. That therefore there were not much above four thouſand men more now in *Great-Britain*, than there were kept up after the peace of *Ryſwick*; which number muſt be thought very moderate by all, who wiſh well to the preſent happy Settlement, conſidering, that the embers of an unnatural Rebellion lately extinguiſhed, were ſtill warm, and the diſcontents induſtriouſly fomented by the enemies of the Government. That the Parliament had ever contented themſelves with fixing the number of forces, that were thought neceſſary to be maintained; but had left to the Crown the manner of reducing and modelling that number. And therefore, if they ſhould now do otherwiſe, it would be but an indifferent return to that gracious and tender regard, which, on all occaſions, his Majeſty had ſhewn to the ſecurity and eaſe of his ſubjects. That, after all, it was no leſs a piece of juſtice than matter of prudence, to keep up as great a number of Officers as poſſible; for, beſides the occaſion, which this Nation may have for them for the future, it was but reaſonable to acknowledge the paſt eminent ſervices of Gentlemen, who, having been brought up to no other trade but war, had no other way to ſubſiſt and provide for themſelves and families. Mr. *Craggs* was ſupported by



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17. by ſeveral Members, particularly Sir *David Dalrymple*, who declared for keeping up ſixteen thouſand men at leaſt one year longer, urging, 'That the diſcontents ran ſtill as high in *Scotland*, as before the late Rebellion; of which he alledged ſeveral reaſons. But Mr. *Walpole* and others were, on the contrary, of opinion, that twelve thouſand men were ſufficient. The debate having laſted ſome hours, the queſtion was going to be put, Whether the number ſhould be ſixteen thouſand, or twelve thouſand, when Mr. *Shippen* made a ſpeech, in which, among many other vehement expreſſions, he ſaid, 'That the ſecond paragraph of the King's ſpeech ſeemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of *Germany* than *Great-Britain:* And that it was a great misfortune, that the King was a ſtranger to our language and conſtitution.' Theſe reflections gave great offence to ſeveral Members, and Mr. *Lechmere* urged, 'That the ſame was a ſcandalous invective againſt the King's Perſon and Government, of which the Houſe ought to ſhew the higheſt reſentment; and therefore moved, that the Member, who ſpoke thoſe offenſive words, ſhould be ſent to the *Tower*.' Upon which Mr. *Walpole* ſaid, 'That, if the words in queſtion were ſpoken by the Member, on whom they were charged, the *Tower* was too light a puniſhment for his raſhneſs: But, as what had been ſaid in the heat of this debate might have been miſunderſtood, he was for allowing him the liberty of explaining himſelf.' But, Mr. *Shippen* not thinking proper either to retract or excuſe what he had ſaid, he was voted to the *Tower* by a majority of one hundred and ſeventy-five againſt eighty-one. 1717.

The next day it was reſolved, that the guards and garriſons in *Great-Britain* ſhould be ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven effective men, and that the ſum of 681,618 *l.* ſhould be granted for their maintenance: That 130,361 *l.* 5 *s.* 5 *d.* ſhould be given for the half-pay of the reduced Officers. After this was ſettled as uſual the pay of the forces in *America*, and the garriſons of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*. When theſe reſolutions were reported, ſeveral of them were debated. The pay of the army was reduced to 650,000 *l.* by a majority of fourteen voices only, one hundred and ſeventy-two againſt one hundred and fifty-eight. The ſum for the half-pay Officers was reduced to 94,000 *l.* (1).

An attempt to lower the gold coins.

An attempt was made this Seſſion to lower the value of guineas. Mr. *Aiſlabie* having taken notice of the great ſcarcity of the ſilver coin, occaſioned chiefly by the exportation of ſilver, and importation of gold, propoſed, that a ſpeedy remedy might be put to the growing evil, by lowering the value of gold ſpecies. Upon this the King was addreſſed for the repreſentations made by the Officers of the *Mint*, to the Treaſury, in relation to the gold and ſilver coins. Accordingly Mr. *Lowndes* preſented to the Houſe ſeveral papers relating to the coins, and particularly Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s repreſentation to the Lords of the Treaſury (2). Then Mr. *Aiſlabie* renewed his motion, and was ſeconded by Mr. *Caſwel*, who made a long ſpeech on the various values, which, at different times, gold and

(1) At the ſame time the following regulations were agreed to:

'I. That no perſon ſhall be intitled to half-pay, who was a minor under the age of ſixteen years at the time when the regiment, troop, or company in which he ſerved was reduced. II. That no perſon ſhall be intitled to half-pay, except ſuch perſons who did actual ſervice in ſome regiment, troop, or company. III. That no perſon, having any other place or employment of profit, civil or military, under his Majeſty, ſhall be intitled to half-pay. IV. That no Chaplain of any garriſon or regiment, who has an eccleſiaſtical benefice, or other preferment in *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*, ſhall be intitled to half-pay. V. That no perſon ſhall be intitled to half-pay, who hath reſigned his Commiſſion, and has had no Commiſſion ſince. VI. That no half-pay ſhall be allowed to any perſon by virtue of any warrant and appointment, except to ſuch perſons who would have been otherwiſe intitled to the ſame as reduced Officers. VII. That half-pay ſhall not be allowed to any of the Officers of the five regiments of dragoons, and eight regiments of foot, lately disbanded in *Ireland*, except to ſuch as were taken off the eſtabliſhment of half-pay in *Great-Britain*.'

(2) This repreſentation, being reckoned a curious piece, is here inſerted at large:

In obedience to your Lordſhips order of reference of *Auguſt* 12, that I ſhould lay before your Lordſhips a ſtate of the gold and ſilver coins of this Kingdom in weight and fineneſs, and the value of gold in proportion to ſilver, with my obſervations and opinion, and what method may be beſt for preventing the melting down of the ſilver coin; I humbly repreſent, that a pound weight Troy of gold, 11 ounces fine, and 1 ounce allay, is cut into 44 half guineas; and a pound weight of ſilver, 11 ounces 2 penny weight fine, and 18 penny weights allay, is cut into 62 ſhillings; and, according to this rate, a pound weight of fine gold is worth 15 pounds weight, 6 ounces, 17 penny weight, and 5 grains of fine ſilver, reckoning a guinea at 1 *l.* 1 *s.* 6 *d.* in ſilver money. But ſilver in bullion exportable is uſually worth 2 *d.* or 3 *d. per* ounce more than in coin. And, if at a medium ſuch bullion of ſtandard allay be valued at 5 *s.* 4 *d.* half-penny *per* ounce, a pound weight of fine gold will be worth 14 pounds weight, 11 ounces, 12 penny weight, 9 grains of fine ſilver in bullion. And at this rate a guinea is worth but ſo much ſilver as would make 20 *s.* 8 *d.* When ſhips are lading for the *Eaſt-Indies*, the demand of ſilver for exportation raiſes the price to 5 *s.* 6 *d.* or 5 *s.* 8 *d. per* ounce, or above; but I conſider not thoſe extraordinary caſes.

A *Spaniſh* piſtole was coined for 32 reas, or 4 pieces of eight reas, uſually called *pieces of eight*, and is of equal allay, and the 16th part of the weight thereof. And a Doppio Moeda of *Portugal* was coined for ten cruſadoes of ſilver, and is of equal allay, and the 16th part of the weight thereof; gold is therefore in *Spain* and *Portugal* of ſixteen times more value than ſilver of equal weight and allay, according to the ſtandard of thoſe Kingdoms; at which rate, a guinea is worth 22 *s.* 1 *d.* But this high price keeps their gold at home in good plenty, and carries away the *Spaniſh* ſilver into all *Europe*; ſo that at home they make their payments in gold, and will not pay in ſilver, without a premium. Upon the coming in of a plate-fleet, the premium ceaſes, or is but ſmall; but, as their ſilver goes away and becomes ſcarce, the premium increaſes, and is moſt commonly about 6 *per cent.* which being abated, a guinea becomes worth about 20 *s.* 9 *d.* in *Spain* and *Portugal*.

In *France*, a pound weight of fine gold is reckoned worth 15 pounds weight of fine ſilver; in raiſing or falling their money, their King's edicts have ſometimes varied a little from this proportion, in exceſs or defect; but the variations have been ſo little, that I do not here conſider them. By the edict of *May* 1709, a new piſtole was coined for 4 new Lewiſes, and is of equal allay, and the 15th part of the weight thereof, except the errors of their Mints. And by the ſame edict fine gold is valued at fifteen times its weight of fine ſilver,

1717-18. and ſilver coins have borne, with reſpect one with another, according to the plenty or ſcarcity of either; he ſuggeſted, That the over-valuation of gold, in the current coins of *Great-Britain*, had occaſioned the exportation of great quantities of ſilver ſpecies; and, to that purpoſe, laid open a clandeſtine trade, which of late years had been carried on by the *Dutch*, *Hamburghers*, and other foreigners, in concert with the *Jews*, and other traders here, which conſiſted in exporting ſilver coins, and importing gold in lieu thereof, which being coined into guineas at the *Tower*, near fifteen pence was got by every guinea, which amounted to about 5 *per cent.* and, as theſe returns might be made five or ſix times in a year, conſiderable ſums were thereby got, to the prejudice of *Great-Britain*, who thereby was drained of ſilver, and over-ſtocked with gold: Concluding, That, in his opinion, the moſt effectual way to put a ſtop to this pernicious trade was to lower the price of guineas, and all other gold ſpecies.

This ſpeech was received with applauſe, and an addreſs was voted, and preſented to the King, for a Proclamation to forbid all perſons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one and twenty ſhillings for each guinea. Purſuant to this addreſs the Proclamation was iſſued the next day, after which the Commons adjourned till the 13th of *January*.

The lowering the value of gold, which was thought a proper expedient to procure a greater circulation of ſilver ſpecies, had, during the receſs, a contrary effect, either, as was ſuppoſed, through the covetouſneſs of ſome monied men, who hoarded up ſilver, in hopes that the ſame would be raiſed; or out of fear that gold would ſtill be lowered; or through the malice of the diſaffected, who, by the ſame method, thought, if not to diſtreſs the Government, at leaſt to raiſe murmurings againſt it among the common people, upon account of the ſtop which was thereby put to petty trade. In order therefore to remedy this great evil, as ſoon as the Commons met, they came to a reſolution, 'That this Houſe will not alter the ſtandard of the gold and ſilver coins of this Kingdom in fineneſs, weight, and denomination: The Lords came alſo to the ſame reſolution, and ordered a bill to be brought in to prevent the melting down of the ſilver coin.

Upon a meſſage delivered to the Lords by the Lord Chancellor, and to the Commons by Mr. Comptroller, both Houſes adjourned for a few days. It was generally believed this adjournment was occaſioned by ſome meaſures that were then taken, in order to reconcile the Royal Family, which not having the deſired effect, it was expected, the King would, on the day of meeting, have come to the Houſe of Peers, and acquainted the Parliament with ſome matters of importance; but the Court took another courſe,

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and at this rate a guinea is worth 20 *s.* 8 *d.* half-penny. I conſider not here the confuſion made in the monies in *France*, by frequent edicts to ſend them to the Mint, and give the King a tax out of them, I conſider the value only of gold and ſilver in proportion to one another.

The ducats of *Holland*, and *Hungary*, and the Empire, were lately current in *Holland* among the common people in their markets and ordinary affairs, at 5 guilders in ſpecie, and 5 ſtivers, and commonly changed for ſo much ſilver monies in three guilder pieces, and guilder pieces as guineas are with us for 21 *s.* 6 *d.* ſterling; at which rate a guinea is worth 20 *s.* 7 *d.* half-penny.

According to the rates of gold to ſilver in *Italy*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, a guinea is worth about 20 *s.* and 7 *d.* 6 *d.* 5 *d.* or 4 *d.* for the proportion varies a little within the ſeveral Governments in thoſe Countries. In *Sweden*, gold is loweſt in proportion to ſilver, and this hath made that Kingdom, which formerly was content with copper money, abound of late with ſilver, ſent thither (I ſuſpect) for naval ſtores.

In the end of King *William*'s Reign, and the firſt year of the late Queen, when foreign coins abounded in *England*, I cauſed a great many of them to be aſſayed in the Mint, and found by the aſſays, that fine gold was to fine ſilver in *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, *Holland*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the Northern Kingdoms, in the proportions abovementioned, errors of the Mints excepted.

In *China* and *Japan*, one pound weight of fine gold is worth but 9 or 10 pounds weight of fine ſilver; and, in *Eaſt-India*, it may be worth 12. And this low price of gold in proportion to ſilver carries away the ſilver from all *Europe*.

So then, by the courſe of trade and exchange between Nation and Nation in all *Europe*, fine gold is to fine ſilver as 14 $\frac{4}{5}$ or 15 to one; and a guinea, at the ſame rate, is worth between 20 *s.* 5 *d.* and 20 *s.* 8 *d.* half-penny, except in extraordinary caſes, as when a plate-fleet is juſt arrived in *Spain*, or ſhips are laden here for the *Eaſt-Indies*, which caſes I do not here conſider. And it appears by experience as well as by reaſon, that ſilver flows from thoſe places where its value is lowed in proportion to gold, as from *Spain* to all *Europe*, and from all *Europe* to the *Eaſt-Indies*, *China*, and *Japan*; and that gold is moſt plentiful in thoſe places, in which its value is higheſt in proportion to ſilver, as in *Spain* and *England*.

It is the demand for exportation which hath raiſed the price of exportable ſilver about 2 *d.* or 3 *d.* in the ounce above that of ſilver in coin, and hath thereby created a temptation to export or melt down the ſilver coin, rather than give 2 *d.* or 3 *d.* more for foreign ſilver; and the demand for exportation ariſes from the higher price of ſilver in other places than in *England*, in proportion to gold, that is, from the higher price of gold in *England* than in other places, in proportion to ſilver, and therefore may be diminiſhed by lowering the value of gold in proportion to ſilver. If gold in *England*, or ſilver in *Eaſt-India*, could be brought down ſo low as to bear the ſame proportion to one another in both places, there would be here no greater demand for ſilver than for gold to be exported to *India*: And, if gold were lowered only ſo as to have the ſame proportion to the ſilver money in *England*, which it hath to ſilver in the reſt of *Europe*, there would be no temptation to export ſilver rather than gold to any other part of *Europe*: And, to compaſs this laſt, there ſeems nothing more requiſite, than to take off about 10 *d.* or 12 *d.* from the guinea, ſo that the gold may bear the ſame proportion to the ſilver-money in *England*, which it ought to do by the courſe of trade and exchange in *Europe*; but, if only 6 *d.* were taken off at preſent, it would diminiſh the temptation to export or melt down the ſilver-coin, and by the effects would ſhew hereafter better than can appear at preſent, what further reduction would be moſt convenient for the public.

In the laſt year of King *William*, the dollars of *Scotland*, worth about 4 *s.* 6 *d.* half-penny, were put away in the North of *England* for 5 *s.* and at this price began to flow in upon us; I gave notice thereof to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and they ordered the Collectors of taxes to forbear taking them, and thereby put a ſtop to the miſchief.

At the ſame time, the Lewidors of *France*, which were worth but 17 *s.* and three farthings a-piece, paſſed

18. courſe, to the great diſappointment of ſome perſons (1).

About this time a deſign againſt the King's life was diſcovered. The Author of it ſeemed to be fitter for *Bedlam* than *Newgate*. His name was *James Shepheard*, a youth of eighteen years, apprentice to a coach-maker in *Devonſhire-ſtreet*. On the 24th of *January*, he came to the Houſe of Mr. *John Leake*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, and, not finding him at home, left a letter with the maid, who delivered it to Mr. *Leake*'s daughter. When Mr. *Leake* came home, the letter was given him, who, upon reading the ſuperſcription, found it directed for the Reverend Mr. *Heath*; upon which he doubted of its being for him; but being told by the maid, that it was left for him; and conſidering, that there was no ſuch perſon as Mr. *Heath*, a Clergyman, in that neighbourhood, he opened the letter, and, having read it to himſelf, told his maid and daughter, it was a wicked and villainous letter, and then read it to them, and afterwards threw it into the fire. But, upon conſidering the matter, and ſuſpecting that ſome perſon might have ſent it, with a deſign to get his houſe ſearched, and fix an odium upon him, he went to Sir *John Fryer*, Alderman, the next morning, and acquainted him with the matter. Sir *John* adviſed him to ſecure the Writer of the letter, if he ſhould call again at his houſe, as it ſeems he had promiſed to do. According to his promiſe he called again in three days, when Mr. *Leake* asked him whether his name was *James Shepheard*, and if he had left a letter for him on the *Friday* before? He anſwered in the affirmative; upon which he was ſeized and carried before Sir *John Fryer*; *Shepheard* owned to him the bringing of the letter; and being aſked, if he had a copy of it? he anſwered, he had no copy about him; but, if he had pen, ink, and paper, he could ſoon write one; which he did, and gave it to Sir *John*; who obſerving to him, that he had not put his name to it, he immediately ſubſcribed it, affirming, that he believed it to be a true copy of the letter he had left at Mr. *Leake*'s; and that if, at all, it differed only in ſome few words: The copy was as follows: 1717-18.

SIR,

'From the many diſcontents viſible throughout this Kingdom, I infer, that, if the Prince now reigning could be by death removed, our King being here, he might be ſettled on his Throne without much loſs of blood. For the more ready effecting of this, I propoſe, that, if any Gentleman will pay for my paſſage into *Italy*, and if our friends will intruſt one ſo young with letters of invitation to his Majeſty, I will, on his arrival, ſmite the Uſurper in his Palace. In this confuſion, if ſufficient forces may be raiſed, his Majeſty may appear; if not, he may retreat or conceal himſelf till a fitter opportunity.

Neither

ſed in *England* for 17 *s.* 6 *d.* I gave notice thereof to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and his late Majeſty put out a proclamation that they ſhould go but at 17 *s.* and thereupon they came to the Mint, and 1400000 *l.* were coined out of them; and if the advantage of 5 *d.* one farthing a Lewidor ſufficed, at that time, to bring into *England* ſo great a quantity of *French* money, and the advantage of three farthings in a Lewidor to bring it to the Mint, the advantage of 9 *d.* half-penny in a guinea, or above, may have been ſufficient to bring the great quantity of gold which hath been coined in theſe laſt fifteen years, without any foreign ſilver.

Some years ago, the *Portugal* Moeders were received in the Weſt of *England* at 28 *s.* a-piece; upon notice from the Mint that they were worth only about 27 *s.* 7 *d.* the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury ordered their Receivers of taxes to take them at no more than 27 *s.* 6 *d.* Afterwards, many Gentlemen in the Weſt ſent up to the Treaſury a petition, that the Receivers might take them again at 28 *s.* and promiſed to get returns for this money at that rate, alledging, that when they went at 28 *s.* their Country was full of gold, which they wanted very much: But the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury conſidering, that at 28 *s.* the Nation would loſe 5 *d.* a-piece, rejected the petition. And, if an advantage to the Merchant of 5 *d.* in 28 *s.* did pour that money in upon us, much more hath an advantage to the Merchant of 9 *d.* half-penny in a guinea, or above, been able to bring into the Mint great quantities of gold without any foreign ſilver, and may be able to do ſtill, till the cauſe be removed.

If things be let alone till ſilver money be a little ſcarcer, the gold will fall of itſelf; for people are already backward to give ſilver for gold, and will, in a little time, refuſe to make payments in ſilver, without a premium, as they do in *Spain*, and this premium will be an abatement in the value of the gold: And ſo the queſtion is, Whether gold ſhall be lowered by the Government, or let alone till it falls of itſelf, by the want of ſilver-money?

It may be ſaid, that there are great quantities of ſilver in plate, and, if the plate were coined, there would be no want of ſilver-money: But I reckon that ſilver is ſafer from exportation in the form of plate than in the form of money, becauſe of the greater value of the ſilver and faſhion together; and therefore I am not for coining the plate, till the temptation to export the ſilver-money (which is a profit of 2 *d.* or 3 *d.* an ounce) be diminiſhed: For, as often as men are neceſſitated to ſend away money for anſwering debts abroad, there will be a temptation to ſend away ſilver rather than gold, becauſe of the profit, which is almoſt 4 *per cent.* And, for the ſame reaſon, Foreigners will chuſe to ſend hither their gold rather than their ſilver.'

All which is moſt humbly ſubmitted to your Lordſhips great wiſdom.

Mint-Office,
Sept. 21, 1717. ISAAC NEWTON.

(1) The King conſulted the Judges about ſome matters in diſpute between Him and the Prince. He gave notice of it to the Prince, that he might ſend ſome perſons to ſet forth and ſupport his pretenſions. His Royal Highneſs ſent Sir *Robert Raymond*, Mr. *Carter*, Mr. *Darnel*, and Mr. *Reynolds*. The firſt point was, Whether the care of the education of the Royal Family belonged of right to the King? The Judges were moſt of them for the affirmative, alledging, beſides other arguments, the example of King *Charles* II, who educated his two Nieces in the Proteſtant Religion, and married them to Proteſtant Princes againſt the will of the Duke of *York*, his Brother. They cited alſo the example of King *William*, who appointed Governors and Preceptors for the Duke of *Glouceſter*, Son of the Princeſs *Anne*, preſumptive heir of *Great-Britain* by the new eſtabliſhment.

The other point was, Whether the King could retain for the maintenance of the Children ſome part of the hundred thouſand pounds granted by Parliament to the Prince of *Wales*? The Judges were divided upon this point, but, however, in ſuch a manner as ſeemed to favour the Prince. This conſultation proved fruitleſs. The Prince and Princeſs ſtood their ground, and, though they left to the King the education of their Children, they refuſed to contribute towards the expence. The King made his Grandſon, Prince *Frederick*, Duke of *Glouceſter*, and formed the young Princeſſes Houſhold.

(1) When

1717-18. Neither is it preſumptuous to hope, that this may ſucceed, if we conſider how eaſy it is to cut the thread of human life; how great confuſion the death of a Prince occaſions in the moſt peaceful Nation; and how mutinous the people are, how deſirous of a change. But we will ſuppoſe the worſt, that I am ſeized, and by torture examined. Now, that this may indanger none but myſelf, it will be neceſſary, that the Gentleman, who defrays my charges to *Italy*, leave *England* before my departure; that I be ignorant of his Majeſty's abode; that I lodge with ſome Whig; that you abſcond; and that this be communicated to none. But, be the event as it will, I can expect nothing leſs than a moſt cruel death; which that I may the better ſupport, it will be requiſite, that, from my arrival till the attempt, I every day receive the Holy Sacrament from one, who ſhall be ignorant of the deſign.'

James Shepheard.

Sir *John Fryer* committed him priſoner to the *Compter*, and afterwards went with him and Mr. *Leake*, his daughter and maid, to the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Office, where the copy of the letter was produced and read to him; which he owned with the greateſt unconcern imaginable. He owned likewiſe, that, while he was at ſchool at *Saliſbury*, he had imbibed the principles, which he then acted upon, by converſation with his ſchool-fellows, who, in the time of the Rebellion in the North, wiſhed, the Pretender might have ſucceſs, and was confirmed in his opinion by reading ſome pamphlets he ſaw lying on ſome Bookſellers ſtalls, particularly, *A Vindication of the Biſhop of* Exeter, and eſpecially from the improvement of the words of St. *Paul*, 'That perſons ought to be obedient to the powers that were ſet over them, although they were tyrannical.' That he had three years ago reſolved upon the deſign to aſſaſſinate the King, and did determine to put it in execution, when opportunity offered (1). He was brought to his trial on the 6th of *March*, for High-Treaſon; and the evidence againſt him was very ſtrong. Being called upon by the Court to make his defence, he acknowledged the truth of what had been depoſed againſt him; and owned, that he meant it, that he intended it, and did not think there was any harm in it, or any guilt in the fact, if committed. Upon this he was condemned, and executed at *Tyburn*, being attended by Mr. *Orme*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, who abſolved him at the gallows, and was ſuppoſed to have penned his ſpeech; which being an invective againſt the King, the Government did not think proper to allow it to be printed (2); and Mr. *Orme* was taken into the cuſtody of a Meſſenger. *Orme* was frequently 1717-
examined; but, as nothing appeared, upon which it was judged proper to bring him to a trial, he was at laſt ſet at liberty.

The ſame day that *Shepheard* was hanged, the Marquiſs *de Paleotti*, brother to the Ducheſs of *Shrewsbury*, was executed for killing his ſervant. The Marquiſs had been in the army many years, under various Commiſſions, and had then a regiment in the Emperor's ſervice. He was reported to be a Gentleman very unhappy in his natural temper, and apt to fly into ſudden indecencies of paſſion. It appeared, upon trial, that the Marquiſs committed this unhappy fact upon his ſervant late at night, as they were going along in the ſtreet together, but upon what provocation no one knew. The circumſtances were ſuch, as to leave no poſſibility of its being done by any other hand, though none ſaw otherwiſe than the buſtle, and running and purſuing, with outcries of danger made by the deceaſed. The Marquiſs made a very inſignificant defence, and pretended diſtraction, or a total ignorance of the whole matter; and it was ſaid, that, afterwards he would frequently call for him, as if he had been in attendance about him, and had fallen into no harm; but he was found guilty, and ſentence paſſed accordingly. Very earneſt inſtances were made for his pardon, and perſons of great diſtinction employed on his behalf, particularly his ſiſter the Ducheſs of *Shrewſbury*; but it was all to no purpoſe, his Majeſty reſolving that the law ſhould take place upon ſuch an Offender, notwithſtanding the eminence of his character. And upon apprehenſions only of a pardon, from the known influence of thoſe who ſollicited it; even the common people began ſtrangely to ferment, and diſaffected perſons were cunning enough to blow up the coals, and aggravate highly upon the impunity of ſuch a crime; inſomuch that the public quiet called for his execution. So much regard was, however, granted to his diſtinction, as to be carried out, on the day of execution, early in the morning, to avoid the uſual crouds of ſpectators; but, whether by that getting air, and the deſire of the people to ſee juſtice done upon him, or becauſe young *Shepheard*, the aſſaſſin, was to be executed at the ſame place that day, is not certain, yet the place was more thronged than commonly, and he had the mortification of having many thouſand ſpectators witneſſes to his unhappy and ſhameful end.

The King had always ſhewn a great regard for the *South Sea* Company, and was pleaſed to be a Proprietor in their ſtock. The Company, to expreſs their gratitude, deſired leave to chuſe him for their Governor in the following addreſs:

'The General Court of the *South-Sea* Company,

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(1) When the Recorder gave ſentence, he ſaid: 'It was reaſonable to think that you had received thoſe impreſſions, which incited you to this undertaking, from ſome of thoſe falſe and malicious libels, which have been induſtriouſly diſperſed to delude unwary readers, and to alienate the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects; and it appears to be ſo from your own confeſſion, that you had imbibed your principles from ſermons and pamphlets, which make you think King *George* an Uſurper, and the Pretender your lawful King.

It ſeems ſtrange, that you ſhould hint at a paſſage in St. *Paul* for your juſtification. If he exhorted the Chriſtians to ſubmit to the *Roman* Emperors, even though they ſhould be Tyrants, How comes it, that you, a private youth, ſhould not only judge of the title of Kings in oppoſition to the ſenſe of ſo many Parliaments; but that you ſhould think yourſelf authorized to murder a Prince in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Throne, and by whom his ſubjects are protected in the enjoyment of all their rights and privileges, and of every thing that is dear and valuable to mankind?'

(2) However, it was clandeſtinely printed and diſperſed about, inſomuch that it came back to *England* at laſt in the *Amſterdam Courant*.

(1) When

pany crave leave to acknowledge, with the greateſt ſenſe of gratitude, the many marks of your Royal favour, which the Company have received, ever ſince your Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Crown; and in particular, the honour done them in becoming a Proprietor in their ſtock.

They therefore do, in the moſt humble and dutiful manner, beſeech your Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to grant them the further honour of uſing your Royal Name for their Governor in the enſuing election.'

The King, agreeing to their requeſt, ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, acquainting them, that, having condeſcended to permit himſelf to be choſen Governor of the *South-Sea* Company, he recommended it to the Houſe to conſider of proper methods to remove any difficulties that might ariſe on that occaſion. Immediately a bill was brought in, and paſſed both Houſes, enabling the King to be Governor, and exempting him from taking the uſual oaths.

On the 3d of *February*, the King was unanimouſly choſen Governor by the whole Company, conſiſting of fifteen hundred and eighty-three perſons. At the ſame time were choſen a Sub-Governor and Deputy-Governor. As every thing is influenced by party in *England*, the Whigs of the Company had formed their plan, to chuſe under the King Mr. *Samuel Shepherd* and Sir *Theodore Janſen*; but the Tories laid their meaſures ſo well, that Sir *James Bateman*, one of that party, was elected Sub-Governor, by a majority of nine hundred and eighty-three againſt ſix hundred, and the Whigs were forced to be ſatisfied with chuſing Mr. *Shepherd* for Deputy-Governor.

One of the principal ſubjects of debate, this Seſſion, was the bill for regulating the land-forces, and puniſhing mutiny and deſertion. As the Court had occaſion for their whole ſtrength to carry this bill, care was taken that all the abſent Members ſhould be ſummoned, ſo that the Houſe, when the bill was brought in, was more numerous than had been known for many years paſt. The debate ran chiefly upon the power of Courts-martial, to puniſh mutiny and deſertion with death. Mr. *Hutchinſon* began with urging, That a *Court-martial* was never allowed of in *England* in a time of peace, as being inconſiſtent with the rights and liberties of a free people; and moved, that the offences committed by the ſoldiers be cognizable and puniſhed by the Civil Magiſtrate. Mr. *Hutchinſon* was ſeconded by Mr. *Harley*, who, to ſhew the danger of a ſtanding army, governed by martial law, quoted, with great commendation, a book written by a noble Member of that Houſe, intitled, *An account of* Denmark. Upon this the Lord *Moleſworth* (Author of that book) endeavoured to ſhew, that this was not a parallel caſe: That the preſent poſture of affairs in *Great-Britain* was very different from the ſtate of things in *Denmark* at that juncture; and that, the Commons having already declared it neceſſary to maintain ſtanding forces, it was no leſs neceſſary to keep thoſe forces within the bounds of duty and diſcipline by the ordinary rules of martial law, as was ever practiſed in all civilized Nations. General *Lumley*, and ſome others, were of Mr. *Hutchinſon*'s opinion; and, on the other hand, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* was for keeping up the martial law, at leaſt, a year longer. But the main diſpute was between Mr. *Craggs* and Mr. *Walpole*. After they had done ſpeaking, Mr. *Lechmere*, who had been hitherto ſilent, roſe up and ſpoke with great weight, particularly in anſwer to what Mr. *Walpole*, as well as Mr. *Hutchinſon*, had advanced, that a Court-martial, in time of peace, was altogether unknown in *England*. He ſhewed, on the contrary, that the Court of Admiralty, which is allowed in times of peace, as well as of war, has an equal power in relation to ſeamen, with a Court-martial in relation to ſoldiers. 1717-18.

When the debate was over, and the queſtion put, Whether Courts-martial ſhould puniſh mutiny and deſertion with death, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eighteen voices only, two hundred and forty-ſeven againſt two hundred and twenty-nine. So that there were four hundred and ſeventy-ſix Members in the Houſe, beſides three Whigs, and ſix or ſeven Tories, who happened to be ſhut out when the queſtion was put. The Abbot *du Bois*, the *French* Miniſter, having deſired to be preſent at this debate, he was admitted *incognito*, a favour which, that day, had been refuſed to ſeveral Peers.

When the bill came to be read the laſt time, and the queſtion put for paſſing it, there were a hundred and eighty-ſix votes for it, and but a hundred and five againſt it. This great majority was aſcribed to Mr. *Walpole*'s voting for it, and his having declared to his friends, 'That, tho', in the debate about the bill, he was for having mutiny and deſertion puniſhed by the Civil Magiſtrate, yet he had ſtill rather thoſe crimes ſhould be puniſhed by martial law than not at all.' The bill, having paſſed the Commons, was ſent up to the Lords.

When the bill came before the Lords, it occaſioned very warm debates, and many ſpeeches were made on both ſides, of which theſe are ſome of the moſt remarkable (1). The Lord *Harcourt* *Debates in the Houſe of Lords about the mutiny bill.* Pr. H. L.

(1) When the bill was read the ſecond time in a very full Houſe, the Earl of *Oxford* began with ſaying, 'That, as long as he had breath, he would ſpeak for the liberties of his Country; and that he was not only againſt this bill, becauſe he thought a Martial Court inconſiſtent with the rights and privileges of *Engliſhmen*, but alſo againſt the keeping up ſo great a number of forces; which, being altogether uſeleſs in a time of profound peace, could not but raiſe juſt apprehenſions, that ſomething was intended againſt our happy and ancient Conſtitution.' To which it was anſwered, * That the Nation had the happineſs to be governed by a Prince, who, ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, had convinced every body, that he deſired no more troops than what were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety and tranquillity of his Dominions: That whoever would impartially and ſeriouſly conſider the preſent circumſtances of affairs, muſt own, that the number of troops that were kept ſtanding was very ſmall: That it could not be denied, that the Pretender had a great many friends both at home and abroad, who watched all opportunities to foment and take advantage of our inteſtine diviſions: That, on the other hand, *Great-Britain* ſtood guarantee for the neutrality of *Italy*, which was then threatened with an Invaſion: And therefore it was matter of prudence, as well as of neceſſity, to keep up a competent force, both to ſuppreſs any inſurrection at home, or to repel any inſult from abroad; and to make good our engagements for maintaining the repoſe of *Europe*. Hereupon a late Miniſter † ſaid, He was

† *Earl of Strafford.*

1717-18. *Harcourt* ſpoke againſt the bill, and urged, among other things, 'That the Parliament, that is, the Repreſentative of the whole Nation, were ever extreme jealous of the Legiſlative power, with which they are veſted; and that the Lords, in a particular manner, ought to be tender of it; becauſe it is a branch of their prerogative to be the ſupreme Court of Judicature; but that by this bill, whereby the King was enabled to eſtabliſh Courts-martial, with power to try and determine any offences ſpecified in the articles of war, the Parliament veſted a ſole Legiſlative power in the Crown, which was communicated and delegated to a Council of war. That this bill ſets aſide all other laws, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, in relation to the ſoldiery; and gives Courts-martial a larger juriſdiction than ſeemed neceſſary for maintaining diſcipline in the army; ſuch juriſdiction extended not only to mutiny, deſertion, and breach of duty, but alſo to all immoralities, and other offences, which might be committed by any officer or ſoldier, towards any of his fellow-ſubjects, whereby the law of the land might either be obſtructed, or ſuperſeded by a Court-martial. That the Officers conſtituting a Court-martial did, at once, ſupply the place of Judges and Jurymen, and ought therefore to be upon their oath, upon their trying any offence whatſoever; whereas it is provided by this bill, that they ſhall be ſworn, upon their trying ſuch offences only as are puniſhable by death. That Martial Courts aſſume to themſelves an arbitrary and unprecedented authority, of which they had a remarkable inſtance, an Enſign of the guards having been ſentenced to death without being heard, which was contrary to *Magna Charta*, and to the birth-rights and privileges of *Engliſhmen*; and therefore they ought to reſtrain ſo dangerous a power.' On the other hand, the Lord *Carteret* ſaid, 'That he had maturely conſidered the affair now in agitation, not as a perſon in a public ſtation, but as a private unprejudiced man; and that he was convinced in his judgment and conſcience, that it is neceſſary both for the ſupport of the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and the ſecurity of the Nation, to keep up the forces now on foot; and that he was confirmed in this opinion, by conſidering what thoughts the Pretender and his Friends had of this matter, and reflecting, that they have nothing more at heart, than to procure the diſbanding of thoſe forces, that have ſuppreſſed the late unnatural Rebellion. That he doubted not, but the whole body of the Nobility that made up that Auguſt Aſſembly, was inviolably attached to his Majeſty King *George*: That his Majeſty had alſo the beſt part of the landed and all the trading intereſt; that as to the Clergy he would ſay nothing—but that it was notorious, that the majority of the populace had been poiſoned, and that the poiſon was not yet quite expelled. That the dangers which ſeemed to be apprehended from the preſent army may be chimerical, or, at leaſt, eaſily remedied in any ſubſequent Seſſion of Parliament; whereas the dangers with which the Nation is threatened from the Pretender and his Friends, in caſe there were no army to oppoſe them, are real, and the miſchiefs that might enſue, upon the ſucceſs of their deſigns, irreparable. That, if there had been ſuch a ſtanding force as we now have, timely to ſuppreſs the tumults and riots which were raiſed ſoon after his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, in all probability there had been no open Rebellion; that, on the other hand, if there had not been troops ready at hand to aſſiſt the civil power, in ſuppreſſing the late riotous aſſemblies of the woolcombers and weavers in the Counties of *Devon* and *Somerſet*, there had by this time been another Rebellion. That the mentioning *Magna Charta* was, in his opinion, entirely foreign to the preſent debate: That the thing now in queſtion, and that wherein they were immediately concerned, was to ſecure and ſupport the Government, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, againſt vigilant, bold, and reſtleſs enemies; and that they had the more reaſon to be upon their guard,

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was ſurprized to hear, that the noble Lord, who ſpoke laſt, was not better acquainted with ſome matters of fact; but that he thought himſelf obliged to inform the Houſe, That, by the treaty concluded and ſigned at *Utrecht* in *March* 1713, between the Miniſters of *Great-Britain* and *France*, the late Queen, of glorious memory, was guarantee for the neutrality of *Italy*, and the Iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, only during the evacuation of *Catalonia*, and till the concluſion of a general peace: For the truth of which, his Lordſhip appealed to his Colleague in that Negotiation. He added, that, ſince that time, the ſtate of things was quite altered, and thoſe in the Miniſtry could beſt tell, what engagements had been entered into, either with the Emperor or *France*. Hereupon it was thought neceſſary to know the contents of thoſe new treaties; and therefore it was moved, to addreſs his Majeſty, that the ſame might be laid before the Houſe: Which addreſs was agreed to, but was never preſented.

On the 20th of *February*, it was moved, 'That it be an inſtruction to the Committee, that they do provide that no puniſhment ſhall be inflicted at any Court-Martial, which ſhall extend to life or limb.' Some reaſons were given for ſupporting this motion; but it was anſwered, That ſuch a clauſe would render the bill ineffectual, baniſh all manner of diſcipline from the army, and conſequently render it entirely uſeleſs. Hereupon there aroſe a warm debate, which laſted from two o'clock in the afternoon, till ſeven in the evening.

Herein it was endeavoured to be ſhewn, That ſo numerous a force, as was allowed by that bill to be maintained in time of peace, was not only dangerous in itſelf to a free Nation, but was yet rendered more dangerous, by their being governed by martial law; a law unknown to our Conſtitution, deſtructive of our Liberties, and not endured by our Anceſtors. To which it was anſwered, That, among the ancient *Romans*, the wiſeſt people in the world, and the greateſt lovers and aſſertors of public liberty, martial laws and diſcipline were invigorated by decrees of the Senate, and were in force in times of peace as well as in times of war. And replied to, in ſubſtance, that it was much better to attend domeſtic than foreign examples; whereupon were produced ſeveral inſtances drawn from the hiſtory of *Great-Britain*, that a ſtanding army, in time of peace, was ever fatal, either to the Prince or to the Nation. But hereunto was urged, that thoſe, who are veſted with the Legiſlative power, ought not, on all occaſions, to govern themſelves by precedents, but rather, by the preſent ſituation of affairs, becauſe it is very difficult to find examples perfectly agreeing with the various circumſtances of times: That it was judged, the number of troops, which the Commons had thought fit to keep ſtanding, was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity and ſafety both of the Government und Nation; and therefore it was no leſs neceſſary to make a law to keep that army within the rules of duty and diſcipline, unleſs they would render uſeleſs thoſe very forces which muſt be owned to be neceſſary. Here-

17-18. guard, in that the trumpeters of ſedition and rebellion had again forcibly intruded into ſeveral Pulpits in *Scotland*.'

Objections being raiſed againſt the preamble of the bill, wherein it was ſuggeſted, that the number of ſixteen thouſand three hundred and forty-ſeven men was neceſſary, it was moved, that the number ſhould be reduced to twelve thouſand. But this motion was rejected; as was 1717-18. alſo another, for leaving out the clauſe, which enabled the King to conſtitute articles of war. After this, the whole bill was agreed to, and paſſed by a majority of eighty-eight againſt ſixty-one. However, ſeveral Lords entered their proteſt (1).

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unto ſomewhat was again ſuggeſted, about the danger of a ſtanding army made ſubject to martial law; but it was maintained, on the contrary, that the forces then on foot were neceſſary both for the ſupport of the Government, and the protection of our Allies; that their Lordſhips ought to conſider, that, when the late Rebellion broke out, they had double the number of regular troops, and yet the Government was obliged not only to ſend for ſome regiments from *Ireland*, but alſo for a body of auxiliary troops from *Holland*; and that, ſince the ſaid forces were neceſſary, the bill in queſtion, which was only to render them uſeful, was no leſs neceſſary. A Lord hereupon, among other things, ſaid, That, before the noble Peer, who ſpoke laſt, was born, he had ſeen the time, when the Nation was in danger of loſing their liberties by a ſtanding army; and then his Lordſhip endeavoured to ſhew, that the power of life and death, which by that bill was given to a Court-martial, was unneceſſary, unuſual, and unjuſt. After this followed the ſpeeches of Lord *Harcourt* and the Lord *Carteret*, as above in the context.

(1) As ſoon as the Parliament broke up, the Speakers againſt the Mutiny-bill publiſhed their ſpeeches, for which they were ſeverely cenſured by the Author of *the Critic*, and their ſpeeches boldly examined. The King alſo, ſoon after the end of the Seſſion, ordered articles to be publiſhed for the regulation and government of the army, purſuant to the power lodged in him by the act. The ſubſtance of the articles is as follows:

I. All Officers and Soldiers (not having juſt impediment) ſhall diligently frequent divine ſervice, in ſuch places as ſhall be appointed for the regiment, troop, or company to which they belong; and ſuch as either wilfully or negligently abſent themſelves from divine ſervice or ſermon, or elſe, being preſent, do behave themſelves undecently or irreverently during the ſame, if they be Officers, they ſhall be ſeverely reprehended at a Court-martial; but, if private ſoldiers, they ſhall, for every ſuch firſt offence, forfeit each man 1 *s.* to be deducted out of their next pay; and for the ſecond offence ſhall forfeit 1 *s.* and be laid in irons for twelve hours; and, for every like offence afterwards, ſhall ſuffer and pay in like manner; and the money ſo forfeited ſhall be applied to the relief of the ſick ſoldiers of ſuch troop or company, to which the offender does belong.

II. If any ſutler, in any of our forts, garriſons, camps, barricks, or guards, ſhall, during divine ſervice or ſermon, preſume to ſell any beer, brandy, wine, or other liquors, or any kind of victuals, or other merchandize, he ſhall be delivered over to the Civil Magiſtrate, to be puniſhed according to law.

III. Whoſoever ſhall uſe any unlawful oath or execration (whether Officer or Soldier) ſhall incur the penalties expreſſed in the firſt article.

IV. If any Officer or Soldier ſhall preſume to blaſpheme the holy and undivided Trinity, or the Perſons of God the Father, God the Son, or God the Holy Ghoſt, or ſhall preſume to ſpeak againſt any known article of the Chriſtian Faith, he ſhall be delivered over, by the commanding Officer, to the Civil Magiſtrate, to be puniſhed according to law.

V. If any Officer or Soldier ſhall abuſe or prophane any place dedicated to the worſhip of God, or ſhall offer violence to any Chaplain of the army, or any other Miniſter of God's word, he ſhall be liable to ſuch penalty or corporal puniſhment, as ſhall be inflicted on him by a Court-Martial.

VI. If any Officer or Soldier ſhall preſume to uſe any traiterous or diſreſpectful words againſt the ſacred Perſon of his Majeſty, his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, or any of the Royal Family, or ſhall behave himſelf with contempt or diſreſpect towards the General, or other Commander in Chief of the forces, or ſpeak words tending to his hurt or diſhonour, he ſhall be puniſhed according to the nature of his offence, by the judgment of a Regimental or General Court-Martial.

VII. If any Officer or Soldier ſhall excite, cauſe or join in any mutiny or ſedition, in the company, troop, or regiment to which he belongs, or in any other company, troop, or regiment in his Majeſty's ſervice, or on any party or poſt, where the duty is done by detachment from ſeveral regiments, or otherwiſe, in the army, he ſhall ſuffer death, or ſuch other puniſhment as a General Court-Martial ſhall inflict.

And if any Officer, Non-Commiſſion Officer, or Soldier, ſhall hear any words tending to mutiny, or ſedition, or, being any way privy thereto, do not immediately uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs the ſame, as alſo to diſcover it to his Superiors, if an Officer, he ſhall be caſhiered; if a Non-Commiſſion Officer or Soldier, he ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed at the diſcretion of a Court-Martial.

VIII. If any Officer or Soldier ſhall refuſe to obey the lawful orders of his ſuperior Officer, he ſhall be puniſhed with death, or otherwiſe, as a General Court-martial ſhall think fit.

X. All Officers and Soldiers who have received pay, or have been duly liſted in our ſervice, and ſhall deſert the ſame, either in the field, upon a march, in quarters, or in garriſon, and be convicted thereof before a General Court-martial, ſhall ſuffer death, or ſuch other puniſhment, as by the ſaid Court ſhall be inflicted.

XII. If any Officer or Soldier ſhall perſuade or adviſe any other Officer or Soldier to deſert our ſervice, he ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment, as ſhall be inflicted by the ſentence of a General Court-martial.

XVI. If any Officer, Non-Commiſſion Officer, or Soldier, ſhall be accuſed of any capital crime, or of any violence or offence againſt the perſon, eſtate, or property of any of our ſubjects, which is puniſhable by the known laws of the land; the commanding Officers of every regiment, troop, or company, are hereby required to deliver over ſuch accuſed perſon to the Civil Magiſtrate, ſo ſoon as applied to; and are alſo to be aiding and aſſiſting to the Officers of Juſtice, in the ſeizing and apprehending ſuch offender, in order to bring him to trial, under pain of our higheſt diſpleaſure.

XIX. No Officer or Soldier ſhall uſe any reproachful or provoking ſpeeches or geſtures to another, upon pain of impriſonment, and aſking pardon of the party offended, in preſence of his commanding Officer.

Nor ſhall any Officer or Soldier preſume to ſend a challenge to any other Officer or Soldier to fight a duel, upon pain of being caſhiered, if he be an Officer; or ſuffering the ſevereſt corporal puniſhment, if a Non-Commiſſion Officer or private Soldier.

And if any Officer or Non-Commiſſion Officer, commanding a guard, ſhall wittingly and knowingly ſuffer any perſon whatever to go forth to fight a duel, he ſhall be puniſhed as above: And all Seconds alſo, and Carriers of challenges, in order to duels, ſhall be taken as Principals, and puniſhed accordingly.

All Officers, of what condition ſoever, have power to part and quell all quarrels, frays, and other diſorders,

1717-18. *A bill about the forfeited eſtates.* Pr. H. C.

The affair of the forfeited eſtates cauſed likewiſe great debates. A bill was brought in for veſting the forfeited eſtates in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* in Truſtees, to be ſold for the uſe of the public; and for giving relief to lawful Creditors, by determining the claims; and for the more effectual bringing into the reſpective *Exchequers* the rents and profits of the eſtates till ſold. This bill was attended with warm debates in both Houſes, which, though they did not obſtruct its paſſage, produced ſome very equitable clauſes. The time of claiming was prolonged, and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling was reſerved, out of the ſale of the eſtates in *Scotland*,

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ders, though of another company, troop, or regiment; and to command Officers to arreſt, and Soldiers to priſon, until their proper Officers be acquainted therewith.

And whoever ſhall refuſe to obey ſuch Officers, (though of inferior rank) or draw his ſword upon him, ſhall be puniſhed as a General Court-martial ſhall appoint.

Nor ſhall any Officer or Soldier upbraid another for refuſing a challenge, ſince, according to theſe our orders, they but do the duty of ſoldiers, who ought to ſubject themſelves to diſcipline; and we do acquit and diſcharge all men who have quarrels offered, or challenges ſent to them, of all diſgrace or opinion of diſadvantage in the obedience hereunto; and whoſoever ſhall upbraid them, and offend in this caſe, ſhall be puniſhed as a Challenger.

XXI. Every Non-Commiſſion Officer and Soldier, who ſhall inliſt himſelf in our ſervice, ſhall, at the time of his ſo inliſting, or within a month afterwards at the fartheſt, be taken before a Juſtice of Peace by the inliſting Officer, or the Officer commanding the troop or company into which he is liſted, and ſhall there take the following oath:

I Swear to be true to our Sovereign Lord King George, *and to ſerve him honeſtly and faithfully in defence of his Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, againſt all his enemies and oppoſers whatſoever, and to obſerve and obey his Majeſty's orders, and the orders of the Generals and Officers ſet over me by his Majeſty.*

So help me God.

XXVIII. All Officers and Soldiers are to behave themſelves orderly in quarters and on the march; and whoever ſhall commit any waſte or ſpoil, either on walks of trees, parks, warrens, fiſh-ponds, houſes, or gardens, corn-fields, incloſures, or meadows, or ſhall maliciouſly deſtroy any property whatever belonging to any of our ſubjects, or belonging to any perſon whatever, unleſs by order of the then Commander in Chief of our forces, to annoy rebels, or other enemies in arms againſt us, he or they, that ſhall be found guilty of offending herein, ſhall (beſides ſuch penalties as they are liable to by law) be puniſhed according to the nature and degree of the offence, by the judgment of a Regimental or General Court-Martial.

XXIX. No Officer ſhall demand billets for quartering of more than his effective men, nor quarter any women or children in the houſe aſſigned him for the quartering of Officers and Soldiers, without the conſent of the owner; nor ſhall take money for freeing of Landlords from quartering of Officers or Soldiers, under pain of being caſhiered for it.

XXX. Every Officer commanding a regiment, troop, company, or party, whether in ſettled quarters, or on the march, ſhall ſee his own quarters, and the quarters of every Officer and Soldier under his command, paid, according to the rates ſpecified in the act of Parliament now in force.

And, upon every payment to be made in quarters, the ſaid Officer ſhall give public notice thereof to the Landlords, in order to ſee them ſatisfied as aforeſaid: And in caſe any ſuch regiment, troop, company, or party, ſhall be ordered to march, before money may be come to the hands of the commanding Officer as aforeſaid, he is hereby required, before his departure out of any town or village, to make up the accounts with all perſons concerned in money due to them for quartering of Officers and Soldiers, for what time ſoever he ſhall have happened to remain there; and grant to every ſuch party a ſigned certificate for the ſame, therein ſpecifying the name of the regiment, troop, or company ſuch Officers or Soldiers do belong to, under pain of being caſhiered for it, upon proof of having wilfully offended herein.

XXXI. On marches, the commanding Officers are to apply to the proper Magiſtrates for the carriages neceſſary for the ſervice, and to pay for them according to the Act of Parliament in that behalf, taking care not to abuſe, nor to ſuffer any under their command, to beat or abuſe the waggoners, or other perſons attending ſuch carriages, nor to put more than twenty hundred weight on any wayne or waggon ſo furniſhed to them by the Country.

And whatever Officer ſhall be convicted of offending herein, or of refuſing to grant certificates in caſe of failure of money, as in the preceding article, ſhall, by the judgment of a General Court-Martial, be caſhiered, or otherwiſe puniſhed, according to the degree of his offence.

XXXII. All Officers commanding in garriſons, in quarters, or on marches, ſhall keep good order, and redreſs all ſuch abuſes or diſorders as may happen to be committed by any Officer or Soldier under their command: And if on complaint made to any ſuch commanding Officer, of beating of Landlords, or extorting of more from them than they are obliged by law to furniſh; of Soldiers diſturbing of fairs or markets, or committing of any other kind of riots, to the diſturbing or diſquieting our people; he, the ſaid Commander, who ſhall refuſe or omit to ſee juſtice done on the offender, and reparation made to the party injured, ſo far as part of the offender's pay can enable him, he ſhall, upon proof thereof, be puniſhed by a General Court-martial, as if he himſelf had perſonally committed the crimes or diſorders complained of.

XXXVII. If any Officer ſhall protect any perſon from his Creditors, otherwiſe than is allowed by the preſent Act of Parliament; or any one who does not actually ſerve in the ranks, and conſequently do all the duties of a Soldier (according to the true intent and meaning of the ſaid act) he ſhall be caſhiered for it.

XLIV. In caſe any Officer, Non-Commiſſion Officer or Soldier, be accuſed of any violence or offence againſt the perſon, eſtate, or property of any of our ſubjects, puniſhable by any of our Civil Courts or Magiſtrates, the Officer, to whom ſuch accuſation is brought, ſhall not proceed to the trial of ſuch offender or offenders by a Court-martial, within the ſpace of eight days, unleſs at the deſire of the perſon or perſons injured; and in caſe no application be made to the commanding Officer in quarters, during the ſpace of eight days, by the perſon or perſons injured, the offender or offenders may be tried by a Court-martial for any offence mentioned in theſe articles; provided that, within the ſpace of the ſaid eight days, the perſon injured hath not proceeded to the proſecution of ſuch offender before a Civil Court or Magiſtrate, and notice given thereof to the Officer, commanding in the quarters where ſuch offence ſhall be committed.

XLV. Theſe our rules and articles are to be obſerved by, and do in all reſpects regard our troops and regiments of horſe and foot guards, as well as our other forces.

XLVI. The aforegoing rules and articles ſhall be read and publiſhed at the head of every regiment, troop, and company muſtered or to be muſtered in our ſervice, once every two months at fartheſt, and are to be duly obſerved by all Officers and Soldiers in our ſervice; and alſo by our companies of Gunners, and other military Officers of our trains of artillery, with ſuch alterations only as relate to the payment of Soldiers quarters and carriages, which in the Kingdom of *Ireland*

7-18. land, for erecting ſchools, and eight thouſand for building barracks (1).

King's ge to Com-s. H. C. Before the Seſſion ended, the King ſent a meſſage to the Commons, which was read by the Speaker as follows:

'His Majeſty being at preſent engaged in ſeveral Negotiations of the utmoſt concern to the welfare of theſe Kingdoms, and the tranquillity of *Europe*; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it ſhall be neceſſary, does think fit to acquaint this Houſe therewith; not doubting, but that, in caſe he ſhould be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the ſea-ſervice, the Houſe will, at their next meeting, provide for ſuch exceeding.'

This meſſage was well received, and it was unanimouſly reſolved to preſent an addreſs to thank the King for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his Kingdoms, and to preſerve the tranquillity of *Europe*; and to aſſure him, that they would make good ſuch exceedings of ſeamen, as he ſhould find neceſſary to obtain thoſe ends.

On the 21ſt of *March*, the buſineſs of the Seſſion being over, the King went to the Houſe of Peers, and, having paſſed all the bills, ordered the Lord-Chancellor to read the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

1717-18.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Cannot put an end to this Seſſion, without returning my hearty thanks to ſo good a Parliament, for the diſpatch which has been given to the public buſineſs. You will, I hope, in your private capacities, feel the convenience of an early receſs; and, I am perſuaded, the public will receive great benefit, by the ſeaſonable zeal and vigour of your reſolutions in ſupport of my Government. *The King's ſpeech.*

"Nothing can add ſo much to the credit and influence of this Crown, both at home and abroad, as the repeated inſtances of your affection to me. This ſteadineſs and reſolution of yours will, I hope, enable me to procure, againſt your next meeting, ſuch treaties to be concluded, as will ſettle peace and tranquillity among our neighbours.

"If, through the bleſſing of God, my endeavours to this end prove ſucceſsful, I ſhall have the ſatisfaction to ſilence even thoſe, who will never own themſelves convinced; and to let all the world ſee plainly, that what I have moſt at heart, is the good and welfare of my people, who may then be eaſed in their taxes, and enriched by their trade.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I muſt return you my particular thanks for the Supplies you have ſo chearfully granted, "and

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Ireland are to be regulated by the Lord-Lieutenant thereof, and in our iſlands, provinces, and garriſons beyond the ſeas, by the reſpective Governors of the ſame, according as the nature of the thing ſhall require: And notwithſtanding it is expreſſed in the 16th article of theſe our rules and orders, that every commanding Officer is required to deliver up to the Civil Magiſtrate all ſuch perſons (under his command) as ſhall be accuſed of any crimes which are puniſhable by the known laws of the land; yet in our garriſon of *Gibraltar*, iſland of *Minorca*, forts of *Placentia* and *Annapolis-Royal*, where our forces now are, or in any other place beyond the ſeas, to which any of our troops may hereafter be commanded, and where there is no form of our Civil Judicature in force, the Governors or Commanders reſpectively are to appoint General Courts-martial to be held, who are to puniſh criminals by their ſentence, as has been practiſed heretofore, and authorized by former articles of war.

(1) There was alſo a debate in the Houſe of Commons about the trade with *Sweden*, which had been interrupted by a proclamation. The Merchants having preſented a petition for opening the trade, Mr. *Jackſon* (late Reſident at *Stockholm*) was called in and aſked by Mr. *Craggs*, whether he was of opinion, That, if the trade were opened with *Sweden*, our Merchants would be upon a better foot than they are at preſent? Mr. *Jackſon* anſwered, 'That, in his opinion, the contrary would happen: For now that the *Swedes* are diſtreſſed for want of our commodities, particularly corn and ſalt, they are inclined to facilitate to us, underhand, the purchaſe of their iron; whereas, if the prohibition of trade with them was taken off, they would immediately provide themſelves with what they want; and, knowing at the ſame time, that there are amongſt us a ſet of men, who make it their ſtudy and buſineſs to embarraſs the Government, the Court of *Sweden* would be more ſtiff than ever, and render the purchaſe of their iron more difficult to us.' Some Members of the Houſe being offended at Mr. *Jackſon*'s reflection on a ſet of men (by which it was plain he meant the Tory-party) cried out, *Cuſtody*, *Cuſtody*: But the more moderate contented themſelves with putting him upon explaining himſelf. Hereupon Mr. *Jackſon* replied, That he meant the Merchants, who preſented unreaſonable petitions. This being by ſome looked upon rather as an aggravation than an excuſe, the cry of *Cuſtody*, *Cuſtody*, was repeated; but Mr. *Walpole* brought him off, by ſuggeſting, 'That that Gentleman had lived ſo long in a deſpotic Government, where petitions and repreſentations of that nature are accounted capital crimes, that he had forgot the rights and privileges of his Countrymen; and therefore moved, that his unguarded expreſſions might be excuſed;' and, nobody oppoſing Mr. *Walpole*, Mr. *Jackſon* withdrew. Then, the Petitioners and ſome other Merchants being called in, and farther heard, they repreſented, among other particulars, 'That, ſince the prohibition of trade with *Sweden*, they bought *Swediſh* iron of the *Dutch*, 4 *l.* *per* ton dearer than before; and that, whereas the *Engliſh* were formerly about 30000 *l.* *per annum* gainers by the trade with *Sweden*, they now loſt about 90000 *l.*' But this was contradicted by Mr. *Craggs*, who ſuggeſted, That the exports from *Stockholm* for *England* had never amounted to 120000 *l.* in one year; and therefore the difference of the profit and loſs could not come up to this laſt ſum. After ſome other ſpeeches, the debate was adjourned till that day month, before which the Seſſion ended.

There was another debate about a bill for erecting *Hoſpitals* and *Workhouſes* in *Briſtol*, in which there was a remarkable clauſe, abrogating the *Sacramental Teſt* in the caſe of the Guardianſhip of the Charities. However, the bill paſſed with the clauſe.

A bill, directing that *St. Giles*'s Church ſhould be rebuilt, inſtead of one of the fifty new Churches, occaſioned a debate in the Houſe of Lords, and was oppoſed by ſome of the Biſhops, as a miſapplication of the money granted for pious uſes. They alſo propoſed that the words of *Pious Memory* ſhould be added in the preamble after the Queen's name; but the bill paſſed without any amendment, upon which it was proteſted againſt by five Biſhops and ſeveral Lords.

1717-18. " and for the late inſtance of your confidence in " me. I promiſe you, that my endeavours ſhall " not be wanting to make uſe of both to the " beſt advantage, for the good of my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The practices which are daily uſed by a " moſt reſtleſs and unhappy ſet of men, to diſ- " turb a Government, by whoſe clemency they " are protected, require our utmoſt attention " and vigilance. I muſt therefore recommend " it to you, that, in your ſeveral ſtations and " countries, you will endeavour to quell that ſpi- " rit of diſaffection, which our common ene- " mies are ſo induſtrious to foment."

Then the Lord-Chancellor prorogued the Parliament to the 20th of *May*; and afterwards, by ſeveral prorogations, to the 11th of *November*.

Changes in the Miniſtry.

About this time there were ſome changes in the Miniſtry. Sir *Edward Northey* was removed, and Mr. *Lechmere* was made Attorney-General in his room. The Earl of *Sunderland* was made Preſident of the Council, and firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. The other Commiſſioners were, *Aiſlabie*, *Wallop*, *Baillie*, and *Clayton*. Mr. *Craggs*, and the Lord *Stanhope* (who and Lord *Cadogan* were ſoon after created Earls) were appointed Secretaries of State. The Earl of *Berkley* was placed at the head of the Admiralty, with Sir *George Byng*, Sir *John Jennings*, Mr. *Cockburne*, Mr. *Chetwynd*, Sir *John Norris*, and Sir *Charles Wager*. The Earl of *Holderneſs* was made firſt Commiſſioner of the Board of Trade. In *April*, the Lord-Chancellor *Cowper* (who had been made an Earl) reſigned the Great Seal, and went immediately into the Country. Though it had been reported ſome months that he deſired to retire, yet his reſigning his employment, at that juncture, was a great ſurprize to the public, and no ſmall grief to all unprejudiced perſons. The Judges *Tracy*, *Prat*, and *Mountague*, were made Commiſſioners of the Great Seal; but, about a month after, the Lord *Parker* was made High-Chancellor, and Sir *John Prat* Chief-Juſtice.

Great preparations in Spain.

The great ſcene of action this ſummer was in the *Mediterranean*. Though the King of *Spain* had promiſed to ſuſpend all operations, after the conqueſt of *Sardinia*, and refer his differences with the Emperor to the mediation of *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, he rejected all their propoſals for an accommodation, and continued his warlike preparations by ſea and land. By the care and diligence of his Prime Miniſter Cardinal *Alberoni*, a formidable armament was ready, by the month of *May*, at *Barcelona*, conſiſting of thirty ſhips of the line and frigates, ſeven gallies, four bomb-veſſels, four hundred and forty tranſport-ſhips, forty mortars, fifteen hundred mules, one hundred and fifty thouſand faſcines, three hundred thouſand ſtakes for intrenchments, a vaſt quantity of warlike ſtores, and proviſions for many months. On board this fleet were embarked thirty-ſix battalions, ſix regiments of horſe, four of dragoons, one thouſand artillery men, a hundred and fifty carpenters and other mechanics, a company of ſixty miners, and a brigade of fifty engineers. To furniſh the Supplies, the Receivers of the revenue were ordered to pay in certain ſums to the Royal Treaſury: The Grandees, Prelates, Provinces, Cities, taxed themſelves voluntarily for this expedition, and raiſed regiments at their own expence. Theſe preparations had been the work of more than two years. 1718.

This powerful fleet ſet ſail the beginning of *June*: The deſign of it was not known but by the event. It was not doubted, but the conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples* was aimed at, and all poſſible meaſures had been taken to prevent it. *Alberoni* had deceived all *Europe*; for *Sicily* was what the Cardinal intended to attack, and the reaſons which determined him to it were very plauſible.

In the firſt place, *Sicily* not belonging at that time to the Emperor, this expedition ſeemed to give no handle to the Courts of *London* and *Paris*, ſince, by their late treaties, they had only engaged to aſſiſt the Emperor, in caſe his Dominions were attacked, and not the Duke of *Savoy*, who was not ſuppoſed to be in danger. In the next place, the Cardinal was informed of the Duke's inclination to be reconciled with the Emperor, and give him *Sicily*, without any regard to the rights of *Spain*. Laſtly, *Sicily* not being in a ſtate of defence, the conqueſt would be eaſy, and prepare the way for the others he intended to make.

During theſe preparations in *Spain*, King *George* had ordered (as hath been ſaid) a ſtrong ſquadron to be fitted out in the ſpring. The Marquiſs *de Monteleone*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at the Court of *England*, being alarmed at it, repreſented, in a memorial dated the 18th of *March*, 'That ſo powerful an armament, in time of peace, could not but cauſe umbrage to the King his Maſter, and alter the good intelligence that reigned between the two Crowns.' The King anſwered, 'It was not his intention to conceal the ſubject of that armament: And he deſigned ſoon to ſend Admiral *Byng* with a powerful ſquadron into the *Mediterranean*, in order to maintain the neutrality of *Italy*, againſt thoſe who ſhould ſeek to diſturb it.'

In the mean time, the Negotiations were carried on with all poſſible diligence. The Abbot *du Bois*, in the name of the Duke of *Orleans*, agreed with the *Britiſh* Miniſters at *London* upon the terms for an accommodation between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, and had frequent and long Conferences on that ſubject with the King. Theſe Negotiations produced at length the treaty called at firſt the *Triple Alliance* between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Holland*, and, after the Acceſſion of the Emperor, ſtiled the *Quadruple Alliance*. As this treaty is one of the moſt remarkable events of this Reign, and an evident proof of the aſcendant, which two politic Princes in conjunction may have over the reſt, it will not be improper to inſert the plan and principal articles.

The deſign of the Negotiations was declared to be, the preſervation of the public tranquillity, by removing the jealouſies which were increaſing between ſome of the Princes of *Europe*. Then were ſettled the terms of a peace between the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily* and the Emperor. Theſe terms, accepted by the Emperor, were followed by a ſeparate treaty of Alliance between him and the three powers who ſo far concerned themſelves in the peace, as to engage to compel by force of arms the Kings of *Spain* and *Sardinia* to accept the conditions offered them.

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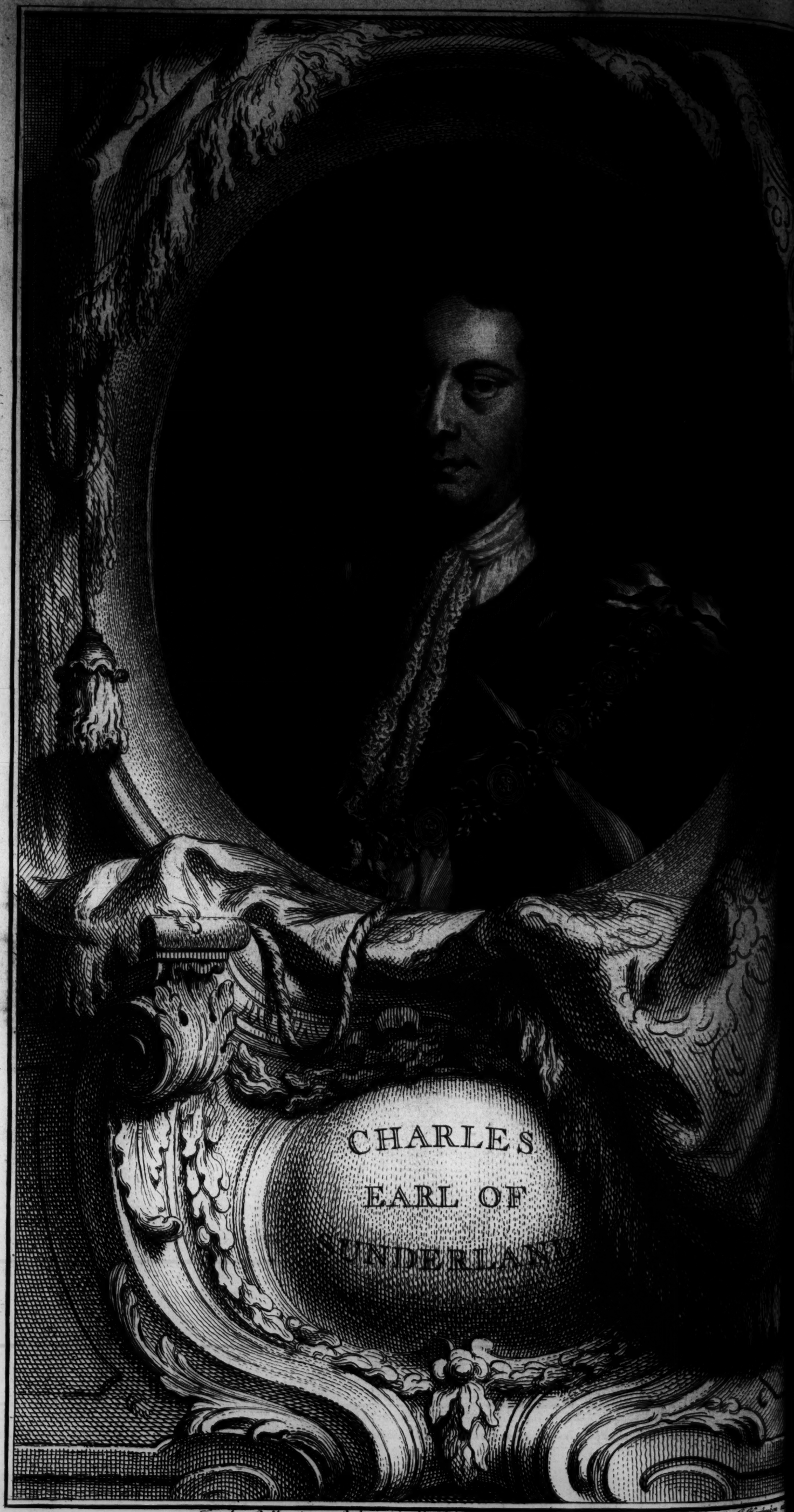

In the Collection of the Hon.ble John Spencer. *Impensis T. & P. Knapton, Londini. 1746.*

The terms impoſed on the Emperor and *Spain* were contained in eight articles:

I. For quieting the diſturbances raiſed contrary to the peace of *Baden*, and the neutrality of *Italy*, the King of *Spain* was to reſtore to the Emperor, within two months after the ratification of the treaty, the Kingdom of *Sardinia*, and renounce all right and title to the ſame.

II. In conſideration of this, and of King *Philip*'s renunciation to the Crown of *France* for himſelf and poſterity, the Emperor was alſo to renounce for himſelf, heirs and ſucceſſors, all right and pretenſion to any Dominions, of which the King of *Spain* was acknowledged rightful poſſeſſor by the treaty of *Utrecht*.

III. In conſequence of this renunciation, and becauſe the Duke of *Orleans* had renounced all right to the Crown of *Spain*, on condition the Emperor ſhould never ſucceed to that Kingdom, his Imperial Majeſty was to acknowledge *Philip* V. lawful King of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and to give him the titles and prerogatives belonging to him as ſuch.

IV. In return, his Catholic Majeſty was to renounce all rights and claims to the Dominions of the Emperor in *Italy* or the *Netherlands*; amongſt which the Marquiſate of *Final* (yielded to the *Genoeſe* by the Emperor in 1713) was to be comprehended. He was likewiſe to renounce the right of reverſion of *Sicily* to the Crown of *Spain*, which he had reſerved to himſelf in the treaty of *Utrecht*.

V. The Duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia* were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the Empire, and were to deſcend in default of the male heirs to the Queen of *Spain*'s eldeſt ſon. As the conſent of the Empire was neceſſary, the Emperor was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain it. *Legborn* was to remain a free port; and the King of *Spain* was to yield to his Son the town *Porto Longone*, with what he poſſeſſed in the iſland of *Elba*, as ſoon as the Prince of *Spain* ſhould be in poſſeſſion of *Tuſcany*. None of theſe Duchies was to be poſſeſſed by a Prince who ſhould at the ſame time be King of *Spain*, nor was the King of *Spain* ever to take upon himſelf the Guardianſhip of that Prince.

The Mediators took ſeveral other precautions. It was never to be allowed, during the lives of the poſſeſſors of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, that any forces of any Country whatſoever, whether their own or hired, ſhould, either by the Emperor, the Kings of *France* or *Spain*, or even by the Prince appointed to the Succeſſion, be introduced into any garriſon, city, port, or town of thoſe Duchies. But for ſecurity of the Succeſſion ſix thouſand *Swiſs* were to be put into *Legborn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*. His *Britannic* Majeſty was ſo convinced of the neceſſity of this expedient, that he offered to lend his own forces till the *Swiſs* could be raiſed.

VI. The next article was of greater importance, and was that with which King *George* and the Duke of *Orleans* purchaſed (as may be ſaid) at the expence of *Spain* and *Savoy*, the aid the Emperor was to furniſh in defence of the order of the Succeſſion ſo favourable to them. By this article the King of *Spain* for the ſake of the public tranquillity was to conſent, that the Emperor ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*, and renounce the right of reverſion of that Kingdom ſettled by the inſtrument of ceſſion, and the treaty of *Utrecht*, on condition however of having the reverſion of *Sardinia* inſtead of it. 1718.

VII. and VIII. The Emperor and King of *Spain* were to defend each other in the poſſeſſion of their Dominions, and to perform the conditions of this treaty within two months after ratification. After which all other points were to be ſettled at a Congreſs.

The treaty between the Emperor and the King of *Sicily* was of the ſame nature, only the Mediators ſpoke more like ſovereign arbiters from whom there was no appeal. The preamble ran in a very high ſtrain. The Mediators began with obſerving, That the ceſſion of *Sicily* by the treaty of *Utrecht* to the Houſe of *Savoy*, inſtead of promoting the peace, as was intended, had proved the chief obſtacle of the Emperor's refuſing to accede to that treaty, as all *Europe* could witneſs. Wherefore (ſay the Mediators) the powers, by whom the treaty of *Utrecht* was firſt ſet on foot, believe that article, which is not eſſential to the treaty, may juſtly be altered, even without the conſent of the parties concerned, as it tends to the perfection of the treaty by the Emperor's renunciation, and as by the exchange of *Sicily* for *Sardinia* the war will be prevented with which *Italy* is threatened, in caſe the Emperor ſhould attack *Sicily*, which he has never renounced, and which he has a right to recover after the breach of the neutrality of *Italy* by the ſeizure of *Sardinia*. It is therefore agreed,

I. The King of *Sicily* ſhall reſtore that Kingdom to the Emperor, within two months, at fartheſt, after the ratification of this treaty.

II. In return, the Emperor ſhall give to the King of *Sicily* the Iſland of *Sardinia*, which he ſhall enjoy, with the title of King; but the reverſion, in default of heirs-male, ſhall be reſerved to the Crown of *Spain*.

As there was no proportion between *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, it was fit the Emperor ſhould ſeem at leaſt to make ſome farther ſatisfaction. To this end, the Mediators in the two next articles agreed, that the Emperor ſhould confirm to the King of *Sicily* all the ceſſions made to him by the treaty of *Turin* in 1703, on condition, however, that all other claims, which he might have by that treaty, ſhould be void. The Emperor was likewiſe to acknowledge the right of the Houſe of *Savoy* to ſucceed to the Crown of *Spain*, in caſe of failure of heirs in *Philip* V, according to the renunciations and treaties of *Utrecht*.

But it ſignified little to make theſe regulations, if proper meaſures were not taken for their ſupport and execution. In this the Mediators were not wanting. *France* and the Emperor, in conjunction with *Great-Britain*, promiſed mutual aſſiſtance to put the Emperor in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*, and to maintain the Succeſſion of the *Britiſh* Crown in the Proteſtant Branch, and to exclude the *Spaniſh* Branch from the Crown of *Spain*. To theſe engagements were added the particular meaſures that were to be taken, to induce or compel the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily* to ſubmit to what had been determined for them, in concert with their enemy.

It was agreed to allow them three months, to conſider,

1718. conſider, which time was deemed ſufficient to examine the conditions, and declare whether they would accept them, after the example of his Imperial Majeſty, as unalterable terms to extinguiſh the preſent, and hinder a future war. But, if contrary to the wiſhes of all *Europe*, theſe two Princes, after the expiration of the two months, refuſed to comply, the Mediators were to join their forces, and compel them to ſubmit.

It was expreſsly agreed, that, if one of the Mediators ſhould be attacked on account of the ſuccours lent the Emperor, the others ſhould declare war againſt the Aggreſſor, and not lay down their arms, till the Emperor was in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*, and ſecure as to his *Italian* Dominions.

If one of the two Kings ſhould accept of the terms, he was to join with the Mediators to compel the other to do the like. If the King of *Spain* refuſed to comply, the Emperor was to be aſſiſted in the conqueſt of *Sardinia*: If the King of *Sicily* refuſed, the Emperor was to be enabled to ſubdue *Sicily*: If both ſtood out, *Sicily* was firſt to be attacked, and then *Sardinia*, the cuſtody of which was to be left to the King of *Great-Britain*, till the Duke of *Savoy* had agreed to the treaty.

After having ſettled the means of taking *Sardinia* from *Spain*, and *Sicily* from *Savoy*, the penalties were fixed, in caſe theſe two Princes ſhould carry their reſiſtance ſo far, as to make it neceſſary to have recourſe to arms. The Emperor was allowed to recover that part of *Milan*, yielded to *Savoy* by the treaty of *Turin*; and it was to be agreed to what other Prince the Emperor ſhould give the eventual inveſtiture of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, in excluſion of the Queen of *Spain*'s ſons. 1718.

To ſhew, however, that nothing but juſtice and peace was intended, it was agreed, that the Emperor (whatever progreſs his arms might make) ſhould be contented with the advantages ſtipulated for him: But, if he could not, recover *Sicily* by arms or treaty, he was to be free from any engagement entered into by this treaty, of conſenting to make peace with the Kings of *Spain* and *Sardinia*. It was moreover agreed, that the Emperor, when in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*, ſhould renounce all pretenſions to *Spain* and the *Indies*, whether King *Philip* conſented or not to the peace, ſince the guaranty of the Mediators would be to the Emperor a ſecurity equal to the renunciations of the King of *Spain*, for *Sicily*, the *Italian* Dominions, and the *Netherlands*.

Such was the *Quadruple Alliance*, by which King *George* and the Duke of *Orleans* intended to preſerve the tranquillity of *Europe*: But, contrary to their expectations, it proved the occaſion of all the quarrels and diſputes which afterwards enſued between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*.

The *States-General*, in whoſe name this deciſive treaty was made, did not abſolutely refuſe to ratify it, but under various pretences ſuſpended their conſent. They did not approve of ſuch violent meaſures; and, having no particular intereſt in the quarrel, were willing rather to proceed by fair means (1).

To

(1) A letter from a *Swiſs* to his friend at *Geneva*, concerning the part the *States-General* ought to act, as to the differences between the Emperor and *Spain*, was publiſhed about this time, wherein a brief account is firſt given of what had paſſed in the affair, and then the reaſons why the *States* are not obliged to enter into any Alliance about it:

'Whilſt the Emperor (ſays the Letter) was in the heat of war with the *Turks*, the King of *Spain*, thinking it a favourable opportunity for puſhing his pretenſions, reſolved not to let it ſlip. He armed with all poſſible diligence, and with all the ſecrecy things of that nature are capable of. He cauſed all the men of war he had, to be made fit for the ſervice, new ones to be built, others to be bought; he gathered together all the tranſports he poſſibly could; he reinforced conſiderably his old regiments, raiſed new; and, in ſhort, attacked the iſland of *Sardinia*, which you know he made himſelf maſter of.

What did the King of *Spain* do in this interval? Why, he drew up and publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify his recourſe to arms.

The Marquiſs *Beretti Landi* (whoſe departure is ſtill lamented here) preſented a memorial to the *States-General*, wherein, after having exhibited the reaſons which prevailed with the King of *Spain* to attack *Sardinia*, he offered, in the moſt obliging manner in the world, in the King his Maſter's name, to put all his concerns into their hands, and to accept of them for Mediators.

The *States-General* were, indeed, ſenſible of his Catholic Majeſty's generoſity; but conſidering, that it was an affair which did not particularly concern them, and that that mediation might directly or indirectly entangle them in the quarrel, they concluded, that it was not their buſineſs to undertake it at any rate; and thereupon they anſwered the Marquiſs *Beretti Landi* in very general terms.

What happened afterwards? Why, *England* and *France*, acting with the laudable deſign of preventing the diſorders which this kindling war would infallibly be attended with, enter upon meaſures agreeable to ſuch a deſign. In this view, the Abbot *Du Bois* was ſent to *London*; the affair was there canvaſſed; projects of accommodation were formed; care was taken to let the Emperor know ſoon what they were; Colonel *Stanhope* was ſent to *Madrid*, to communicate the propoſals to his Catholic Majeſty, or at leaſt to ſound him upon them. But hitherto not one word was ſpoken to the *States-General*: Far from conſulting them, or hearing their ſentiments of the matter, or acting in concert with them, or deſiring them (in conjunction with themſelves) to contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of the tranquillity of *Europe*; far from all this, I ſay, a profound ſilence was kept as to their part; they were carefully deprived of the knowledge of whatſoever was done: In a word, the *States-General* were not in the queſtion.

But neither was this all; for, after having well examined and debated upon the articles of peace between the Emperor and the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily*, they were committed to writing; and a treaty of Alliance was thereupon concluded between *France*, *England*, and the *States-General*, the chief end whereof was to engage, by all poſſible methods, the Emperor and the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily* to ſubſcribe to the conditions expreſſed in the ſaid treaty.

This treaty being made between *France* and *England*, it was ſent to *Vienna*, *Madrid*, and *Turin*, to be approved and accepted; and then only, after all theſe ſteps, it was propoſed to the *States-General*.

Thus you have an account, in few words, how all things were tranſacted. I ſhall ſhew you by and by, that their High-Mightineſſes are not any way obliged to enter into the ſaid treaty. For this purpoſe, we have nothing to do to examine whether the terms of accommodation, contained in the ſaid treaty, are reaſonable and equitable, or not; for even ſuppoſing, that they are both the one and the other, I affirm, that the State is not obliged by any engagement to enter into that

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To this treaty were added ſtill more effectual methods: King *George* offered his mediation to the Grand Seignor for a peace between Him and the Emperor: The mediation was accepted, and a treaty ſigned at *Paſſarowitz*.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the King, as he had declared to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, ordered a fleet, ſtrong enough to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Spaniards*, to ſail for the *Mediterranean*, under the command of Sir *George Byng*.

The fleet being ready at *Spithead*, Sir *George Byng* went to *Portſmouth*, where he received his inſtructions, dated the 26th of *May* (1). Theſe inſtructions were as follows:

I. Whereas the Crown of *Great-Britain*, by the ſeveral treaties made at *Utrecht*, the 14th day of *March* 1713, *N. S.* with the Emperor and the late moſt Chriſtian King, became obliged to ſee an exact obſervation of the armiſtice and neutrality then eſtabliſhed in *Italy*, and was guarantee for the full performance of the ſtipulations at that time ſolemnly agreed to on that head: And whereas, by a treaty made between Us and our good Brother the Emperor of *Germany*, at *Weſtminſter*, the 25th day of *May* 1716, we ſtand engaged to aſſiſt, maintain, and defend him in the poſſeſſion of all the Kingdoms, Provinces, and Rights, which he then actually enjoyed in *Europe*: And whereas the Catholic King hath, in an hoſtile manner, invaded the territories belonging to the ſaid Emperor, and, by force of arms, hath taken from him the Iſland and Kingdom of *Sardinia*, and is ſtill making great and warlike preparations for carrying on his deſigns further againſt the other Dominions belonging to his Imperial Majeſty in *Italy*, contrary to the tenor of the aforeſaid treaties: And whereas, ſince this unhappy rupture, we, as a friend to both parties, have not ceaſed to employ our beſt offices, in order to accommodate the differences, and put an end to this war, which, if continued, will indanger the public tranquillity of the reſt of *Europe*: And whereas we have made particular and earneſt inſtances with our good Brother the King of *Spain*, that he would conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, during which the Negotiations for peace might be more eaſily and effectually carried on: And whereas his ſaid Catholic Majeſty hath appeared to us not averſe to the ſuſpending his further enterprizes, and thereby facilitating our good offices towards a happy accommodation: We therefore, for the better fulfilling the ſeveral engagements we lie under by the treaties aforementioned, and for promoting, in the beſt and moſt effectual manner, the meaſures, that may tend to the bringing about an intire reconciliation and perfect friendſhip between the ſaid parties now engaged in war, and thereby putting a ſtop to the fatal conſequences, which might otherwiſe enſue from theſe hoſtilities, have thought it fit and neceſſary, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, and for the welfare of *Europe* in general, to ſend a ſtrong fleet of our ſhips of war into the *Mediterranean* under your command. 1718.

II. You are therefore, upon the receipt of theſe our inſtructions, forthwith to proceed to the *Mediterranean* with our ſaid fleet; and, being arrived in the *Streights*, you ſhall immediately give notice to the Catholic King, by our Miniſter reſiding at his Court, of your arrival in thoſe ſeas, and that you are inſtructed, in our name, to promote all meaſures, that may beſt contribute to the compoſing the differences, that are ariſen between Him and the Emperor.

III. You ſhall from thence, without loſs of time, wind and weather permitting, proceed to *Port-Mahon*, and, being arrived there, you ſhall by expreſſes give advice of the ſame to the Viceroy of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to the Governor of the Duchy of *Milan*, and let them know the purport of your inſtructions, that you are come with our fleet into thoſe parts, to make good our treaties with the Emperor, and to hinder the further violation of the ſame by the arms of the Catholic King: And to that end you will hold a correſpondence with the ſaid Viceroy and Governor during your ſtay in the *Mediterranean*, and let them know, that you are to take meaſures in concert with them, for preventing any further breach of the neutrality of *Italy*, which by our treaty we are obliged to ſee preſerved: And, as you may probably at *Port-Mahon* get the beſt intelligence of the preparations and proceedings both of the Imperialiſts and

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that Alliance, and that it is its intereſt not to meddle by any means; and that for ſeveral reaſons.

In the firſt place, as their High-Mightineſſes never ſet up as guarantees for the neutrality of *Italy*, ſo nothing obliges them to make ſteps, in order to reſtore peace there.

Secondly, Since their High-Mightineſſes refuſed to accept the mediation which the King of *Spain* ſo civilly offered them, becauſe they were afraid of bringing themſelves into a ſcrape, they have much ſtronger reaſons to refuſe to come into the treaty above-mentioned, now that the King of *Spain* appears unwilling to accept it, as it is; for them to act otherwiſe would be to declare themſelves parties, after having refuſed to be Mediators, and, without the leaſt neceſſity, to fall out with his Catholic Majeſty, of whom, hitherto, they have no manner of reaſon to complain.

In the third place, It is inconteſtably certain, that this State ought, with all imaginable care, to avoid whatever may involve it in a new war.'

However the *States-General*, after all the endeavours of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador to retard the concluſion of the treaty, did at laſt accede to the Quadruple Alliance on the 22d of *December*, *N. S.*

(1) The inſtructions were incloſed in a letter from Secretary *Craggs*:

Cockpit, *May* 27th, *O. S.* 1718.

SIR,

I incloſe to you his Majeſty's inſtructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the *Mediterranean*, as to the treaty with the *Moors*.

After what paſſed yeſterday between my Lord *Sunderland*, my Lord *Stanhope*, you and me, when we were together at Lord *Stanhope*'s lodgings, there remains nothing for me but to wiſh you a good voyage, and good ſucceſs in your undertakings. I do it very heartily, and am with great truth,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

Humble ſervant,

J. CRAGGS.

1718. and the *Spaniards*, you will accordingly take ſuch ſtations with our fleet under your command, as may be moſt proper to obſtruct any new hoſtilities, and to put theſe our inſtructions in execution.

IV. And as a ſuſpenſion of arms, and a forbearance of all acts of hoſtility on each ſide, in thoſe parts is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſetting on foot and concluding the proper Negotiations of peace, you are accordingly to make inſtances with both parties to ceaſe from uſing any further acts of hoſtility. But, in caſe the *Spaniards* do ſtill inſiſt with their ſhips of war and forces to attack the Kingdom of *Naples*, or other the territories of the Emperor in *Italy*, or to land in any part of *Italy*, which can only be with a deſign to invade the Emperor's Dominions, againſt whom only they have declared war by invading *Sardinia*; or if they ſhould endeavour to make themſelves maſters of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which muſt be with a deſign to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*; in ſuch caſe you are, with all your power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. But if it ſhould ſo happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the *Mediterranean*, the *Spaniards* ſhould already have landed any troops in *Italy*, in order to invade the Emperor's territories, you ſhall endeavour amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an attempt, and offer them your aſſiſtance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of hoſtility. But, in caſe theſe your friendly endeavours ſhould prove ineffectual, you ſhall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ſhips or convoy, or, if it be neceſſary, by openly oppoſing them, defend the Emperor's territories from any further attempt.

V. And whereas we have thought it for our ſervice, to ſend four battalions of our forces on board our fleet under your command; upon your arrival at our town of *Port-Mahon*, you are to put the ſaid four battalions on ſhore there, to relieve the garriſons in our iſland of *Minorca*; and you are to take the ſaid garriſons on board your ſhips of war, in order to employ the ſame in ſuch a manner, and according to ſuch inſtructions, as you ſhall receive from us.

VI. And whereas we have thought fit to recall our truſty and well beloved *Charles Cornwall*, Eſq; whom we had appointed our Plenipotentiary for concluding a peace with the *Moors*, and have impowered you to renew that Negotiation, you are therefore to diſpoſe of the ſhips now under the command of the ſaid Vice-Admiral *Cornwall*, and employ the whole ſquadron, or any part thereof, in the manner you ſhall judge moſt proper for promoting the ſeveral reſpective ſervices, wherein you are employed in the *Mediterranean*.

He ſails from Spithead, June 4.

The Admiral ſailed the 4th of *June* from *Spithead* with twenty ſhips of the line, two fire-ſhips, two bomb-veſſels, a hoſpital-ſhip, and a ſtore-ſhip. Being got into the Ocean, he ſent the *Rupert* to *Liſbon* for intelligence, and, arriving on the 30th *N. S.* off *Cape St. Vincent*, he diſpatched the *Superbe* to *Cadiz* with Mr. *Allix* his Secretary, who carried a letter from him to Colonel *Stanhope* (the preſent Earl of *Harrington*) the King's Envoy at *Madrid*, wherein he deſired that Miniſter to acquaint the King of *Spain* with his arrival in thoſe parts, in his way to the *Mediterranean*, and to lay before him the inſtructions he was to act under with his ſquadron, of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter. The Envoy ſhewed the letter to Cardinal *Alberoni*, who, upon reading it, told him with ſome warmth, 'That his Maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of *Spain*, rather than recall his troops, or conſent to any ſuſpenſion of arms:' adding, 'That the *Spaniards* were not to be frightened; and he was ſo well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that, if the Admiral ſhould think fit to attack them, he ſhould be in no pain for the ſucceſs.' Mr. *Stanhope*, having in his hand a liſt of the *Britiſh* ſquadron, deſired his Eminence to peruſe it, and to compare its ſtrength with that of their own ſquadron; which the Cardinal took, and threw on the ground with much paſſion. Mr. *Stanhope*, with great temper, deſired him 'to conſider the ſincere attention, which the King his Maſter had always had to the honour and intereſt of his Catholic Majeſty, which it was impoſſible for him to give greater proofs of, than he had done by his unwearied endeavours, through the whole courſe of the preſent Negotiations, to procure the moſt advantageous conditions poſſible for *Spain*, in which he had ſucceeded even beyond what any unprejudiced perſon could have hoped for; and that, though by the treaty of *Utrecht* for the neutrality of *Italy*, which was entered into at the requeſt of the King of *Spain* himſelf; as alſo by that of *Weſtminſter* the 25th of *May*, 1716, his Majeſty found himſelf obliged to defend the Emperor's Dominions, when attacked, he had hitherto only acted as a Mediator, though, ever ſince the enterprize againſt *Sardinia*, by his treaties he became a party in the war, and for this year laſt paſt had been ſtrongly called upon by the Emperor to comply with theſe engagements; and that even now, when it was impoſſible for him to delay any longer the ſending his fleet into the *Mediterranean*, it plainly appeared by the Admiral's inſtructions, which he communicated to his Eminence, and by the orders he had himſelf received, that his Majeſty had nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed in promoting the intereſts of the King of *Spain*; and hoped, his Catholic Majeſty would not, by refuſing to recall his troops, or conſent to a ceſſation of arms, put it out of his power to give all the proofs of the ſincere friendſhip he always deſired to cultivate with his Catholic Majeſty.' All that the Cardinal could be brought to promiſe, was to lay the Admiral's letter before the King, and to let the Envoy know his reſolution upon it in two days: But it was nine days before he could obtain and ſend it away, the Cardinal probably hoping, that the Admiral would delay, in expectation of it, in ſome of the Ports of *Spain*, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to ſecure a good footing in *Sicily*. The anſwer was wrote under the Admiral's letter in theſe words: 'His Catholic Majeſty has done me the honour to tell me, that the Chevalier *Byng* may execute the orders, which he has from the King his Maſter. *Eſcurial*, 15 *July*, 1718.

The Cardinal *Alberoni*.'

Mr. *Stanhope*, ſeeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehenſions

1718. henſions to the *Engliſh* Conſuls and Merchants, ſettled in the *Spaniſh* ſea-port towns, adviſing them to guard and ſecure their effects againſt any danger of a breach between the two Crowns.

The Admiral purſuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of *July*, *N. S.* before he made Cape *Spartel*, where the *Superbe* and *Rupert* rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations, which the *Spaniards* had made at *Barcelona*, and of their fleet ſailing from thence the 18th of *June*, *N. S.* to the eaſtward. In paſſing by *Gibraltar*, Vice-Admiral *Cornwall* came out and joined him, with the *Argyle* and *Charles* Galley. The ſquadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape *Malaga*, where having compleated their watering in four days, they proceeded to *Minorca*, where the Admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from *England*, in order to relieve the ſoldiers there in garriſon, who were to imbark, and ſerve in the ſquadron. On the 23d of *July*, *N. S.* he anchored with the ſquadron off *Port-Mahon*. Here he received advice, that the *Spaniſh* fleet had been ſeen, the 30th of *June*, within forty leagues of *Naples*, ſteering South-eaſt: Upon which he diſpatched away expreſſes to the Governor of *Milan*, and Viceroy of *Naples*, to inform them of his arrival in the *Mediterranean*; and, having ſhifted the garriſons of *Minorca*, he ſailed from thence the 25th of *July*, *N. S.* and arrived the 1ſt of *Auguſt* in the Bay of *Naples*.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy of thoſe people, at the long-wiſhed for ſight of a fleet, which alone could aſſure their ſafety. They had been under the greateſt terrors, expecting, that the prodigious armament of *Spain* would have fallen upon that Kingdom: And, though their fears were relieved for the preſent by the deſcent of the *Spaniards* into *Sicily*, yet the rapidity, with which they had over-run the greateſt part of that Iſland, and a reaſonable ſuſpicion, that the Duke of *Savoy* would not much expoſe his troops to defend the remainder of a Country, which, by the terms of the *Quadruple Alliance*, was to be taken from him, and given to a Potentate, whoſe power in *Italy* he dreaded, made them look for the enemy ſoon in *Naples*, where the ſtrong part, that had appeared among the *Sicilian* Nobility for *Spain*, made them apprehend, that no leſs a faction would riſe in their favour, upon their invading that Kingdom, where the *Germans* had but twelve (ſome ſay eight) thouſand men, and the whole Country was ill provided for defence. The common people indeed were generally in the intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which was greatly owing to the prudent Government of the Marſhal Count *Daun*, their Viceroy, a man endowed with all the qualities fit for that high employment, and the ſame perſon, who had defended *Turin* ſo well, when it was beſieged by the Duke of *Orleans* in 1706, till it was relieved by the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene*. He was of a courteous and affable diſpoſition, but exact and ſteady in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; by which means he had ſuppreſſed the Banditti, who uſed to infeſt the Country; and had put a ſtop to the murders, that were ſo frequent in the City, not ſuffering the Churches to exerciſe their infamous claim of ſanctuary for ſuch flagitious crimes. He did not indeed affect that ſhew of grandeur, which the *Italians* are fond of; but, as his frugal manner of living freed him from the neceſſity of oppreſſing them, ſo there was never any complaint of that kind againſt him. He was very zealous for the intereſts of his Maſter, which he promoted by juſt and wiſe meaſures; and a certain conformity of manners, wherein he and the Admiral reſembled each other, begat ſuch a quick confidence and friendſhip between them, as helped to carry on the ſervice of the common cauſe with unuſual harmony and diſpatch. 1718.

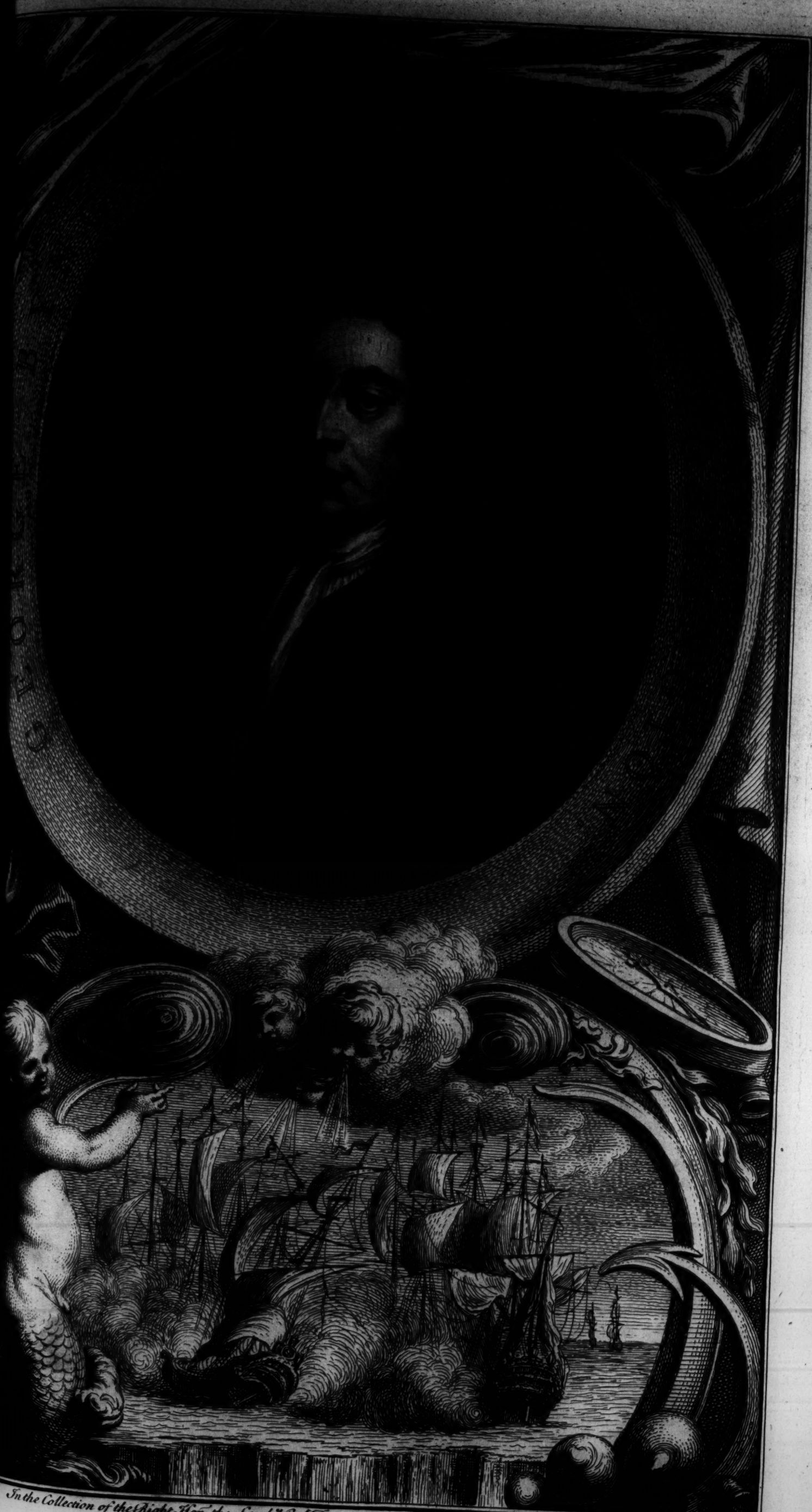
The fleet ſailing with a gentle gale into the Bay of *Naples*, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line of battle, moſt of them great ſhips, and three of them bearing flags, afforded ſuch a ſpectacle, as had never been ſeen in thoſe parts before. The whole City was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The ſhore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and people; and ſuch an infinite number of boats came off, ſome with proviſions and refreſhments, others out of curioſity and admiration, that the ſea between the fleet at anchor and the ſhore was literally covered. The Viceroy, being incommoded with the gout, ſent Colonel Count *Hamilton* to make his compliments to the Admiral, and to let him know the feeble condition he was in; but that, nevertheleſs, he intended to come off, and make him a viſit. The Admiral returned the civility by his firſt Captain, who, waiting on the Viceroy, told him, the Admiral was ſenſible of the honour he intended him, but deſired he would not give himſelf the trouble, eſpecially as he was ill; and that he would immediately wait on his Excellency. The Admiral going aſhore, attended by the Flag-officers and Captains in their boats, was ſaluted, at his landing, by all the cannon round the City and Caſtles, and was carried to the Duke *de Matalone*'s palace, which had been prepared for his reception during his ſtay at *Naples*. From thence he was conducted to Court through an infinite throng of people, with the greateſt acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies paid to a Viceroy; where entering into Conference with Count *Daun*, he learnt, that the *Spaniſh* army, conſiſting of about thirty thouſand men, commanded by the Marquiſs *de Lede*, had landed the 2d of *July*, *N. S.* in *Sicily*, and had ſoon made themſelves maſters of the City and Caſtles of *Palermo*, and of great part of the Iſland; that they had taken the Town of *Meſſina*, and were then carrying on the ſiege of the Citadel; that the Viceroy did not know, how far the *Piedmonteſe* garriſon was to be depended on; but that they muſt ſoon be obliged to ſurrender, if not relieved. That the laſt letters he had received from *Vienna* gave hopes, that the King of *Sicily* might be entered, by this time, into a particular Alliance with the Emperor, having deſired the aſſiſtance of his troops, and agreed to receive them into the Citadel. The next morning the Viceroy viſited the Admiral, and, renewing their Conference on the meaſures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs, it was agreed, that the Viceroy ſhould ſend General *Wetzel* with two thouſand *German* foot in Tartans to *Meſſina*, to relieve the Citadel and Fort *St. Salvador*; and, as the Admiral was directed by his orders to obſtruct any attempts of the *Spaniards* on *Sicily*, he conſented to take thoſe troops under his protection; and, accordingly, the tranſports being got

1718. got ready, he ſailed with them the 6th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* from *Naples*, and arrived the 9th in view of the *Faro* off *Meſſina*.

Here the Admiral pauſed. He ſaw with concern a new war rekindled in *Europe* by the ambition of *Spain*: He weighed with deep conſideration the conſequences of his inſtructions, which made a rupture with that Nation unavoidable, if they perſiſted in their enterprize on *Sicily*; and being ardently deſirous of trying every method of Negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, he diſpatched Captain *Saunders*, his firſt Captain, to *Meſſina*, with a letter to the Marquiſs *de Lede*, acquainting him, 'That the King, his Maſter, being engaged by ſeveral treaties to preſerve the tranquillity of *Italy*, had honoured him with the command of a ſquadron of ſhips, which he had ſent into thoſe ſeas; and that he came fully impowered and inſtructed to promote ſuch meaſures, as might beſt accommodate all differences between the powers concerned. That his Majeſty was employing his utmoſt endeavours to bring about a general pacification, and was not without hopes of ſucceſs. He therefore propoſed to him to come to a ceſſation of arms in *Sicily* for two months, in order to give time to the ſeveral Courts to conclude on ſuch reſolutions, as might reſtore a laſting peace.' But he added, 'That, if he was not ſo happy to ſucceed in this offer of ſervice, nor to be inſtrumental in bringing about ſo deſirable a work, he ſhould then hope to merit his Excellency's eſteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which were, to uſe all his force to prevent farther attempts to diſturb the Dominions his Maſter ſtood engaged to defend.' The next morning the Captain returned with the General's anſwer, 'That it would be an inexpreſſible joy for his perſon to contribute to ſo laudable an end as peace; but, as he had no powers to treat, he could not of conſequence agree to any ſuſpenſion of arms, even at the expence of what the courage of his Maſter's arms might be put to; but ſhould follow his orders, which directed him to ſeize on *Sicily* for his Maſter the King of *Spain*. That he had a true ſenſe of his accompliſhed expreſſions; but his Maſter's forces would always be univerſally eſteemed in ſacrificing themſelves for the preſervation of their credit, in which caſes the ſucceſs did not always anſwer the ideas, that were formed.'

The Spaniſh *fleet defeated by Admiral* Byng, Hiſt. Reg. Corbet.

The Admiral had received intelligence, that the *Spaniſh* fleet departed from *Paradiſe* (which is a road at the entrance of the harbour of *Meſſina*) the day before his arrival off the *Faro*, which made him conclude, that they were retired to *Malta*; and therefore, upon receiving the Marquis *de Lede*'s anſwer, he immediately ſailed, with intention to come with his ſquadron before *Meſſina*, in order to encourage and ſupport the garriſon in the Citadel; but, as he ſtood in about the point of the *Faro* towards *Meſſina*, he ſaw two of the *Spaniſh* ſcouts in the *Faro*; and being informed at the ſame time by a Felucca, which came off from the *Calabrian* ſhore, that they ſaw from the hills the *Spaniſh* fleet lying by, the Admiral altered his deſign, and ſending away General *Wetzel* with the *German* troops to *Reggio*, under the convoy of two men of war, he ſtood through the *Faro* with his ſquadron, with all the ſail he could, after their ſcouts, imagining they would lead him to their fleet, which accordingly they did; for before noon he had a ſight of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of men of war, ſmall and great, beſides two fire-ſhips, four bomb-veſſels, ſeven gallies, and ſeveral ſhips laden with ſtores and proviſions, commanded by the Admiral *Don Antonio de Caſtaneta*, and under him four Rear-Admirals, *Chacon*, *Mari*, *Guevara*, and *Cammock*. On the ſight of the *Engliſh* ſquadron, they ſtood away large, but in order of battle. The Admiral followed them all the reſt of that day, and the ſucceeding night with ſmall gales North-Eaſterly, and ſometimes calm, with fair weather. The next morning early, the 11th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* the *Engliſh* being got pretty near up with them, the Marquiſs *De Mari*, Rear-Admiral, with ſix *Spaniſh* men of war, and all the gallies, fire-ſhips, bomb-veſſels, and ſtore-ſhips, ſeparated from their main fleet, and ſtood in for the *Sicilian* ſhore; upon which Admiral *Byng* detached Captain *Walton* in the *Canterbury* with five more ſhips, after them; and, the *Argyle* and *Canterbury* getting within gun-ſhot of the headmoſt ſhip, about ſix in the morning, the *Argyle* fired a ſhot to bring her to; which ſhe not minding, the *Argyle* fired another, and the *Canterbury*, being ſomething nearer, fired another, upon which the *Spaniſh* ſhip fired her ſtern-chace at the *Canterbury*, and then the engagement began. The Admiral purſuing the main body of the *Spaniſh* fleet, the *Orford*, Captain *Falkingham*, and the *Grafton*, Captain *Haddock*, came up firſt with them about ten o'clock, at whom the *Spaniards* fired their ſtern-chace guns. The Admiral ſent orders to thoſe two ſhips not to fire, unleſs the *Spaniards* repeated their firing; which they doing, the *Orford* attacked the *Santa Roſa* of ſixty-four guns, and took her. The *St. Carlos* of fifty guns ſtruck next, without much oppoſition, to the *Kent*, Captain *Matthews*. The *Grafton* attacked warmly the *Prince of Aſturias* of ſeventy guns, formerly called the *Cumberland*, in which was Rear-Admiral *Chacon*; but the *Bredah*, Captain *Barrow-Harris*, and the *Captain*, Captain *Archibald Hamilton*, coming up, *Haddock* left that ſhip much ſhattered for them to take, and ſtretched a head after another ſhip of ſixty guns, which had kept firing on his ſtarboard-bow, during his engagement with the *Prince of Aſturias*. About one o'clock the *Kent*, and ſoon after the *Superbe*, Captain *Maſter*, came up with, and engaged the *Spaniſh* Admiral of ſeventy-four guns, who with two ſhips more fired on them, and made a running fight till about three, and then the *Kent* bearing down upon him, and under his ſtern, gave him her broadſide, and fell to the leeward. Afterwards the *Superbe*, putting for it to lay the Admiral aboard, fell on his weather-quarter, upon which the *Spaniſh* Admiral ſhifting his helm, the *Superbe* ranged up under his lee-quarter, on which he ſtruck to her. At the ſame time the *Barfleur*, in which was the Admiral, being a ſtern of the *Spaniſh* Admiral within ſhot, and inclining on his weather-quarter, Rear-Admiral *Guevara*, and another ſixty gun ſhip, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadſides, and then clapped upon a wind, ſtanding in for the land. The Admiral immediately tacked and ſtood after them, until it was almoſt night; but there being little wind, and they galing away out of his reach, he left purſuing them, and ſtood in



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BRITISH MUSEUM

fleet, which he joined two hours after night. The *Eſſex*, Captain *Rouzier*, took the *Juno* of thirty-ſix guns; the *Mountague*, Captain *Beverley*, and the *Rupert*, Captain *Field*, took the *Volante* of forty-four guns; and Rear-Admiral *Delaval* in the *Dorſetſhire* took the *Iſabella* of ſixty guns. This action happened off *Cape Paſſaro* about ſix leagues diſtance from the ſhore. The *Engliſh* received but little damage. The ſhip, that ſuffered moſt, was the *Grafton*, which being a good ſailor, her Captain engaged ſeveral ſhips of the enemy, always purſuing the headmoſt, and leaving thoſe ſhips, which he had diſabled or damaged, to be taken by thoſe, that followed him. Admiral *Byng* lay by ſome days at ſea, to refit the rigging of his ſhips, and to repair the damages the prizes had ſuſtained; and the 18th received a letter from Captain *Walton* giving an account, that he had taken four *Spaniſh* men of war, one of ſixty guns, commanded by Rear-Admiral *Mari*, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-veſſel, and a ſhip laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ſhip and a bomb-veſſel (1).

The Admiral, having thus received a full account of the whole tranſaction, diſpatched away his eldeſt ſon, Mr. *Byng*, to *England*; who, arriving at *Hampton-Court* in fifteen days from *Naples*, brought the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the King had already written a letter to the Admiral with his own hand (2). Mr. *Byng* met with a moſt gracious reception from the King, who made him a handſome preſent; and ſent him back with Plenipotentiary Powers to his father to negotiate with the ſeveral Princes and States of *Italy*, as there ſhould be occaſion, and with his Royal Grant to the Officers and Seamen of all the prizes taken by them from the *Spaniards*.

The conduct of the *Spaniards* in the action of *Paſſaro* did not anſwer the vigour of the reſolutions they had taken before it. Upon notice of the approach of the *Engliſh* ſquadron, they held a conſultation, in which the queſtion was not, Whether they ſhould fight or retreat, but in what ſtation they ſhould expect them? Whether go out from *Meſſina* to meet them, or paſs through the *Faro* to the Southward, and, lying by in order of battle, receive them there? Which latter opinion prevailed. But, when the Admiral came up near to them, they ſoon abandoned their order of battle, and falling into confuſion and uncertainty, whether to reſiſt or fly, by doing neither they became an eaſy prey, and the *Engliſh* might be rather ſaid to have made a ſeizure, than to have gained a victory. There was indeed ſome diſproportion in the ſtrength of the two fleets; but the inequality was not ſuch, as deterred the *Spaniards* from a reſolution of fighting, though it was but ill ſupported afterwards in the execution. But this juſtice is due to the Admiral *Caſtaneta*, and to Rear-Admiral *Chacon*, that they made as good a defence with their own ſhips, as could be expected, and the former was wounded in both legs. It was reported, that, at a conſultation of the *Spaniſh* Admirals, Rear-Admiral *Cammock* gave his opinion, that they ſhould remain at anchor in the road of *Paradiſe*, ranging their ſhips in a line of battle, with their broadſides to the ſea; which meaſure would certainly have given the *Engliſh* Admiral infinite trouble to attack them. For the coaſt is ſo bold, that the largeſt ſhips could ride with a cable aſhore; and, further out, the currents are ſo various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impoſſible to anchor or lie by them in order of battle. Beſides, they lay ſo near the ſhore, and could have received ſuch aſſiſtance of ſoldiers from the army to man and defend them; and the annoyance, which the *Spaniards* might have given from the ſeveral batteries they could have planted along the ſhore, would have been ſuch, that the only way of attacking the ſhips ſeemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being caſt off by the currents; which would have been a very hazardous undertaking, wherein the *Spaniards* would have had many advantages, and the *Engliſh* Admiral have run the chance of deſtroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he ſucceeded, very dear (3). 1718.

Admiral

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(1) Captain *Walton* was one, whoſe natural talents were fitter for atchieving a gallant action, than deſcribing one; yet his letter on this occaſion carries in it ſuch a ſtrain of military eloquence, that it is worth inſerting here:

SIR,

'We have taken and deſtroyed all the *Spaniſh* ſhips and veſſels, which were upon the coaſt, the number as *per* Margin. *I am*, &c.

Canterbury off *Syracuſe*, 16 *Aug.* 1718. G. WALTON.'

(2) The letter was in *French*, and may thus be tranſlated:

Monſieur le Chevalier Byng.

'Though I have not yet heard from you directly, I am informed of the victory which the fleet has gained under your command, and I was unwilling to delay the ſatisfaction that my approbation of your conduct might afford you. I thank you for it, and deſire you to expreſs my ſatisfaction to all the brave people who have ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion. Secretary *Craggs* has orders to inform you more at large of my intentions, but I was pleaſed to aſſure you myſelf that I am,

Monſieur le Chevalier Byng,

Hampton-Court, *Aug.* 23. 1718. *Your good Friend*,

GEORGE R.'

(3) Mr. *Corbet*, in his account of the expedition to *Sicily*, inſerts here the following digreſſion concerning the affairs of the *Spaniards*:

The counſels of *Spain* were, at this time, under the management of two *Italians*, the Queen and the Abbot *Alberoni*, whom ſhe had raiſed to the dignity of Cardinal and Prime Miniſter. They had vaſt deſigns in their view, and by ſecret intrigues with the King of *Sicily*, and other *Italian* Princes and States, had laid no leſs a ſcheme, than to exterminate the Houſe of *Auſtria* and the Imperial power out of *Italy*. And it was thought to be owing to the doubts they had of the ſincerity of the King of *Sicily*, that the ſtorm fell firſt upon his Dominions, which was intended elſewhere. The armament they fitted out was ſuitable to the greatneſs of the undertaking; never any Nation ſent to ſea

1718. Admiral *Byng*, having collected his ſhips after the action, put into *Syracuſe* the 19th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* where he found Captain *Walton* and his prizes. *Syracuſe* was at that time blocked up by a detachment of the *Spaniſh* army, into which City Count *Maffei*, the Duke of *Savoy*'s Viceroy, had retreated with difficulty from *Palermo*, and had in the place a numerous garriſon. But the firſt and principal point of the *Spaniſh* General was to get *Meſſina* into his hands, as the ſafeſt port for their fleet, and the moſt proper place to facilitate and ſecure the conqueſt of the reſt of the Iſland, and from whence they deſigned to tranſport their numerous horſe, and the greateſt part of their foot, over to *Calabria*, and to have carried the war into the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Citadel of *Meſſina* was defended by a *Piedmonteſe* garriſon, commanded by the Marquiſs *d'Andorno*; but the Duke of *Savoy*, being unable to ſupport the ſiege, had ſollicited the Emperor for his aſſiſtance, and a Convention was made between the Viceroy of *Naples* and the Count *de Bourge*, Reſident of *Savoy*, whereby the Viceroy was to ſend a detachment of *German* troops, to be admitted into the Citadel on joint and equal terms of command; for which ſervice Baron *Wetzel* was diſpatched away with two thouſand foot, as has been before related. But the ſucceſs of the *Engliſh* fleet had raiſed ſuch a confidence in the garriſon, of their ſecurity againſt any attempts from the *Spaniards*, that the Reſident endeavoured to elude an agreement, the neceſſity of which he thought no longer ſubſiſted, pretending want of power to make ſuch a conceſſion without an equivalent, but that he would write to his Court for farther orders. This coming to Admiral *Byng*'s knowledge, he repreſented in ſtrong terms to Count *Maffei* 'the unfairneſs of ſuch a proceeding, and how contrary it was to what he himſelf had agreed to, in their Conference together the day before, upon that ſubject. That ſuch a diſagreement, at a time that the Citadel was ſo vigorouſly attacked by the enemy, might be a means of their taking it, which the reputation of the *Engliſh* fleet would not ſuffer him to be an idle ſpectator of; and therefore, if he was reſolved to ſtay till he had inſtructions from the Court of *Turin*, he ſhould likewiſe ſend to his Court for farther orders; and, in the mean time, would retire from the Iſland to ſome other place, to refreſh his men, and refit his ſhips, till he ſhould receive new directions from *England*.' This had ſuch an effect upon the Viceroy, that he gave immediate orders for putting the agreement in execution, and for admitting *German* troops into the Citadel. This point being adjuſted, the Admiral (having ſent away Vice-Admiral *Cornwall*, with ſuch of his ſhips, as wanted refitting, and all the prizes, to *Port-Mahon*, with orders not to ſuffer the leaſt embezzlement to be made, but to preſerve every thing intire, till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known) ſailed himſelf, on the 23d of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* from *Syracuſe*, and arrived, the 26th, at *Reggio*, where General *Wetzel* informing him, that he hourly expected a reinforcement of four thouſand men from *Naples*, which, with thoſe he had with him, and the garriſon in the Citadel, would make about nine thouſand men, and, upon their arrival, he ſhould form a project for raiſing the ſiege of the Citadel, if the Admiral would ſtay to countenance and protect him with his fleet; he readily conſented, knowing the extreme importance of not letting *Meſſina* fall into the hands of the enemy, and being directed by freſh orders from *England* to do all he could to prevent it. But, thoſe forces proving inſufficient for the execution of the intended project, the General contented himſelf, with ſupplying the Citadel from 1718.

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an army ſo numerous, ſo well appointed, and ſo provided with all neceſſaries for a diſtant expedition; the leaſt implement was not forgotten. All which was owing to the indefatigable care of *Don Joſeph Patinho*, a man of great abilities, who went in the expedition, and had the abſolute direction and management of the whole enterprize, except the military command. The world was amazed to ſee *Spain* exerting a vigour, ſhe had not ſhewn for above a Century paſt. Some of the principal priſoners, and *Caſtaneta* himſelf, aſſured the Admiral, that they intended, the ſummer following, to have at ſea fifty ſail of the line of battle; which the great preparations in the ports of *Biſcay*, and other ports of *Spain*, made very probable. Thoſe in *Biſcay*, which were one man of war of ſeventy guns, and two of ſixty, newly built, with an incredible quantity of timber, pitch and tar, and other naval ſtores, for building more, were all deſtroyed by an *Engliſh* ſquadron, aſſiſted by a detachment which the Duke of *Berwick* ſpared from his army, at the ſollicitation of Colonel *Stanhope* the *Engliſh* Miniſter, who contrived the deſign, and, ſerving as a Voluntier in the enterprize, principally contributed to the execution of it.

It ſhould ſeem but ill policy in a Court, intent on ſuch mighty deſigns, to provoke and irritate, without cauſe, a Nation, the moſt capable in the world of thwarting and defeating them. And yet they ſeemed to make it a ſtudied point to vex and diſtreſs the *Engliſh* by all manner of ways in their commerce, inſomuch that their trade with *Spain* was almoſt ruined and loſt. They demanded arbitrary and heavy duties from the *Engliſh* factories reſiding in their ports, from which the treaties expreſsly exempted them; and, upon refuſal of payment, their houſes were ſurrounded by ſoldiers, their warehouſes and cheſts broken open, and their goods ſold at public outcry. The Royal Officers uſed them with ſuch injuſtice and inſolence, as if they knew, they made their Court by doing ſo. Every poſt brought complaints to the *Engliſh* Miniſter at *Madrid*, of new grievances and oppreſſions. The memorials delivered to that Court for redreſs were numberleſs, without the leaſt regard had to them. When any tranſportation of troops was intended, they immediately embargoed all the *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips in their ports, compelling their Maſters, with great circumſtances of ſeverity, to enter into their ſervice, impriſoning them in common goals, if they refuſed, and obliging them to unload their cargoes, though periſhable, and conſigned to other markets. They proceeded ſo far in their unjuſt treatment, that their Cruizers brought into the ports of *Spain* whatever *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips they met with in the open ſea, though bound to *Italy*, or other parts, and compelled them to unload their cargoes, and enter into their ſervice. Such, as were not uſed by them for tranſports, had their ſeamen taken away to ſerve in their men of war. Rear-Admiral *Cammock* preſſed no leſs than ſixty for his own ſhip, and one of the Maſters, endeavouring to keep his men, had both his ears cut off. The battle of *Paſſaro* was fortunate to thoſe poor people, for, when the iſſue of it was known, forty-five *Engliſh* tranſports made their eſcape from *Meſſina* to *Reggio*, ſeveral of them laden with military ſtores and proviſions; and, their Maſters applying to the Admiral, he granted them a convoy to the ports in *Italy*, where they deſired to go; but ſome choſe to ſtay and enter into the Emperor's ſervice, to tranſport his troops from *Genoa* and *Naples* to *Sicily*.

1718. from time to time with freſh troops from *Reggio*; notwithſtanding which, the *Spaniards* puſhed on the ſiege with ſo much vigour and ſucceſs, that the Governor ſurrendered the Citadel by capitulation, on the 29th of *September*, *N. S.* to the great ſurprize and diſſatisfaction of the *Germans*. The *Piedmonteſe* part of the garriſon was tranſported by ſea to *Syracuſe*, and the *Germans* to *Reggio*.

Admiral *Byng* receiving advice, that Rear-Admiral *Cammock* with three *Spaniſh* men of war, and as many frigates, which had eſcaped from the battle, was at *Malta*, and that a rich *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhip, homeward bound from *Turkey*, was detained in the port, and in ſome danger; as likewiſe five *Sicilian* gallies, which had taken refuge there ever ſince the arrival of the *Spaniſh* fleet in *Sicily*; he ſtood over to that Iſland, where he learnt, that Rear-Admiral *Cammock* had ſailed from thence five days before with four ſhips, which he had cleaned there. The Marquiſs *de Rivaroles*, General of the *Sicilian* gallies, coming off to the Admiral, made great complaints of the partiality and ill uſage of that Government, in ſuffering him to be expoſed to daily affronts from the *Spaniards*, and prayed his protection and aſſiſtance to get away from thence; upon which the Admiral ſent his firſt Captain with his compliments to the Grand Maſter, and deſired, that thoſe gallies might have free liberty to come out to him. The Grand Maſter ſent off three great Croſſes of the order to the Admiral, and with much politeneſs gave him all the aſſurances poſſible of freedom for the gallies to do what they pleaſed; upon which the Admiral ſent word to the Marquiſs to come out. But he returning an anſwer, that the *Spaniſh* ſhips had laid themſelves in the way to ſtop his paſſage, and threatened to ſink him, if he offered to ſtir, the Admiral ſent to the Grand Maſter a ſecond meſſage, that, if he ſuffered the neutrality of the ports to be violated, or any ill treatment to be given to the gallies, he ſhould take the meaſures, that would be neceſſary on that occaſion; but the Grand Maſter proteſting, that no violence ſhould be uſed, and that he would be anſwerable for it, the Admiral ſent again to the Marquiſs to come out, aſſuring him, that, if the *Spaniards* offered the leaſt obſtruction, he would aſſiſt him to deſtroy them in the very port. But, the Marquiſs continuing under great perplexity and terror, the Admiral, tired with his delay, ſent him word, that he was well ſatisfied of the honour of the Grand Maſter in preſerving the privilege of the port; and therefore, if he would not make uſe of the preſent opportunity, he ſhould ſuſpect, that his fears were affected, and uſed only as an artifice to ſtay there, and would give himſelf no farther trouble about him; and accordingly weighed, in order to depart; but this meſſage wrought ſo upon the Marquiſs, that he immediately haſtened out with his gallies, without any obſtruction from the *Spaniards*; but they were in ſo miſerable a condition, that the Admiral was forced to lend them ſeamen and pilots to navigate them, and caulkers to ſtop their leaks. The *Turkey* ſhip came out likewiſe, and joined the Admiral, who ſent the gallies under a convoy to *Syracuſa*; and, having ſeen the *Turkey* Merchant-ſhip clear of danger, he arrived the 2d of *November*, *N. S.* in the bay of *Naples*, from whence he ſent Rear-Admiral *Delaval*, with two eighty gun-ſhips and a fire-ſhip, home to *England*. 1718. Here the Count *de Luzan*, ſon-in-law to the Marquiſs *de Rialp*, Secretary of State at *Vienna*, brought the Admiral a gracious letter from the Emperor written with his own hand, and his picture ſet round with large brilliant diamonds.

The taking of *Meſſina* was a point of great conſequence, as it made the *Spaniards* maſters of all *Sicily*, except *Syracuſa*, *Trapani*, and *Melazzo* (where the Duke of *Savoy* had ſtill garriſons) and as it deprived the *Engliſh* fleet of a port to winter in, there being no other good harbour in thoſe parts. The Emperor ſaw before him a difficult task, to get poſſeſſion of an Iſland, which the Quadruple Alliance had deſigned for him. The Duke of *Savoy* had only the three aforementioned towns to deliver up, which he ſcrupled doing without the promiſed equivalent; and the Emperor had it not to give him. But, tho' the Emperor had gotten theſe places, the recovery of the reſt of the Iſland was to be a work of conqueſt. The *Spaniards* had an army well appointed, well paid, and the affections of the people on their ſide. They would have little feared any enterprizes of the *Germans*, if the ſea had been neutral between them.

The Duke of *Savoy* finding himſelf under circumſtances of difficulty, the *Spaniards*, on the one hand, taking moſt of his towns in *Sicily* from him, and the Emperor, on the other, by virtue of the Quadruple Alliance, demanding his evacuation of the reſt, whilſt the Iſland of *Sardinia*, allotted to him by the ſame treaty, remained in the hands of the enemy; and having jealouſy, that, when the Imperialiſts had obtained their Iſland, he ſhould be left to get the other as he could, and deſiring to have ſome reaſonable ſecurity for the one, before he parted with his intereſt in the other, a Convention was made between thoſe Princes at *Vienna* (Monſieur *de St. Saphorin*, the King's Miniſter, aſſiſting) dated 29 *December*, 1718, whereby it was agreed to form an army for an expedition to *Sardinia* as ſoon as poſſible, towards which the Emperor was to furniſh ſix thouſand five hundred foot, and ſix hundred horſe, at his own expence, and the Duke of *Savoy* was intirely to evacuate *Sicily*, and join five thouſand men of his troops from that Iſland to act with the Imperialiſts on that ſervice; and in the mean time, till they could be tranſported from *Sicily*, they were to co-operate with the *Germans* againſt the common enemy: This treaty of Convention was ſent to *Naples* for the Viceroy, the Duke of *Savoy*'s Miniſter, and Admiral *Byng*, to conſult together of the beſt means to put it in execution. The buſineſs hung long perplexed with difficulties on the part of the Miniſter of *Savoy*, from a jealouſy and diſtruſt of the *Germans*; but the Admiral interpoſing, and removing by degrees all ſcruples, an agreement was at laſt concluded and ſigned between them, upon which the Miniſter of *Savoy* delivered to the Viceroy his Maſter's orders to Count *Maffei* to evacuate the towns in his poſſeſſion to the Imperialiſts. But the expedition againſt *Sardinia* did not go on, as will be ſhewn hereafter.

The winter being now ſet in, the Viceroy and Admiral *Byng* held frequent conſultations together, about the farther operations againſt the enemy. It was judged abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the poſt of *Melazzo*, which had been long blockaded, and was now beſieged by the

Spaniſh

1718. *Spaniſh* army, both ſides making this their principal point during the winter, the one holding their footing in the Iſland by means of this place; the other, by taking it, to ſhut them out. All the troops from *Reggio*, and ſome horſe from *Naples*, being got into the town, under the command of the Generals *Caraffa* and *Veterani*, it was reſolved, in a Council of war held the 14th of *October*, to ſally out upon the enemy. Accordingly, the next morning by break of day, they marched out in two columns, the firſt conſiſting of ſix, and the other of five battalions, and attacked the *Spaniſh* intrenchments, which they carried, after an engagement of four hours, and got poſſeſſion of their camp in the center and on the left, with three pieces of cannon. But, the ſoldiers falling to plunder, the *Spaniards* rallied on their right; and the Marquiſs *de Lede* coming up at the ſame time with freſh troops from *Meſſina*, who had lain ſhort the night before, they attacked the *Germans* in their turns, and drove them back into their camp, under the walls of the town, whoſe artillery protected the retreat, and prevented a greater ſlaughter. In the action, about twelve hundred men were killed and wounded on each ſide, and General *Veterani* was taken.

Melazzo is an ill fortified town, on the North-ſide of the Iſland of *Sicily*, not far diſtant from the *Faro*, ſtanding on a neck of land, which runs out into the ſea like an *Iſthmus*. *Caraffa* being recalled to *Naples*, Baron *Zumjungen* arrived at *Melazzo* the 27th of *November*, *N. S.* to command the forces; and being followed by the Generals *Wachtendonck* and *Seckendorf*, with large ſupplies of troops from *Italy*, and the place being too ſtrait to contain them, they carried their intrenchments out of the town, within leſs than piſtol-ſhot of thoſe of the *Spaniards*; ſo that, neither ſide being able to advance farther, both lay all the winter in an unwholeſome ſituation, it being low bad ground, and the trenches filled with water in rainy, and by the ſea in blowing weather; ſo that great numbers of men periſhed on both ſides. The *Germans* had no proviſions but what came from time to time in ſmall imbarkations from *Calabria*, and other ports of *Naples*. Rear-Admiral *Cammock*, who was got with his ſquadron into *Meſſina*, and the inhabitants of the Iſland of *Lipari*, who are eſteemed bold mariners, and have many armed veſſels, lay in the way of intercepting thoſe ſupplies; and the leaſt diſappointment muſt have ſtarved the garriſon, for their conſumption was very great, and they had no magazines. It was very hard ſervice, unknown and aſtoniſhing to the pilots of that Country, to employ ſhips cruizing in thoſe dangerous ſeas, during the rigour of the winter. For, when the weſterly or northerly winds blow, there is ſo little ſea-room in that narrow ſtation, and the currents ſet in ſo ſtrong upon the *Calabrian* ſhore, accompanied with a vaſt rolling ſea, that it is extremely difficult for ſhips to work to windward, or indeed to hold their own, and avoid ſtanding on a lee-ſhore. The Admiral had appointed a ſquadron, under the command of Captain *Walton*, to cruize upon this ſtation, to hinder Rear-Admiral *Cammock* from coming out of the *Faro*, and to ſecure the paſſage of the veſſels with proviſions for the *German* camp. It chanced to prove ſuch tempeſtuous weather, that no proviſions had arrived in a month at *Melazzo*, and Captain *Walton* was blown off from his ſtation, and had not been ſeen or heard of in ſix and twenty days. Rear-Admiral *Cammock* took hold of this opportunity to get out of *Meſſina*, the moment the weather abated, and, appearing before *Tropea* with *Engliſh* colours, ſent a letter a-ſhore to the Governor, under a fictitious name of one of the *Engliſh* Captains, acquainting him, that he was come thither by Admiral *Byng*'s orders, to convoy the imbarkations with proviſions to *Melazzo*, and preſſed him to diſpatch them away, the place being in the utmoſt diſtreſs. Had this ſtratagem ſucceeded, it would have intirely ruined the Emperor's affairs in *Sicily*; but the Governor happening to be a wary man, and obſerving the letter to be written on *Genoa* paper, from that ſingle circumſtance conceived a ſuſpicion, which made him refuſe to ſend the imbarkations out to him. In the mean time, the Admiral, being made ſenſible of the extremities the *Germans* were reduced to, had no other way left, than to fill four men of war (juſt arrived at *Naples* from *Port-Mahon*) with proviſions, directing their Captains to attempt, at all hazards, to get to *Melazzo*, which three of them did with much difficulty and danger (the fourth being diſabled by bad weather) and came providentially to the relief of the garriſon, at a time they muſt otherwiſe have ſurrendered to the enemy, or periſhed by famine. A few days after, Captain *Walton* recovered his ſtation, upon the ſight of whom, Rear-Admiral *Cammock* retired into *Meſſina*. 1718.

Melazzo being reſcued from danger, and reinforced daily with freſh ſupplies of men and proviſions, the *Spaniards*, deſpairing to take the place, turned the ſiege into a blockade, and worked hard in fortifying their own intrenchments, in order to keep the *Germans* pent up in the town, and obſtruct the deſcent of the army expected in the ſpring.

The Admiral having made a proper diſpoſition of ſhips in different ſtations round the Iſland, to keep the ſea open to the *Germans*, and ſhut to the *Spaniards*, was preparing to depart with the reſt, that had ſuffered by bad weather, to refit at *Port-Mahon*, when the Viceroy intreated him to aſſiſt at a Conference to be held at the Palace, where he met the General *Caraffa*, *Wetzel*, and the Marquiſs *de Fuencalada*, General of the *Neapolitan* gallies. The Viceroy opened it by acquainting them, 'That, a truce with the *Turks* being concluded, Prince *Eugene* was ſending from *Hungary* a body of about ſix-thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot, which, added to the troops in *Melazzo*, was thought a ſufficient number for the conqueſt of the Iſland. That they would probably arrive at *Naples* in the beginning of *March*, and he ſhould be glad to know their ſentiments of the propereſt place for their landing in *Sicily*, and touched on ſeveral propoſitions about it, as at *Syracuſa* or *Taormina*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the Iſland, or at *Patti* on the North-ſide, not far Weſtward from *Melazzo*.' General *Caraffa* objected to the landing at *Syracuſa*, 'as it would be a means of prolonging the war: That the place was too diſtant from *Melazzo*; and, *Auguſta* and *Catania* lying in the way, the ſiege of thoſe places would coſt more time and men, than could be ſpared, beſides the garriſoning them afterwards. That their march from thence lay for the moſt part over barren mountains, amongſt a diſaffected people,

18. people, where they ſhould find no ſubſiſtance but what they carried with them; and that paſſing afterwards through narrow defiles into the plain of *Melazzo*, where the enemy lay, was to attack them at too great a diſadvantage: And therefore he concluded for ſeeking the enemy as ſoon as poſſible, and for that end to land as near to them as might be.' General *Wetzel*, being next to ſpeak, preferred the landing at *Syracuſa*, 'as it would be a work of eaſe and ſafety, and done without interruption: That it would probably draw ſome of the enemy's force that way, and ſo relieve the troops in *Melazzo*: That it would expoſe the army too much to land in the neighbourhood of the enemy, who, ſeeing them approaching from the ſea, would eaſily gueſs at the place they deſigned to land, and, leaving a guard in their camp, march a ſufficient body of troops to oppoſe the deſcent, which was a difficult and tedious work in itſelf, eſpecially with regard to the debarking the horſe.' *Caraffa* aſking him, how long he thought the enemy might be marching to the landing-place, after they knew where it would be, and *Wetzel* allowing eight hours, *Caraffa* replied, the foot could be all landed in that time, and formed into proper order to receive the enemy, and the landing the horſe might be afterwards a work of leiſure. But *Wetzel* adhered to his opinion. The General of the gallies next, in a very long diſcourſe, 'excuſed himſelf from giving any opinion upon a ſubject, that related to the land-ſervice, and, referring himſelf to what the two Generals had ſaid before him, concluded, that great caution ought to be taken, which ever opinion ſhould be followed.' The Admiral gathering from their diſcourſe, that part of the expected troops were to embark at *Fiume* and *Trieſte*, and to come round by ſea to *Reggio*, and probably paſs on through the *Faro*, to *Naples*, told them, 'That land-forces ſhould be truſted to the ſea as little as poſſible, eſpecially in the early and uncertain ſeaſon: That, if they landed at *Manfredonia* on the *Atlantic* ſide, the traject would be ſhort, and their march more certain to their rendezvous at *Naples*.' He then went on to deliver his opinion, 'That the troops they expected were not ſufficient to recover the Iſland from the enemy. That it was a great error to hold the *Spaniards* in contempt, whoſe behaviour hitherto in *Sicily* had given no reaſon for it. That they were become uſed to arms and hardſhips, and the *Germans* would find them like other men. That, according to a calculation he had made, when thoſe troops ſhould be joined to the forces in *Melazzo*, they would not be able, after leaving the neceſſary garriſons in the towns, which the Duke of *Savoy* was to deliver up, to bring into the field a greater number than what the *Spaniſh* army was reported to be; and that, without a conſiderable ſuperiority, little ſucceſs was to be expected in a Country, where the ill-will of the people towards them, and their inclination to the *Spaniards*, were ſo very evident, that they were to hope for no aſſiſtance, but expect every diſtreſs from them.' He added, 'That they were not to look upon the enemy as a mouldering army, for, notwithſtanding the care of his cruiſers, they received frequent recruits from *Spain* and *Sardinia*, and even from *Italy*, in open veſſels and boats, which was not always in his power to prevent. And beſides, the Marquiſs *de Lede* had lately raiſed four regiments of foot, and one of horſe, in the Iſland itſelf.' The Viceroy acknowledged the force of the Admiral's reaſoning, but lamented the diſtance of the Court of *Vienna*, which hindered them from ſeeing into, and conſidering enough theſe difficulties, and who purſued only one maxim, that, if they ſent men, they ought to conquer. The Admiral propoſed, that an Officer ſhould be ſent to *Vienna*, to repreſent the poſture of affairs to that Court in a better light than they ſeemed to view them in, and to bring back their final reſolutions concerning the operations of the war; and Count *Hamilton* was pitched upon for that purpoſe. 1718.

The Conference being ended, the Admiral took his leave of the Viceroy, and ſet ſail the 3d of *February* for *Port-Mahon*, to refit his ſhips, and put them in a condition to go on early with the operations of the campaign, leaving his eldeſt ſon at *Naples* to manage his correſpondence with the Viceroy, and to inform the Court of *England* of all occurrences in thoſe parts.

Complaints of Spain.

The defeat of the *Spaniſh* fleet made a great noiſe, and *England* was upbraided with it as inconſiſtent with the rules of good faith, for the obſervance of which ſhe had always been ſo famous.

Cardinal *Alberoni*, in his letter to the Marquiſs *de Monteleone* at *London*, called it an *unworthy* action. 'His Majeſty (ſays the Cardinal) approves of the juſtneſs of your expreſſions (1), to expoſe the breach of faith of that Miniſtry,

(1) Soon after the news of the action in the *Mediterranean*, the Marquiſs *de Monteleone* wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, to which the Cardinal here refers. The letter begins thus:

SIR,

'The news that is ſpread in the world of Admiral *Byng*'s having attacked the *Spaniſh* fleet, and obtained conſiderable advantages over them, obliges me naturally not to act in any affair, till I receive orders and inſtructions from the King my Maſter, concerning an action ſo ſurpriſing and unexpected, and that even ſeems to agree but very little with the Declarations made to the Court of *Madrid* by the ſaid Admiral; ſince they gave to underſtand, that the *Engliſh* fleet would proceed no farther than as a guarantee to defend the Dominions of the Archduke, in caſe they were invaded.

Nevertheleſs, as I cannot doubt in the leaſt but that your Excellency makes ſerious reflections on the juſt reſentments which the King, my Maſter, and all the *Spaniards*, muſt needs have, to ſee themſelves thus aſſaulted and abuſed, with ſo much animoſity, by a Nation to whom they have ſhewn the moſt favour, and ſee them act contrary to reaſon, politics, and even againſt their own intereſt, to increaſe the exorbitant power of the *Germans* in *Italy*, I cannot diſpenſe with my not acquainting your Excellency with the good and generous intentions of the King my Maſter, that were communicated to me by his letters of the 20th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* as alſo the orders he gave concerning the arrival of the fleet of *Mexico* at *Cadiz*, which in ſilver and other effects is valued at nine millions of crowns.

His Majeſty informs me, that notwithſtanding Admiral *Byng*'s declaration, and the intimation that has been given him of the articles lately ſigned, whereof I ſend a copy to your Excellency, and that although the ſaid declaration and articles rather denote an obvious deſign of making war, than that of maintaining a per-

1718. Miniſtry, in relation to the over-haſty proceedings of Admiral *Byng*, when nothing was pretended to but a mediation, to facilitate the project of peace, or, at moſt, to defend the territories actually in the poſſeſſion of the Archduke in *Italy*, when my Lord *Stanhope* was in *Spain*, at a ſmall diſtance from the Court, to propoſe projects of peace and a ſuſpenſion of arms. In truth (added he) no impartial perſon can hear, without ſurprize, that the fleet of his *Britannic* Majeſty did, without any provocation, neceſſity, or pretence, and forgetting the title of peaceful Mediator, which his Maſter aſſumes, attack the fleet of *Spain*, only to fruſtrate the expedition againſt *Sicily*, after having been at *Naples* to concert with Count *Daun* ſo baſe an action; received great ſums of money, by way of ſuppoſed arrears; and, finally, after having come near to *Meſſina*, and ſent truſty Officers to confer with the Commanders of the King's army, and to aſſure them, that he would commit no act of hoſtility.

The beſt part of *Europe* (continued the Cardinal) is impatient to hear how the *Britiſh* Miniſtry can juſtify ſo raſh a violence. He ſaid, the preſerving the neutrality of *Italy* was a weak argument, ſince every one knew, that neutrality had long been at an end, and that the Princes, guarantees of the treaty of *Utrecht*, were entirely free, not only by the ſcandalous breaches of the *Auſtrians*, in the evacuation of *Catalonia* and *Majorca*, but alſo becauſe the guaranty was no longer binding, than till a peace was made with *France*. He reproached the *Britiſh* Miniſtry for reviving and ſupporting the neutrality, not by an amicable mediation, but by open force, and by artfully abuſing the confidence and ſecurity of the *Spaniards*. In proof of what he advanced, he obſerved, that Admiral *Byng*, ſtruck with remorſe of his unjuſt conduct, alledged, in his account of the engagement, contrary to the truth, that the *Spaniſh* ſhips drew up firſt, in a line of battle, and fired upon the *Engliſh*. If he had no deſign to attack them, Why did he purſue them from the *Faro* to *Syracuſa*? Why did he ſend four of the prime ſailors of his fleet to come up with them?

On the contrary, Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, in his anſwer to the Marquiſs *de Monteleone*'s letter (referred to by the Cardinal) ſaid, that it appeared by the Admiral's account that the *Spaniards* began the hoſtilities: That the action might well be expected by his Catholic Majeſty, and therefore ought not to have ſurprized him, ſince Admiral *Byng*, by his letter of the 20th of *June*, *O. S.* plainly informed him of his inſtructions, to which a haughty anſwer was returned, bidding him follow his orders (1).

Whether hoſtilities were begun by the *Engliſh* or by the *Spaniards*, or whatever irregularities there were in the proceedings on either ſide, the action was not only deciſive, but neceſſary to diſconcert the Cardinal's projects, which tended to no leſs than the involving all *Europe* in a war, the flames whereof had been ſo lately extinguiſhed. This is ſufficient to juſtify, in the eyes of true Politicians, a ſlight breach of faith, ſuppoſing there had been any. The Cardinal could never recover this ſhock; his complaints and invectives, to which he had recourſe, could

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a perfect underſtanding between the two Nations, and undertaking an impartial mediation; yet it is reſolved not to make the leaſt change in any thing that relates to trade; that the effects arrived in the ſaid flota ſhall be delivered as before to thoſe to whom they belong; and, in a word, that it is his Majeſty's will and intention that the treaty of Peace and Commerce ſhould be religiouſly obſerved, and that the *Engliſh* ſhould continue to enjoy all the advantages and grants that were given them heretofore.

This laſt and ſo ſingular inſtance of his Majeſty's juſtice and moderation ought not certainly to have been prevented by the ſaid event, of which he muſt have received the news a few days after he had given ſo evident a mark of his favourable diſpoſitions towards the *Engliſh* Nation.

The articles mentioned in this letter were delivered by Earl *Stanhope* to the Court of *Madrid*, a day or two after the action of *Syracuſa*, and were as follows:

I. That the Catholic King ſhall have three months to accept of the treaty, reckoning from the day it was ſigned.

II. That, if his Catholic Majeſty does not accept of the ſame within the ſaid term of three months, then the Confederates ſhall ſupply the Emperor with ſuch forces as are ſtipulated in the treaty of Alliance.

III. That if, in conſequence to the aſſiſtance given to the Emperor, the King of *Spain* ſhould declare or make war againſt any one of the Confederates, either by invading his Dominions, or ſeizing his ſubjects, ſhips, or effects, then the other Confederates ſhall immediately declare and make war againſt his Catholic Majeſty, and ſhall carry on the ſame till ſuch time as ſatisfaction ſhall be given to their wronged Ally.

IV. That, in caſe his Catholic Majeſty ſhould refuſe to accept of the ſaid treaty, the Confederates ſhall unanimouſly diſpoſe of his expectations on the Dominions of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, in favour of ſome other Prince.

V. That the Emperor ſhall not act within the ſaid term of three months, upon condition that the King of *Spain* does not act on his ſide; but that, if his Catholic Majeſty, inſtead of accepting the ſaid treaty, ſhould within the ſaid term act any hoſtilities, which might prevent the execution of any diſpoſition of the ſaid treaty, then the Allies ſhall immediately, and without waiting the expiration of the ſaid term, ſupply the Emperor with ſuch forces as are therein ſtipulated.

(1) As to the favours ſhewn the *Engliſh* in regard to their trade (mentioned in *Monteleone*'s letter) Mr. *Craggs* ſaid, he had the King's commands to repeat the following grievances:

1. Impoſts have been laid on our merchandizes, directly contrary to our treaties of Commerce with the Crown of *Spain*.

2. Several kinds of goods have been prohibited, which are expreſly allowed by the ſame treaties.

3. The ſchedules for their annual veſſels have been denied the *South-Sea* Company, contrary to the expreſs letter of the treaty; without any better reaſon given for it, than that it was not for the convenience of the Court of *Madrid* to grant them.

4. Our Merchant-ſhips have been ſeized in all the ports of *Spain*: The *Spaniſh* men of war and privateers have brought them in by force; have obliged them to take out their cargoes, and, to their inexpreſſible loſs, have conſtrained them to tranſport the troops, horſes, ammunition, *&c.* for this very expedition which has diſordered the affairs of all *Europe*. I am even aſſured, what I can ſcarce believe, that owners of theſe veſſels, for endeavouring to ſtruggle with ſuch unheard of proceedings, have had their ears cut off: And that the firſt thing done by the *Spaniards*, upon their entering *Meſſina*, was to thruſt the King's Conſul into priſon. He then deſires him to examine how conſiſtent theſe things are with the favourable declaration he had made for the trade of *Great-Britain*.

1718. could not reſtore his deſigns, and ſerved only to throw him from that high ſtation, where chance much more than merit had placed him. But, before his fall, he made thoſe two Princes very uneaſy, whoſe ſuperior genius had defeated his projects.

As King *George* had ſeveral reaſons for aſſembling the Parliament, he fixed the day of meeting by Proclamation to the 11th of *November*. He not only wanted to have the ſteps he had taken approved, but alſo to be authoriſed to ſupport them. Beſides, he was acquainted with the enterprizing genius of Cardinal *Alberoni*, knew, he breathed nothing but vengeance, and was preparing ſome deſign in favour of the Pretender, as appeared by ſome expreſſions which had dropped from him. He was not ignorant that too many were ready for a ſecond Rebellion, which perhaps might ſucceed, unleſs proper meaſures to prevent it were taken. All theſe conſiderations induced him to have a ſpeedy recourſe to the Parliament.

On the day appointed, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and opened the Seſſion with the following ſpeech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"SINCE your laſt receſs, I have, by the "Bleſſing of Almighty God, concluded "ſuch terms and conditions of peace and alli- "ance between the two greateſt Princes of *Eu-* "*rope*, as will, in all human appearance, induce "others to follow their example, and make "any attempts to diſturb the public tranquillity, "not only dangerous, but impracticable.

"Theſe engagements, I am perſuaded, will "be ſo much the more agreeable to all my "good ſubjects, as they bind the contracting "powers to ſupport the Succeſſion to theſe "Kingdoms in my Family, to which ſome were "not at all, and others not ſo fully bound by "any former treaties.

"During the whole courſe of theſe Negotia- "tions, a moſt ſtrict regard has been had to "the intereſt of *Spain*, and better conditions "have been ſtipulated for that King, than were "inſiſted upon in his behalf, even at the treaty "of *Utrecht*. But the war in *Hungary* (which, "by our mediation, is ſince happily ended) "having tempted the Court of *Spain* unjuſtly "to attack the Emperor, and the hopes they "have ſince conceived of raiſing diſturbances in "*Great-Britain*, *France*, and elſewhere, having "encouraged them to believe, that we ſhould "not be able to act, in purſuance of our trea- "ties, for the defence of the Dominions in- "vaded by them, nor even to the ſupport of "thoſe other eſſential and neceſſary conditions "of the treaty of *Utrecht*, which provide againſt "the great Monarchies of *Europe* being at any "time hereafter united under one Sovereign; "they have not only perſiſted in ſuch a notori- "ous violation of the public peace and tran- "quillity, but have rejected all our amicable "propoſals, and have broke through their moſt "ſolemn engagements for the ſecurity of our "commerce.

"To vindicate therefore the faith of our "former treaties, as well as to maintain thoſe, "which we have lately made, and to protect "and defend the trade of my ſubjects, which "has in every branch been violently and unjuſt- 1718. "ly oppreſſed, it became neceſſary for our na- "val forces to check their progreſs. It was rea- "ſonable to hope, that the ſucceſs of our arms; "the repeated offers of friendſhip, which I "have never ceaſed to make in the moſt preſ- "ſing manner, and the meaſures taken in con- "cert with the Emperor and the moſt Chriſtian "King to reſtore the public tranquillity, would "have produced a better diſpoſition in the "Court of *Spain*; but I have received informa- "tions, that, inſtead of liſtening to our reaſona- "ble terms of accommodation, that Court has "lately given orders at all the ports of *Spain*, "and of the *Weſt Indies*, to fit out Privateers, "and to take our ſhips.

"I am perſuaded, that a *Britiſh* Parliament "will inable me to reſent ſuch treatment, as be- "comes us; and it is with pleaſure, that I can "aſſure you of the ready and friendly reſolution "of our good Brother the Regent of *France*, "to concur and join with me in the moſt vi- "gorous meaſures.

"The firm confidence I repoſe in the affec- "tion of my people, together with my earneſt "deſire to eaſe them of every charge not abſo- "lutely neceſſary, determined me, immediately "after the exchange of the ratifications of our "great Alliance, to make a very conſiderable "reduction of our land-forces; nor could I "better expreſs, than by ſo doing, how little "we apprehend the attempts of our enemies to "diſturb the peace of my Kingdoms, even tho' "*Spain* ſhould think fit to continue ſome time "in war. Our naval force, employed in con- "cert with our Allies, will, I truſt in God, "ſoon put a happy end to the troubles, which "the ambitious views of that Court have be- "gun, and ſecure to my ſubjects the execution "of the many treaties in force relating to our "commerce.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I muſt deſire you to grant me ſuch Sup- "plies, as will inable me to carry on the ſer- "vice of the year. I have given orders to have "the proper eſtimates laid before you, whereby "you will perceive, I have reduced the ex- "pence as much as our circumſtances can well "admit. I have the pleaſure to obſerve to "you, that the funds, appropriated for ſinking "the public debts, have anſwered above expec- "tation. I muſt, however, recommend to you "to conſider of proper methods for improving "them, by preventing the frauds and abuſes "daily committed in the public revenues, not "doubting, in all your proceedings, you will "have that regard to the inviolable preſervation "of the public credit, which may quiet the "minds of all thoſe, that have truſted to par- "liamentary engagements.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"There never was a time when your unani- "mity, your vigour and diſpatch, were more "neceſſary to ſo many good ends, as thoſe we "have now in view. I have done my part. It "remains with you to give the laſt finiſhing to "this great work. Our friends and our ene- "mies, both at home and abroad, are waiting "the event of your reſolutions. And I dare

"promiſe

1718. " promiſe myſelf, that the firſt have nothing to " apprehend, nor the other to hope from your " conduct in this important juncture, who have, " during the whole courſe of my Reign, given " ſuch lively proofs of your zeal and affection to " my Perſon, and of your love to your Country."

How plauſible and important ſoever this ſpeech might be, it occaſioned great debates. The addreſſes that were to be preſented drew the attention of both parties: On the manner in which they ſhould be expreſſed, depended, as it were, the operations of the Seſſion.

Debates on an addreſs of thanks. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

The King was no ſooner withdrawn, but the Lord *Carteret* moved for 'an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, for his care in preſerving the public peace, and the balance of power in *Europe*: For the conſiderable reduction of the land-forces; and for having obtained further ſecurities of the Succeſſion in his Family: As alſo to congratulate the ſeaſonable ſucceſs of his naval forces; and to aſſure him, that the Houſe would ſupport him in the purſuit of thoſe prudent and neceſſary meaſures he had taken to ſecure the trade and quiet of theſe Kingdoms, and the tranquillity of *Europe*.' The Lord *Carteret* was ſeconded by the Lord *Tenham*; but ſeveral Lords excepted againſt the congratulating the King upon the ſeaſonable ſucceſs of his naval forces, and the promiſe to ſupport him in the purſuit of thoſe prudent and neceſſary meaſures he had taken, becauſe it was, in effect, to approve a ſea-fight, which might be attended with dangerous conſequences, and give the ſanction of that Auguſt Aſſembly to meaſures, which, upon examination, might appear either to claſh with the laws of Nations or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of *Great-Britain*. That, according to the conſtant uſage of that Houſe, they ought to proceed with the utmoſt caution and matureſt deliberation, in an affair, wherein the honour, as well as the intereſt of the Nation, were ſo highly concerned. And Lord *Strafford* inſiſted, 'That, before they approved the ſea-fight, they ought to be ſatisfied whether the ſame happened before or after the ſigning of the Quadruple Alliance; and therefore moved for an addreſs, that Sir *George Byng*'s inſtructions might be laid before the Houſe.'

To this it was anſwered by Earl *Stanhope*, 'That there was no manner of occaſion for ſuch an addreſs, ſince, by his Majeſty's command, he had already laid before the Houſe the treaties, of which the late ſea-fight was a conſequence; and, in particular, the treaty for a defenſive Alliance between the Emperor and his Majeſty, made at *Weſtminſter* the 25th of *May*, 1716; and the treaty of Alliance for reſtoring and ſettling the public peace, ſigned at *London* the 22d of *July*, *O. S.* After this, he accounted at large for the juſtice and equity of thoſe treaties, which were calculated to preſerve, reſtore, and ſettle the peace of *Europe*, by rendering the treaty of *Utrecht* effectual, particularly in preventing the union of the two great Monarchies of *France* and *Spain* under one Sovereign, and ſecuring the Succeſſion of theſe Kingdoms in his Majeſty's Family. At the ſame time he ſhewed, how the Court of *Spain* had violated the treaty of *Utrecht*, and acted againſt the public faith, in attacking the Emperor's Dominions, while he was engaged in a war againſt the enemies of *Chriſtendom*; and in what manner they had rejected his Majeſty's friendly offices, and repeated offers of mediating an accommodation between the Emperor and his Catholic Majeſty. To which purpoſe he gave the Houſe an account of his late Journey to, and Negotiations in, *Spain*. He added, that it was high time for *Great-Britain* to check the growth of the naval power of *Spain*, in order to protect and ſecure the trade of the *Britiſh* ſubjects, which had been violently oppreſſed by the *Spaniards*: To which purpoſe ſeveral letters were read. He concluded with obſerving, that both with relation to Sir *George Byng*'s inſtructions, and in all other reſpects, in this whole affair his Majeſty had acted by the advice of his Privy-Council: That he was one of that number: And he thought it an honour to have adviſed his Majeſty to theſe meaſures, becauſe he was perſuaded they intirely agreed with the honour and intereſt of his Country: That he doubted not, but, upon the ſtricteſt examination, thoſe meaſures would be approved by all true *Engliſhmen*, and that he was ready to anſwer for them with his head.' This ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the whole Aſſembly; and though ſeveral Peers ſtill urged, that the making war, before the declaring of it, was a manifeſt violation of the laws of Nations; and others raiſed leſs material objections; yet, after a five hours debate, it was carried for the addreſs, as moved by the Lord *Carteret*, by eighty-three votes againſt fifty. The principal Speakers on the Court-ſide were, the Lords *Carteret* and *Tenham*, and the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Stanhope*; and, on the other ſide, the Dukes of *Bucks*, *Devonſhire*, and *Argyle*; the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Cowper*, *Orford*, and *Ilay*, the Lords *North* and *Grey* and *Harcourt*.

In the mean time the ſame affair was debating in the Houſe of Commons. The Lord *Hinchinbroke* moved, that the Houſe in an addreſs of thanks ſhould declare their intire ſatisfaction in thoſe meaſures, which the King had already taken for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant Succeſſion, and eſtabliſhing a laſting tranquillity in *Europe*; and particularly in relation to the Crown of *Spain*; and their reſolution to inable him, in concurrence with his Allies, not only to reſent the injuries, that Crown had already done to our commerce, in breach of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two Nations, but to ſupport him in the moſt effectual manner, in ſuch further meaſures, as he ſhould judge neceſſary to compleat the public tranquillity in *Europe*, and to check the growth of that naval power which muſt otherwiſe prove dangerous to the trade of theſe Kingdoms, and to the repoſe of *Europe*. This motion was attended with a very warm debate (1). The oppoſing ſide chiefly objected to the words *intire ſatisfaction in thoſe meaſures* which

(1) The Speakers for the motion were, the Lord *Hinchinbroke*, the Lord *Tyrconnel*, Sir *David Dalrymple*, Mr. *Lechmere*, Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, Mr. *Smith*, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, Sir *Gilfrid Lawſon*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Aiſlabie*, Mr. *Boſcawen*, Mr. *Bladen*, and Serjeant *Mead*; againſt the motion were, Mr. *Freeman*, Mr. *Heyſham*, Mr. *Walpole*, Mr. *Snell*, Mr. *Hungerford*, Mr. *Herne*, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Mr. *Cowper*, Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr. *Shippen*, the Lord *Molesworth*, and General *Roſs*.

18. *which his Majeſty had already taken.* In order to have theſe words left out of the addreſs, it was alledged, 'That it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the firſt day of a Seſſion, to enter upon particulars. That the buſineſs in queſtion being of the higheſt importance, *peace or war*, deſerved the matureſt deliberation. That, before they approved the meaſures that had been taken, they ought to examine the treaties, and the reaſons, on which thoſe meaſures were founded, which muſt needs take up ſome time; and therefore they ought, for the preſent, according to the uſual cuſtom, to content themſelves with returning his Majeſty thanks for his moſt gracious ſpeech, with general aſſurances of their zeal and affection for his Perſon and Government; and then appoint a day to take the ſpeech into conſideration.' To this it was anſwered, 'That, though all applications from this Houſe to the Throne differed according to the various circumſtances of affairs, yet there were not wanting precedents to ſupport the expreſſions excepted againſt, of which ſome inſtances were produced. That the meaſures, which had been taken, were grounded on treaties, that had been laid before them, and which might be examined into as ſoon as the Houſe thought fit. But that it was neceſſary, at this critical juncture, when the eyes of all *Europe* were fixed on this Parliament, early to come to a vigorous reſolution, which would not fail having its due weight abroad.' This was warmly oppoſed by Mr. *Walpole*, who urged, 'That it was againſt the common rules of proceeding in that Houſe, to approve a thing before they knew what it was: That he was thoroughly convinced of, and as ready as any perſon in that Auguſt Aſſembly, to acknowledge his Majeſty's great care for the general peace of *Europe*, and the intereſt of *Great-Britain*: But that the giving ſanction, in the manner propoſed, to the late meaſures, could have no other view than to ſcreen Miniſters, who were conſcious of having begun a war againſt *Spain*, and who would now make it the Parliament's war. He concluded with obſerving, that, inſtead of an intire ſatisfaction, they ought to ſhew their intire diſſatisfaction with a conduct, that was contrary to the laws of Nations, and a breach of ſolemn treaties.' Upon this, Mr. *Craggs* gave the Houſe an exact account of the meaſures, which the King and his Miniſters had purſued for reſtoring and ſecuring the tranquillity of *Europe*; and ſaid, in particular, 'That, upon that view, a treaty of defenſive Alliance between his Majeſty and the Emperor had been ſigned in *May* 1716, and by that very Gentleman, then in high ſtation, who now excepted againſt theſe meaſures. That, at the ſame time, his Majeſty ſincerely deſired and endeavoured to maintain a perfect friendſhip with the King of *Spain*, and had even propoſed a defenſive Alliance to him, before he made one with any other power. That, notwithſtanding the engagements his Majeſty was under to guaranty the neutrality of *Italy*, and to defend the Emperor in the poſſeſſion of his Dominions, which, upon the invaſion of *Sardinia*, might have juſtified his Majeſty's aſſiſting him againſt *Spain*, yet the King choſe rather to act as a friendly Mediator, and, in concert with the Regent of *France*, endeavoured to find out means of reconciling the intereſts of the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, as the only way to put a ſtop to the war, that threatened *Italy*, and in which all *Europe* might be involved. That the Catholic King was often ſollicited by the *Britiſh* Miniſters at *Madrid*, to concur with his Majeſty's good intentions, and to give ſuch inſtructions to the *Spaniſh* Miniſter here, as would put it in his Majeſty's power to ſtand up for the intereſts and advantages of *Spain* in the enſuing Negotiations. That the Catholic King having declined to concert meaſures with *Great-Britain*, and demanding, in general, ſatisfaction for the breaches he pretended the Emperor had made upon the treaty of *Utrecht*, the balance of power in *Europe*, and the ſecurity and liberty of the Princes and States of *Italy*; all that his Majeſty, with the Regent's aſſiſtance, could do, was to obtain of the Emperor ſuch conditions, as were thought moſt agreeable to his Catholic Majeſty; namely, an abſolute renunciation of the Monarchy of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and a very conſiderable ſettlement in *Italy* for a Prince of *Spain*, particularly the Great Duchy of *Tuſcany*. That, as the Emperor's pretenſions to *Sicily* were the principal reaſons of his oppoſing the treaty of *Utrecht*, from which he could not afterwards be brought off by the treaty of *Baden*, it became neceſſary, towards an accommodation, to diſpoſe of that Iſland in favour of his Imperial Majeſty, of whom, upon that conſideration, his Majeſty and the Regent of *France* obtained the diſpoſition of *Sardinia* in favour of the King of *Sicily*. That theſe were the principal articles of the treaty of Alliance, for reſtoring and ſettling the public peace, commonly called the *Quadruple Alliance*, which was a long while depending, and at laſt ſigned here, on the 22d of *July* 1718. That, in order to ſupport the views of this treaty, and to add weight to the endeavours to reſtore the tranquillity of *Europe*, his Majeſty acquainted the Commons, towards the end of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, that he intended to employ a naval force, when it ſhould be neceſſary; whereupon this Houſe unanimouſly reſolved to return his Majeſty their thanks for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his Kingdoms, and to preſerve the tranquillity of *Europe*, and to aſſure his Majeſty, that they would make good ſuch exceedings of men for the ſea-ſervice, of the year 1718, as his Majeſty, in his Royal wiſdom, ſhould find neceſſary to obtain thoſe deſirable ends *. That this unanimous reſolution undoubtedly implied an intire ſatisfaction in the meaſures his Majeſty was, at that time, concerting for preſerving the tranquillity of *Europe*; and, if an action has ſince happened, and in conſequence of thoſe meaſures, this cannot, with any juſtice, be called the war of the Miniſters, but the war of the Parliament. That, however, it was not with deſign of making war, but only of reſtoring peace, that his Majeſty ſent a ſtrong ſquadron into the *Mediterranean*. That, purſuant to this view, as ſoon as Sir *George Byng* reached the coaſt of *Spain*, he wrote a letter to that King, deſiring him to accept his Majeſty's mediation, and to deſiſt from the hoſtilities already begun; offering him his ſervice, either to withdraw his troops, or even to aſſiſt him, in caſe the Emperor ſhould not conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, which the Admiral propoſed, while an accommodation ſhould be negotiated. That the *Spaniards* having with haughtineſs rejected his Majeſty's repeated amicable projects, and not only

1718.

* See p. 561.

1718. perſiſted in the violation of the public peace, by the invaſion of *Sicily*, but likewiſe broke thro' the moſt ſolemn treaties for the ſecurity of our trade, it became neceſſary for his Majeſty's naval forces to check theſe inſolent and violent proceedings, as well to maintain the faith of his Majeſty's engagements, and prevent the conſequences of this war, as to protect and defend the trade of the *Britiſh* ſubjects, which labours under the heavieſt hardſhips and difficulties.' And this particular was confirmed to the Houſe by Colonel *Bladen*, who produced a liſt of many Merchant-ſhips taken or detained by the *Spaniards*. Several Members on the oppoſing ſide, having, like Mr. *Walpole*, made ſolemn profeſſions of their duty and affection to the King, and of their readineſs to acknowledge his care and conſtant endeavours for the ſecurity and welfare of his people, and the tranquillity of *Europe*; diſtinguiſhed between his Majeſty and his Miniſters, and ſhewed an unwillingneſs to approve the meaſures purſued by the latter, till the treaties, on which theſe meaſures were founded, had been fully and maturely examined. Mr. *Craggs* readily admitted of the diſtinction between the King and his Miniſters; adding, 'That he obſerved, with a great deal of pleaſure, how unanimous they were all for the King; and that he ſhould be extremely ſorry, if the Miniſters ſhould be the occaſion of any delay in the Houſe's expreſſing their duty and affection to him. That, he owned, Miniſters were not infallible: That he had the honour to be one of his Majeſty's ſervants, and had gone as great lengths as any in the meaſures that had been taken; but that he was poſitive, that, in the courſe of this whole affair, nothing had been done, that was not intirely conſiſtent with the faith of treaties, and the honour and intereſt of the Nation. That he durſt promiſe, both for himſelf and the reſt of the Miniſters, that, if the Houſe came into this vote, which he thought of the higheſt importance at this critical juncture, no manner of advantage would be taken of it to palliate any faults, which, through human frailty, might have been committed; and that, for his own part, he was ready to undergo the ſevereſt examination, whenever the Houſe ſhould think fit to inquire into the conduct of the Miniſtry.' This ſpeech had great weight with the majority of the Houſe; and Mr. *Craggs* was ſo ſtrongly ſupported, that the addreſs, as moved by the Lord *Hinchinbroke*, was at laſt carried by two hundred and ten voices againſt one hundred and fifty-five. And, on the 13th of *November*, the Commons, as well as the Lords, preſented their addreſs to the King.

A Supply granted. Pr. H. C.

The Commons purſuant to their addreſs immediately voted a Supply. They allowed for the ſea ſervice thirteen thouſand five hundred ſailors at 4 *l.* a month each, amounting to 702,000 *l.* Twelve thouſand four hundred thirty-five men were voted for the land ſervice, whoſe pay amounted to 526,964 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.* Theſe ſums, with what was voted for making good deficiencies, for the ordinary of the Navy, and other things, amounted in all to 2,257,581 *l.* 19 *s.* This Supply was raiſed by a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound, the malt-tax, and a lottery for 500,000 *l.* The bills for the land and malt-tax were preſented, and both paſſed in one day, a diſpatch not to be parallelled in any Parliament ſince the Revolution.

The King, judging by the diſpoſition of the Parliament, that it would be a proper time to execute a deſign, he had long been meditating, reſolved to attempt it this Seſſion. Ever ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne he had aſſured the Church of *England* of his protection, but at the ſame time declared for a juſt Toleration, by removing the odious diſtinctions between Churchmen and Non-conformiſts. In the former Seſſion he had plainly enough diſcovered his intention, but the proſecution of it was prevented, by the miſunderſtanding among the Whigs. The Diſſenters, beſides the *Occaſional* and *Schiſm* bills, lay under the weight of the *Sacramental Teſt*. As they had been zealous aſſerters of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, they expected to be relieved from theſe burdens as ſoon as that Succeſſion took place. To that end conſultations had been held the laſt year, but without any effect *. The affair was now reſumed, and debated by the Diſſenters in many Meetings, in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom. The majority in theſe meetings were for a general repeal of the acts that they thought hardſhips upon them, or leaving matters as they ſtood. But they were aſſured that the King had preſſed the affair to the utmoſt with the Miniſters, and that the Lord *Sunderland* ſaid, *it was impracticable, and to attempt a repeal of the* Teſt *would ruin all* (1). Upon this the *Teſt* was given up, after aſſurances that the *Teſt-Act* ſhould alſo be repealed in a more proper time. Earl *Stanhope* therefore was to move for a repeal of the *Occaſional* and *Schiſm Acts* paſſed in the latter end of the Reign of Queen *Anne*. Accordingly, on the 13th of *December*, he told the Houſe of Lords, that, in order to unite the hearts and affections of the well-affected to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, he had a bill to offer under the title of *An Act for ſtrengthening the Proteſtant intereſt in theſe Kingdoms*, which he deſired might be read. The bill was read, importing in ſubſtance a repeal of the acts againſt *Occaſional Conformity*, and the growth of *Schiſm*, and of ſome clauſes in the *Corporation* and *Teſt-Acts*. Many of the Peers were ſurprized at the bringing in this bill at a time, when none but ſuch as were in the ſecret expected any ſuch thing; and Earl *Stanhope* having moved, that it might be read a ſecond time, it occaſioned a long debate. The Author of the bill endeavoured to ſhew 'the equity, juſtice, reaſonableneſs, and advantage of reſtoring Diſſenters to their natural rights, and of eaſing them of theſe ſtigmatiſing and oppreſſive laws, that had been made againſt them in turbulent times, and obtained by indirect methods, for no other reaſon, than becauſe they ever ſhewed their zealous and firm adherence to the

* See Note P 5

(1) The King told the Lord *Barrington* (a Diſſenter) 'that, if there were any hopes of carrying the whole, he would not be againſt it; but, if there were no hopes, as he was aſſured by his Miniſters, he believed the Diſſenters were too much his friends, to inſiſt upon a thing which might be infinitely prejudicial to him, without doing them any good; but, on the contrary, a great deal of hurt.'

1718. the *Revolution* and *Proteſtant Succeſſion*: Urging, that this deſirable union of all true Proteſtants, as it would certainly ſtrengthen the Proteſtant intereſt, ſo would it rather be an advantage, than any prejudice to the Church of *England* by law eſtabliſhed, which would ſtill be the head of all the Proteſtant Churches; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* become the Patriarch of all the Proteſtant Clergy.' He was ſeconded and ſupported by the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Stamford*, and ſome other Lords: But the Dukes of *Bucks*, and *Devonſhire*, the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Ayleſford*, *Oxford*, *Cowper*, and the Lord *North and Grey*, either ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the bill, or endeavoured to put off the ſecond reading to a long day. It was alledged in general, 'that this bill, if paſſed into a law, inſtead of ſtrengthening, would certainly weaken the Church of *England*, by plucking off her beſt feathers, inveſting her enemies with power, and ſharing with them the civil and military employments, of which Churchmen only are now in poſſeſſion.' The Duke of *Devonſhire* in particular ſuggeſted, 'That it was irregular to bring in a bill of ſo great conſequence, without previouſly acquainting the Houſe.' But it was readily anſwered by Earl *Stanhope*, 'That his Grace had forgot, that about two years before he had brought in himſelf, in the ſame manner, a bill of much greater conſequence;' meaning the bill for ſuſpending *the Act for Triennial Parliaments*. The Earl of *Nottingham* ſaid, among other things, 'That the Church of *England* is certainly the happieſt Church in the world, ſince even the greateſt contradictions contribute to her ſupport; for nothing could be more contradictory, than a bill, which is ſaid to be calculated *to ſtrengthen the Proteſtant intereſt, and the* Church *of* England, and which, at the ſame time, repeals two acts, that were made for her farther ſecurity.' After which he gave his reaſons againſt the repealing thoſe laws. Earl *Cowper* made alſo a long ſpeech againſt ſome parts of the bill, and, among other things, ſaid, 'That he had no manner of prejudice againſt the Diſſenters, but rather a tender regard for them: That as he had been bred in, ſo he had ever communicated with, the Church of *England*, which he believed to be the beſt Proteſtant Church, and the moſt agreeable to the primitive pattern of Chriſtianity. But that, however, if he had happened to be at *Geneva*, he would not have ſcrupled to have communicated with the Proteſtants there. That he was for giving the Diſſenters as much eaſe, as was conſiſtent with the ſafety of the Conſtitution in Church and State, and would readily give his vote for the repealing of the *Schiſm* act; but that he could not but oppoſe that part of the bill now laid before them, whereby part of the *Teſt* and *Corporation* acts were effectually repealed with relation to the Diſſenters, becauſe he looked upon thoſe acts as the main bulwark of our excellent Conſtitution in Church and State, and therefore would have them inviolably preſerved and untouched.' The Earl of *Ilay* ſaid, 'That every body knew he was educated in a different way from the Church of *England*; but, nevertheleſs, he could not but be againſt this bill, becauſe, in his opinion, it broke the *Pacta Conventa* of the treaty of Union, by which the bounds both of the Church of *England* and of the Church of *Scotland* were fixed and ſettled; and he was apprehenſive, if the articles of the Union were broke with reſpect to one Church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with reſpect to the other.' The Lord *North and Grey* urged, 'That this was an affair of ſo great importance, that it ought to be maturely conſidered and debated in a full Houſe,' and therefore moved, That the ſecond reading might be put off for a month. The Duke of *Bucks* was of his opinion, but the friends of the bill, being unwilling to let this affair cool by adjourning it ſo long, propoſed, that the ſecond reading might only be put off till the 18th of *December*, which was agreed to without dividing. 1718.

Upon that day, the bill was read a ſecond time, and a motion made for committing it; but, this being oppoſed by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and ſome other Peers, the Earl of *Cholmondley* ſuggeſted, That, before they proceeded any further in an affair, wherein the Church was ſo nearly concerned, he thought it very proper to have, in the firſt place, the opinion of that venerable bench, pointing to the Biſhops. This being unanimouſly aſſented to, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſtood up, and declared againſt the bill, for which he gave his reaſons, importing in ſubſtance, 'That the acts, which by this bill were to be repealed, are the main bulwark and ſupporters of the eſtabliſhed Church. That he had all imaginable tenderneſs for all the well-meaning conſcientious Diſſenters; but he could not forbear ſaying, that ſome among them made a wrong uſe of the favour, and indulgence, that was ſhewn them upon the *Revolution*, tho' they had the leaſt ſhare in that happy event: And therefore it was thought neceſſary for the Legiſlature to interpoſe, and put a ſtop to the ſcandalous practice of *Occaſional Conformity*, which was condemned by the ſobereſt part of the Diſſenters themſelves. And, as to the act againſt *Schiſm*, though it may carry a face of ſeverity, yet it ſeemed needleſs to make a law to repeal it, ſince no advantage had been taken of it againſt the Diſſenters ever ſince it was made.' The Archbiſhop of *York* (Sir *William Daws*) ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and ſaid, 'That the arguments uſed the other day for this bill had no more weight with him, than they had with his brother of *Canterbury*. He urged in particular the danger of truſting the Diſſenters, the open and avowed enemies of the Church, with power and authority; and endeavoured to account for the *acts againſt Occaſional Conformity* and *Schiſm*, by ſaying, they were never to be gained by indulgence.' To that purpoſe he quoted a paſſage out of a treatiſe, intitled, *A Perſuaſive to Lay Conformity*, written by Dr. *Hoadley* Biſhop of *Bangor*, who, as he ſaid, had, ſince the writing of that book, embraced and maintained other principles. The Biſhop of *Bangor* anſwered the Archbiſhop of *York*, particularly with relation to the paſſage quoted out of his treatiſe. He ſaid, 'He was ſo far from having altered his principles, that, both before and after he had been promoted to the ſtation he held in the Church, he had endeavoured to bring over the Diſſenters; but that he ever was of opinion, that gentle means are the moſt effectual for that purpoſe. After this, he ſhewed at large the unreaſonableneſs and ill policy of impoſing *Religious Teſts*, as a qualification for civil or military employments, which abridges men of their natural rights, deprives the State of the ſervice of many of its beſt ſubjects,

1718. and expoſes the moſt ſacred inſtitutions and ordinances to be abuſed by profane and irreligious perſons. He alſo endeavoured to prove, that the *Occaſional and Schiſm Acts* were, in effect, *perſecuting laws*; and that, by admitting the principle of *ſelf-defence* and *ſelf-preſervation*, in matters of Religion, all the perſecutions of the Heathens againſt the Chriſtians, and even the Popiſh inquiſition, may be juſtified. As to the power, of which ſome Clergymen appeared ſo fond, and ſo jealous, he owned, that the deſire of power and riches is natural to all men; but that he had learned both from Reaſon and the Goſpel, that this deſire muſt be kept within due bounds, and not intrench upon the rights and liberties of their Fellow-creatures and Countrymen.' 1718.

After theſe and ſeveral other ſpeeches of the Biſhops (1), the debate was adjourned to the next day, when, after ſome clauſes concerning the

(1) Dr. *Smalridge*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, urged, 'That the late King *William* having recommended to both houſes from the Throne, *That they would leave room for the admiſſion of all Proteſtants, that were willing and able to ſerve*; and a clauſe having been thereupon offered to be inſerted in a bill depending in the Lords Houſe, *to take away the neceſſity of receiving the Sacrament, to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of truſt*; the clauſe was rejected by a great majority, as well as another clauſe (offered alſo to be inſerted in that bill) *to prevent the receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper upon any other account than in obedience to the holy inſtitution thereof*: Adding, that ſoon after the Lords addreſſed King *William*, 'That he would maintain the Church of *England*, as by law eſtabliſhed.' All which he applied to the preſent caſe, and ſo voted againſt the bill. He was anſwered by the Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, who, among other things, endeavoured to remove the imputation of hypocriſy caſt upon the Diſſenters. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* made an hiſtorical deduction of the affair, and commended the zeal of a noble Earl, when Secretary of State, in promoting a Comprehenſion, according to King *William*'s deſire. He alſo took notice, that Religion was ever uſed by crafty men as a blind and pretence to carry on political deſigns; and he remembered, in particular, in the late Reign, 'That, while our arms were victorious abroad, the Church was in danger at home; but no ſooner was a ſtop put to that glorious war, than the Church was in a flouriſhing condition.' The Earl of *Nottingham*, who was meant by that Prelate, and who was the promoter of the *Occaſional Bill*, and had oppoſed the bill now in queſtion, thought proper to juſtify his conduct, by ſaying, he was in thoſe days but a young man, and had wanted opportunities to know the Diſſenters, whom he had ſince found to be an obſtinate ſort of people, never to be ſatisfied. After which he entered upon the merits of the bill, and voted againſt it. The Biſhop of *London* did the ſame, and urged, 'That, in all wiſe Governments, all offices and places of truſt are in the hands of thoſe of the National Church; which his Lordſhip confirmed by what is practiſed in *Sweden*.' The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* ſpoke alſo on the ſame ſide, and ſaid in ſubſtance, 'That he was not in the Houſe at the firſt reading of this bill, but that the laſt Seſſion of Parliament he foreſaw from the bill about an Alms-houſe at *Briſtol*, and the bill for applying part of the fund for the building of new Churches to the rebuilding of an old one (*St. Giles*'s) both which he had oppoſed, that ſomething of this nature would be attempted. That he was ſorry he had been a prophet, ſince, in his opinion, this bill overturned the foundation of the ſecurity of the Church. That this bill even ſtruck at the act of Uniformity, which was confirmed by the act of Union, and ſo was levelled againſt the Church of *Scotland*, as well as againſt the Church of *England*. For which reaſon he hoped, thoſe Peers, who repreſented the Nobility of *Scotland*, would be againſt this bill, particularly a noble Lord, who was too great an enemy to Prieſtcraft, to ſuffer himſelf to be Aſſembly-ridden. He concluded with obſerving, that we live in a changeable Country; and that the hardſhips, which the Diſſenters now bring upon the Church, may one day or other be ſeverely and with more juſtice retaliated upon them.' Hereupon Dr. *Kennet*, the new Biſhop of *Peterborough*, ſpoke ſtrenuouſly for the bill, and refuted moſt of the arguments uſed on the other ſide. He ſaid, in ſubſtance, 'That he did not deſign to reflect on any of his Brethren for ſpeaking againſt this bill, becauſe he ſuppoſed they did it out of a ſincere zeal for the Church: That, for his own part, he did not believe this bill to be againſt the Church, but rather for its advantage and ſecurity; and therefore he was for it: That he obſerved from hiſtory, that the Church was moſt ſafe and flouriſhing, when the Clergy did not affect more power than falls to their ſhare, and were tender of the rights and liberties of their fellow-ſubjects; but that, when the Clergy promoted arbitrary meaſures and perſecutions, as ſome did in King *Charles* the Firſt's Reign, they firſt brought ſcandal and contempt upon the Clergy, and, at laſt, ruin both upon the Church and State.' Then he ſhewed the abuſe of the word *Church*, which in a true ſenſe is venerable; and illuſtrated the matter by the words *Holy*, and the *Temple of the Lord*, which were ſacred among the Jews; but, when thoſe words came to be abuſed ſo far as to countenance Rebellion, as in the caſe of *Dathan*, *Corah*, and *Abiram*, and other wicked practices, then they rather became words of execration. That, in like manner among us, the words *Church*, and the *Church's danger*, had often been made uſe of to carry on ſiniſter deſigns; and then theſe words made a mighty noiſe in the mouth of ſilly women and children; but that in his opinion the Church, which he defined to be a *Scriptural Inſtitution upon a legal eſtabliſhment*, was founded upon a rock, and could not be in danger as long as we enjoyed the light of the Goſpel, and our excellent Conſtitution.' After this he gave his reaſons for his being for this bill, and animadverted upon three things, which had been advanced by other Prelates, 1. *That the Diſſenters got more than the Church by the Revolution, though they had the leaſt ſhare in it.* For he ſhewed, 'they only got a Toleration, which they might have had under King *James*, if they would have complied with his meaſures, whereas the Church ſecured all ſhe now enjoys, which would have been irrecoverably loſt, had not the Revolution happened. 2. *That the Churchmen, and even the Clergy, ſhewed more affection to the preſent Government than the Diſſenters during the late Rebellion*: To which he anſwered, 'That by the laws, which by this bill were to be repealed, the Diſſenters were then under an incapacity to ſerve the Government, which evinced the neceſſity of this bill: And as for a Clergyman, who had given ſignal proofs of his zeal for the Government in the *North*, that it was well known he was never rewarded for it, but rather diſregarded ever ſince by his neighbours. 3. As to what had been ſuggeſted, *That all offices and places of truſt ought to be in the hands of thoſe of the eſtabliſhed Church*, his Lordſhip ſaid, he hoped they ſhould never draw precedents from *Sweden*. He concluded with returning thanks to the lay Lords for bearing ſo long and ſo patiently with that bench, leaving the iſſue of this debate to their judgments; and only taking notice, that as the wiſdom of *Solomon* never more eminently appeared than in diſcovering the true mother of their child; ſo their Lordſhips might eaſily know the reaſon, why ſome perſons ſpoke with ſo much tenderneſs for the acts, which by this bill were to be repealed.' Dr. *Gaſtrel*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, was of the contrary opinion, and, in particular, excepted againſt a clauſe in the bill, whereby a puniſhment or cenſure was to be inflicted on ſuch Clergymen, as ſhould refuſe to adminiſter the Sacrament to any, that deſired to receive it; which, he ſaid, was againſt the Canons of the Church.

(1) Sir

1718. the Teſt and Corporation Acts were agreed to be left out, the bill was committed, and, being read a third time, paſſed the Houſe, and was ſent down to the Commons, where it was alſo warmly debated; but at laſt carried by a majority of two hundred and twenty-one againſt one hundred and ſeventy (1).

The manner in which the King had, in his ſpeech, mentioned *Spain*, and his ſaying, that he was perſuaded a *Britiſh* Parliament would inable him to reſent ſuch treatment, were plain intimations of his intention to declare war againſt that Crown. On the 17th of *December*, the King ſent a meſſage to the Commons to acquaint them, that all his endeavours, as well as thoſe of the King of *France*, to procure redreſs for the injuries done to his ſubjects by the King of *Spain*, to the unſpeakable detriment of their trade, or even to obtain a diſcontinuance of his unjuſt hoſtilities, having proved ineffectual, he had found it neceſſary to declare war againſt *Spain*.

After the reading of this meſſage, it was moved for an addreſs to aſſure the King, that they would with the greateſt chearfulneſs, and the utmoſt vigour, aſſiſt and ſupport him in the war, till *Spain* was reduced to accept of reaſonable terms of peace, and agree to ſuch conditions of trade and commerce as the Nation was juſtly entitled to by their ſeveral treaties. Mr. *Shippen* and ſome others excepted againſt the motion, or againſt ſome expreſſions in it, which occaſioned a warm debate. They alledged, they did not ſee the neceſſity of declaring war againſt *Spain*, but were rather inclined to believe, the grievances complained of by the Merchants might be amicably redreſſed. Mr. *Stanhope* aſſured the Houſe, that he had preſented, at leaſt, five and twenty memorials to the Court of *Spain* upon that ſubject without any ſucceſs. Mr. *Methuen* endeavoured to account for the dilatorineſs of the Court of *Madrid* in the diſpatch of commercial affairs, occaſioned by the different regulations in the ſeveral provinces and ports of *Spain*; which might be the reaſon why the grievances had not been redreſſed ſo ſoon as might have been expected. It was alſo ſuggeſted, that the Miniſters had ſhewn no great concern for the trade and intereſt of the Nation, ſince it appeared, by the anſwer from a Secretary of State to the Marquiſs *de Monteleone*'s letter, that they would have paſſed by the violations of the treaties of Commerce, provided *Spain* had accepted the terms of the *Quadruple Alliance*; and that his Majeſty did not ſeek to aggrandize himſelf by any new acquiſition, but was rather inclined to ſacrifice ſomething of his own, to procure the general quiet and tranquillity: That nobody could yet tell how far that ſacrifice was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condeſcenſion (2). Mr. *Horatio Walpole* made alſo a long ſpeech, wherein he found fault with the treaty of Quadruple Alliance, particularly as to the diſpoſition of *Sicily*, in favour of the Emperor, which was a breach of the treaty of *Utrecht*. Mr. *Walpole*, his brother, likewiſe exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of attacking the *Spaniſh* fleet before a declaration of war. They were anſwered by Mr. *Craggs*, and Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* cloſed the debate with ſaying: 'That ſome weeks before, when this affair was firſt mentioned in the Houſe, he was ſhy of giving his opinion, becauſe he had not then examined the ſeveral ſteps that had been taken in it; but that now he was fully convinced, that, if there was any injuſtice, it was on the ſide of the King of *Spain*; and that the conduct of his Majeſty and his Miniſters was entirely agreeable to the law of Nations, and the rules of Juſtice and Equity. Was it juſt, added he, in the King of *Spain* to attack the Emperor's Dominions (*Sardinia*) while he was engaged in a war with the *Turks*, without any declaration of war? Was it juſt in the ſame Prince to invade the Dominions of one of our Allies, the King of *Sicily*, without the leaſt provocation? And was it not juſt in his Majeſty to vindicate the faith of his treaties, and to defend and protect the trade of his ſubjects, which had been violently oppreſſed?' After theſe ſpeeches, the addreſs was carried by a majority of a hundred and ſeventy-eight againſt a hundred and ſeven, and preſented the next day. 1718.

Earl *Stanhope* brought the ſame meſſage to the Houſe of Peers, and, the like addreſs being moved for, it was carried without a diviſion.

The Declaration of war was publiſhed with the uſual ſolemnities, but not with the ſame acclamations as when war was proclaimed againſt *France* in the two former Reigns. The Declaration was well drawn, and began with an artful turn, which ſeemed to intimate as if the action of *Syracuſa* had been a conſequence of the ill ſucceſs of the Earl of *Stanhope*'s Negotiations at *Madrid*. For after the King had mentioned his being guarantee of the neutrality of *Italy*, his engagement to defend the Emperor's Dominions, and the King of *Spain*'s invaſion of *Sardinia*: 'We did ſend (ſays he) our fleet into the *Mediterranean* this laſt ſummer, with a full and earneſt intention to make uſe of its appearance there for ſetting on foot Negotiations of peace towards recon-

(1) Sir *William Thompſon* having urged againſt the *Schiſm-Bill*, that it deprived parents of their natural right of educating their children as they pleaſed, Mr. *Shippen* anſwered, 'It was ſomewhat ſtrange to ſee ſo able a Lawyer inconſiſtent with himſelf: For, when the twelve Judges were conſulted in a caſe relating to a great family, he was of the opinion of ten of them, that children may be taken from their parents, and educated as the good of the Nation required.' To this Sir *William* readily replied, 'That, as he never was conſulted, ſo had he never declared his thoughts, in that nice caſe hinted by that Gentleman, and therefore he could not with any colour of juſtice be ſaid to have changed his opinion: But that the Member who taxed him with it, and who thereby declared againſt the opinion of the ten Judges, if he would be conſiſtent with himſelf, muſt now be for the bill that repeals the *Schiſm Act*, which reſtored parents to their natural right.'

The Lord *Guernſey* propoſed the inſerting a clauſe, that any perſon, when he came to take the Abjuration Oath, in order to his qualification, ſhould acknowledge, that the Old and New Teſtament were given by Divine Inſpiration, and profeſs his belief of the ever-bleſſed Trinity. But this motion was rejected. *Pr. H. C.*

It was obſerved that the Archbiſhop *Wake* had proteſted againſt paſſing the very bill, the repeal of which he now oppoſed, as did alſo the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Duke of *Devonſhire*, and ſome others.

(2) By the *Sacrifice* was meant the Ceſſion of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, which, it was reported, the Regent of *France* had offered to the King of *Spain*, in caſe he would accede to the Quadruple Alliance.

1718. reconciling the parties engaged in war, and thereby preventing the many calamities that muſt enſue therefrom. And whereas we did likewiſe, to teſtify our moſt ſincere inclinations to peace, ſend our right truſty and right well beloved Couſin and Councillor *James*, Earl *Stanhope*, one of our principal Secretaries of State, to *Madrid*, with full power and commiſſion to offer our moſt hearty endeavours for re-eſtabliſhing the quiet of *Europe*, and for cultivating and improving the friendſhip of the King of *Spain*. And whereas, notwithſtanding all the inſtances we could poſſibly make, all the tenders of amity and affection we could uſe, our Plenipotentiary returned without the leaſt hopes of peaceable diſpoſitions in the Court of *Spain*, and our Admiral in the *Mediterranean*, finding alſo no tendency to amicable meaſures, was obliged to aſſiſt and protect the Emperor's Dominions by force, which were in imminent danger by the further invaſion of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and by the great fleets and armies which the King of *Spain* had in thoſe parts.'

To ſhew that the war was not purely on the Emperor's account, the Declaration ſet forth the ſeizing of the effects and perſons of the *Engliſh*, in violation of treaties and antient privileges; and then touched upon the true motives of the war, the diſabling the King of *Spain* to unite the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, or to aſſiſt the Pretender. Thoſe were juſt motives, which though perſonal to King *George*, and the Duke of *Orleans*, yet were of the utmoſt concern to the Nations they governed.

Intrigues of Spain.

Cardinal *Alberoni* was not idle whilſt meaſures were taken to cruſh him. He raiſed troops, fitted out ſhips, put the coaſts in a poſture of defence, ſent ſuccours to *Sicily*, and provided for the ſafety of *Sardinia*. But, what efforts ſoever *Spain* might make, he was ſenſible of the impoſſibility to reſiſt the three moſt powerful States of *Europe* combined againſt him. To efforts therefore he joined plots and intrigues to ſupport his undertakings. He began with the Duke of *Orleans*, believing, if he could remove him, the forces of *France* would be at his diſpoſal, at leaſt they would not be employed againſt him, and King *George*, deprived of ſo powerful an Ally, would be obliged to moderate his zeal for the Emperor's intereſts.

Alberoni's *practices diſcovered in* France.

The plot was eaſy to be laid, and was ſo well conducted, that the ſucceſs ſeemed infallible. *France* abounded with male-contents, and the Regent had many enemies who either wiſhed his removal, or the execution of the late King's will. Theſe male-contents, in order to be ſupported, had recourſe to the *Spaniſh* Court, where the reſentment againſt the Duke of *Orleans* procured them a favourable hearing. The Prince *de Cellamare*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris*, was ordered to treat with them. The plot was ſoon formed; Biſhops, Magiſtrates, Nobles, Prieſts, Monks, Officers, and Governors, were ready for the undertaking, and were numbered among the Conſpirators. The project was to ſeize the Regent in ſome party of pleaſure, which he frequently made about *Paris* with his Miſtreſſes; the King's perſon was at the ſame time to be ſecured, and proper orders were to be iſſued to the Governors of the Provinces and Towns to aſſemble the Parliaments, for ſettling the Government, whilſt the States of the Kingdom ſhould meet, and make a final determination of matters. Many papers were kept in a readineſs to juſtify theſe undertakings, and incourage the people to ſupport them. 1718.

The mines were charged and ready to ſpring, when the affair was diſcovered. The firſt advice came from King *George*, who warned the Regent of ſome attempt contriving againſt his Perſon and Government. This notice, though general only, was of great uſe. The Duke of *Orleans* and the Abbot *du Bois* were very vigilant. Several perſons were ſuſpected, particularly the Duke and Ducheſs of *Maine*, and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, all whom were narrowly watched, till the whole affair was diſcovered by the following accident. The Prince *de Cellamare*, for the greater ſafety, entruſted his diſpatches to the Abbot *de Portocarrero*, nephew of the Cardinal of that name, and to one of the ſons of the Marquiſs *de Monteleone*. Theſe Gentlemen (with only Sir *Joſeph Hodges* who paſſed for an *Engliſh* Lord) ſet out from *Paris* in a Poſt-chaiſe. They had not gone above two leagues before the chaiſe broke down in a ſlough. The poſtillion obſerved, the Abbot ſhewed much more concern for his portmanteau than for himſelf, and heard him ſay, he would not have loſt it for a hundred thouſand piſtoles. The poſtillion, having conducted them to the firſt ſtage, returned to *Paris*, and gave immediate notice to the Government, of what he had ſeen and heard. Upon which they were purſued and overtaken at *Poictiers*. Their perſons were ſeized, and the portmanteau ſent to *Paris*, wherein were found two letters which plainly diſcovered the plot. The Prince *de Cellamare* was put under a guard, and his papers were ſealed up with his and the Regent's ſeals, to be delivered to the perſons the King of *Spain* ſhould ſend to receive them. A few days after the Prince was conducted to the frontiers of the Kingdom. The Marquiſs *de Pampadour* and ſeveral other perſons of note were impriſoned. The Duke of *Maine* was ſent priſoner to the Citadel of *Dourlens* in *Picardy*, and the Ducheſs to the Caſtle of *Dijon* in *Burgundy*. The Cardinal *de Polignac* was ordered to his Abby of *Auchin*, that place being allowed him for his priſon.

On the 29th of *December*, war was declared at *Paris* againſt *Spain*. The Declaration was accompanied with a long manifeſto, ſhewing the cauſes of rupture between *France* and *Spain*, and concluding with the following paragraph, in relation to Cardinal *Alberoni*'s plot: 'We now ſee with horror what it was that made the Miniſter of *Spain* inacceſſible to all projects of peace. He would thereby have ſeen all the odious plots which he formed againſt us prove abortive: He would have loſt all hopes of laying this Kingdom deſolate, of raiſing up *France* againſt *France*, of having the management of Rebels among all the orders of State, of kindling a civil war in the boſom of our Provinces; and, in fine, of becoming to us the ſcourge of Heaven, by putting in execution thoſe ſeditious projects, and *ſpringing that mine which was*, according to the words of the Ambaſſador's letter, *to ſerve as a prelude to the Conflagration*. What a recompence is this to *France*, for the treaſures and blood of which ſhe has been ſo profuſe for the ſake of *Spain!*'

To ſupport the reaſons alledged in the manifeſto, armaments were prepared in *France* and *England*. The beginning of *January*, an army of

of thirty-ſix thouſand men were on the march towards *Spain*. Ships of war were fitted out for ſeveral expeditions. The barrenneſs of the Country where the war was to be carried occaſioned great expences, eſpecially for proviſions. The Duke of *Orleans* was at ſome loſs for a General: Marſhal *Villars*, to whom he offered the command, refuſed it, affirming he would never draw his ſword againſt the Houſe of *Bourbon*, but the Duke of *Berwick*, not being ſo ſcrupulous, accepted of the command.

Cardinal *Alberoni*'s intrigues were not confined to *France*, he had formed the ſame deſigns againſt King *George*. The Pretender was treated with, who readily came into the Cardinal's views to annoy his enemy. The Duke of *Ormond* repaired to *Spain* the latter end of the year, and meaſures were taken to ſtir up their friends in *Great-Britain*, and engage them to ſupport the deſigns of *Spain*.

The Pope was doubtleſs in the ſecret, and his affection for the Chevalier *de St. George* hindered him from conſenting, that he ſhould be expoſed, till it was ſeen what ſucceſs the firſt attempt might have. He ſuffered him, however, to go into *Spain*. The Pretender was watched, and there was need of addreſs to eſcape the vigilance of the *Germans*, who were ſpread over the Eccleſiaſtical State. He had lately left *Urbino*, where he reſided, and was come to live at *Rome*. He went from thence on a ſudden, and cauſed it to be reported, that he was gone to *Bologna*. He ſent thither the Earls of *Mar* and *Perth*, with one *Paterſon*, who was to paſs for their Maſter. This artifice was attended with the expected ſucceſs: All three were arreſted at *Vogbera* by the Imperialiſts, but preſently after releaſed. As for the Pretender, he came to *Nettuno* without any accident, and embarked for *Cagliari*, from whence he came to *Roſes* in *Catalonia*, the beginning of *March*.

He was magnificently received at *Madrid*, where he entered in one of the King's coaches, attended by the Guards, and was conducted to the palace of *Buen-retiro*. On the morrow he was viſited by the King, the Queen, the Prince of *Aſturias*, and the Great Officers of the Crown, and complimented by them as King of *Great-Britain*. Upon his arrival the ſquadron, which had been fitting out ſome time for this expedition, ſailed from *Cadiz* towards *England*, conſiſting of ten men war and tranſport-ſhips, with ſix thouſand regular troops on board, moſtly *Iriſh*, with arms for ten or twelve thouſand men. The Duke of *Ormond* was the conductor of this undertaking, with the title of Captain-General of the King of *Spain*: He was to publiſh, in the proper places, a declaration in that King's name, wherein he ſaid, that for many very good reaſons he had reſolved to ſend part of his land and ſea-forces into *England* and *Scotland*, to ſerve as auxiliaries to King *James*: What had confirmed him in his reſolution, was the certain advices he had received, that many of the two Nations, notwithſtanding their ſtrong inclination to acknowledge that Prince for their Sovereign, durſt not openly declare for him, becauſe they did not ſee him ſupported by any of the States of *Europe*, who had either power or will to aſſiſt them: That, to remove this difficulty, and others that might ariſe, he declared he was determined to uſe all his power for the reſtoration of a Prince, in a Country belonging to him by undeniable right: That he hoped Providence would favour ſo juſt a cauſe; but, that the fear of ill ſucceſs might not hinder any perſon from declaring readily for him, he promiſed a ſecure retreat in his Dominions, to all that ſhould join him, and, in caſe they were forced to leave their Country, he declared, that every ſea or land Officer ſhould have the ſame rank as he enjoyed in *Great-Britain*, and the ſoldiers ſhould be received and treated like his own. 1718-19.

Theſe preparations had not been ſo ſecret, but the King had received timely notice to take the neceſſary precautions: The Duke of *Orleans*, in return for the ſame favour, had acquainted him with all he could diſcover. A proclamation was publiſhed againſt the Duke of *Ormond*, and the other Lords that were with him, with a reward of 5000 *l.* for ſeizing the Duke, and of 1000 *l.* for each of the reſt, and of 500 *l.* for every Gentleman.

Preparations againſt it.

As the rumour of the Invaſion increaſed, ſome forces were ordered into the North and into the Weſt of *England*: The *States-General* had notice to have two thouſand men ready to tranſport into *England* when occaſion required; and were, at the ſame time, deſired not to ſuffer the ſuſpicious embarkations of ammunition and men that were making at *Amſterdam*, which they agreed to, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters to the contrary. Above all, the naval armament againſt the *Spaniſh* ſquadron was haſtened; and, upon the repeated advices of the Regent, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſaid, That he had given orders to the Lord-Chancellor to declare to both Houſes a matter of the greateſt importance. Upon this the Lord-Chancellor read the following ſpeech:

The King acquaints the Parliament with the intended Invaſion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" HAVING received from our good Brother and Ally, the moſt Chriſtian King, " repeated advices, that an Invaſion will ſuddenly be attempted from *Spain* againſt my " Dominions, in favour of the Pretender to " my Crown, I have judged it convenient to " make you acquainted with it, and ſhall, on " my part, take all the neceſſary meaſures to defeat the deſigns of our enemies.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" This attempt, if it proceed, muſt engage " me in ſome farther expences by ſea and land " than proviſion has been made for. I muſt " therefore recommend it to you, that I be in- " abled in ſuch manner, as you ſhall judge con- " venient, to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for " our ſecurity; and you may depend upon it, " that I ſhall upon this, and all other occaſions, " have as much regard to the eaſe of my peo- " ple, as ſhall be conſiſtent with their ſafety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The many proofs, I have had of the affecti- " on and loyalty of this Parliament, leave me " no room to doubt of your ſteady and vigorous " perſeverance in ſupport of my Perſon and Go- " vernment upon this occaſion."

This ſpeech had all the effect the King could expect or deſire. Both Houſes aſſured him of their

1718-19. their ſupport; and the Commons deſired him to augment his forces by ſea and land, in ſuch manner as he ſhould think fit, promiſing to make good any increaſe of expence on that account. With theſe aſſurances of the Parliament, the King had the ſatisfaction to ſee his Allies exert their zeal in his defence. The *States* ſent over the two thouſand men; and the Marquiſs *de Prié*, Governor of the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, ſix battalions of Imperialiſts. The Duke of *Orleans* offered no leſs than twenty battalions, but it was not thought proper to accept his offer.

The deſign of the Spaniards *defeated.*

Theſe precautions taken by the King were very juſt, but, as it happened, they proved needleſs. The *Spaniſh* fleet came with a fair wind as far as Cape *Finiſtere*, when a violent ſtorm aroſe, which laſted two days and two nights. The fleet was entirely diſperſed, and diſabled from purſuing their courſe. The Admiral's ſhip of ſixty-four guns, having loſt all her maſts, made for the coaſt of *Spain*, as did all the reſt in the beſt manner they could. By this ſtorm, the men and horſes were for the moſt part rendered unſerviceable.

Some Spaniards *land in* Scotland,

Though the *Spaniſh* ſquadron miſcarried, two frigates arrived at *Kintail* in *Scotland*. Theſe frigates ſailed from *Port-Paſſage* the latter end of *February*, and came to *Kintail* the 16th of *April*, without having ſeen any of the *Spaniſh* fleet in their way. They brought with them the Earls of *Seaforth* and *Mariſchal*, and the Marquiſs of *Tullibardine*, with three hundred and ſeven *Spaniards*, being a detachment of twelve men in a company of *Don Pedro de Caſtro*'s regiment of foot, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, with ſix Captains, ſix Lieutenants, and as many Enſigns. They brought alſo arms for two thouſand men. The Lieutenant-Colonel was aſſured there were ten thouſand men in arms ready to join him, but, very few appearing, he kept the frigates two days, reſolving to go off again, but he was at laſt prevailed with to let them ſail. The two Earls and the Marquiſs, who had ventured themſelves with ſo ſmall a force, went with the *Spaniards* and joined the Rebels. After this junction, they poſſeſſed themſelves of *Donan-Caſtle*, and put in it a garriſon of fifty men; but Captain *Boyle*, in the *Worceſter*, and ſome other ſhips came before the place, and took the garriſon priſoners. In the mean time, General *Wightman* was ordered by the Lord *Carpenter*, to march with the forces under his command in queſt of the Rebels. He marched from *Inverneſs* the beginning of *June*, and, having halted one day at the head of *Lochneſs*, came up with them at a place called the paſs of *Glenſhill*, which they gave out they were reſolved to defend; but, upon the approach of the King's troops, they immediately deſerted it, and retired to another paſs called *Strachell*, where they were more advantageouſly poſted. The General, having viewed their ſituation, made the following diſpoſition for the attack: On the right were poſted all the Grenadiers under the command of Major *Milburn*, being about a hundred and fifty in number, who were ſuſtained by *Mountague*'s regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Laurence*, and a detachment of fifty men commanded by Colonel *Harriſon*; the reſt of the regiment being in garriſon at *Inverlochy*. Theſe were ſupported by *Haſſel*'s *Dutch* regiment, and four companies out of *Amerongen*'s. This wing had fifty-ſix of Lord *Strathnaver*'s men in the flank, under the command of Enſign *Mackay*; and the whole wing was commanded by Colonel *Clayton*, who acted as Brigadier upon this occaſion. The left wing conſiſted of *Clayton*'s regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Reading*, and had on the flank about fourſcore men of the *Monroes*, under the command of Mr. *Monroe* of *Calcairn*. The Dragoons, which were a hundred and twenty in number, commanded by Major *Robertſon*, and had made their march from *Inverneſs* without the loſs of a ſingle horſe, or the leaſt inconvenience, were ordered to keep the road, having four cohorns placed in their front. The Major-General himſelf was poſted in the centre, where every one had free acceſs to him for orders.

and defeated by General Wightman. June 10.

The Rebels forces conſiſted of one thouſand ſix hundred and forty *Highlanders*, beſides three hundred *Spaniards*, and a body of five hundred *Highlanders*, who were poſted on a hill, in order to make themſelves maſters of the baggage of the King's troops, it being always one of their chief aims. From this diſpoſition it is evident, that the King's forces actually engaged did not exceed eight hundred and fifty men, beſides the one hundred and twenty Dragoons, and one hundred and thirty-ſix *Highlanders*. The left wing was ordered to begin the attack; and the Rebels always, as they had fired their muſkets, ſkipping off, and never venturing to come to a cloſe engagement, were driven from rock to rock, the King's forces chaſing them above three hours, till they gained the top of the hill, where the Rebels were immediately diſperſed. The Earl of *Seaforth* and Lord *George Murray* were wounded. There were twenty-one men killed, and one hundred and twenty-one wounded, Officers included, of the King's troops, who lay on their arms all night, in order to bring off the wounded; and marched the next morning to *Glenſhill*, where about two in the afternoon the *Spaniards* ſurrendered themſelves priſoners at diſcretion, and delivered up all their arms and ammunition. Their Commander ſaid, the Earl of *Seaforth* and all the reſt were ſhifting for themſelves, and believed, they would endeavour to get off as ſoon as poſſible at the ſea-port towns, where they could hope to have friends to let them eſcape. General *Wightman* acquainted the Lord *Carpenter*, that he had taken two hundred and ſeventy-four *Spaniards* priſoners, and was making a tour through the difficult parts of *Seaforth*'s Country, to terrify the guilty, and preſerve the well affected, and that he had utterly diſperſed the Rebels, the Chiefs of whom, *Seaforth*, *Tullibardine*, *Mariſchal*, and others, were gone off to the *Lewis* or *Orkney* Iſlands. Thus ended Cardinal *Alberoni*'s enterprize upon *Great-Britain* (1).

When

(1) A marriage was this year agreed upon for the Pretender, with a Daughter of Prince *Sobieski*, eldeſt Son of *John Sobieski* King of *Poland*, who had gained ſo much honour by raiſing the ſiege of *Vienna*. But the Court of *Vienna* thought fit to intereſt itſelf ſo much in preventing this intended marriage, that the Princeſs was ſtopped in paſſing through *Tirol* into *Italy*, and carried into confinement at *Inſpruck*. Great application

1718-19. *Peer-bill.* H. C. H. L.

When the King ſent the meſſage to both Houſes about the *Spaniſh* Invaſion, the Lords were debating upon the famous Peerage bill. This bill, by which the number of Peers was to be limited, is ſaid to have been chiefly intended to put a reſtraint on the Prince of *Wales*, when his Succeſſion ſhould take place, from whom the preſent Miniſtry could expect but little favour. Be this as it will, the Whigs had exclaimed againſt the numerous promotion of Peers by Queen *Anne*, particularly the creation of twelve Peers at once, in order to gain a ſuperiority in the Houſe of Lords, and, to prevent the like for the future, it was reſolved to bring in a bill to fix the number of Peers (1). The perſon by whom this bill was moved for, was the Duke of *Somerſet*, who, on the laſt day of *February*, repreſented in the Houſe of Lords, that, the number of Peers being of late years very much increaſed, eſpecially ſince the Union of the two Kingdoms, it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to fix the ſame, both to preſerve the dignity of the Peerage, and to prevent the inconveniencies, that may attend the creation of a great number of Peers to ſerve a preſent purpoſe; of which they had a remarkable inſtance in the late Reign. He therefore made a motion for the bringing in a bill to ſettle and limit the Peerage in ſuch a manner, that the number of *Engliſh* Peers ſhould not be inlarged beyond ſix above the preſent number, which upon failure of male iſſue might be ſupplied by new creations; and that, inſtead of the ſixteen elective Peers, twenty-five ſhould be made hereditary on the part of *Scotland*, whoſe number upon failure of heirs male ſhould be ſupplied by ſome other *Scots* Peer. The Duke of *Argyle* (who was now Lord Steward of the Houſhold) ſeconded this motion, which was alſo ſupported by the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Carliſle*, before they came to any reſolution; and thereupon his Lordſhip, the Earl of *Oxford*, excepted againſt it, and ſaid, 'as it tended to take away the brighteſt gem from the Crown, it was matter of wonder to ſee it ſupported by thoſe, who, by the great employments they enjoyed, ſeemed under the ſtricteſt obligation to take care of the *Royal Prerogative*. That therefore there muſt be a *ſecret meaning* in this motion; but for his own part, though he expected nothing from the Crown, yet he would never give his vote for lopping off ſo valuable a branch of the prerogative, becauſe this would put it out of the power of the Crown to reward merit and virtuous actions.' To this the Earl of *Sunderland* anſwered, 'that, though the number of Peers were limited, yet the Crown ſhould ſtill be the fountain of honour, and preſerve its prerogative of creating new Peers upon the extinction of old titles for want of male iſſue, which happened frequently; and that thoſe extinctions would give the Prince on the Throne ſufficient opportunities to beſtow honours upon Commoners of diſtinguiſhing merit and abilities.' The debate being adjourned to the 2d of *March*, upon that day, Earl *Stanhope* delivered to a full Houſe the following meſſage from the King:

1718-19.

George R.

'His Majeſty being informed, that the Houſe of Peers have under conſideration the ſtate of the Peerage of *Great-Britain*, is graciouſly pleaſed to acquaint this Houſe, that he has ſo much at

plication was made to the Emperor for her releaſe; but he continued inflexible, and ſeemed the more to extend his authority in this affair, as the whole Family of *Sobieski* lay under great and uncommon obligations to him, on account of penſions and conſiderable allowances, which they received from him, in acknowledgment of the great ſervices of the late King of *Poland* to the Empire. Prince *James Sobieski*, Father of this young Princeſs, held his ſubſiſtance chiefly at the Emperor's pleaſure. On this occaſion he went therefore to *Vienna*, to make his ſubmiſſion to the Emperor, whom he underſtood to be highly diſpleaſed with him; but his Imperial Majeſty would be no ways reconciled to him, or agree to a continuance of his cuſtomary allowance upon any other terms, but his intirely breaking off the match.

Whilſt interceſſion was making for her liberty, the Princeſs *Sobieski* eſcaped from her confinement in the beginning of *May*, in man's cloaths, and, repairing to *Bologna*, was there married by proxy to the Pretender, then in *Spain*. A few days after ſhe went to *Rome*, where ſhe was very kindly entertained by the Pope and ſome of the Cardinals. She ſeemed impatient to be conducted to her Spouſe; but the hazard of the preſent conjuncture, and the uncertainty of his reſidence, till his projects were brought to ſome criſis, made the Pope continue her under his care at *Rome*. No other opportunity of correſpondence could therefore be obtained but by letters; and, about the latter end of *June*, an account was brought to *England* of one *Maſſy*, who was ſent from *Rome* with diſpatches from Her to the Pretender and Cardinal *Alberoni*; and, quickly after, Earl *Cadogan* had notice of a perſon of the ſame name in *Holland*, with letters and papers of conſequence; whereupon, at his inſtances, *Maſſy*'s lodgings were ſearched, and his perſon and papers ſecured.

(1) The ſame day this bill was brought in, there was printed and delivered to the Lords, a liſt of the Peers exiſting at the time of King *James* I's Acceſſion to the Crown, and of thoſe who have ſince been advanced to the Peerage; as alſo of the ſeveral Peers extinct in his and the ſucceeding Reigns. By this liſt it appears that,

		extinct	added
At the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, the number of *Engliſh* Peers was	59		
King *James* I. created	62	17	45
King *Charles* I.	59	21	38
King *Charles* II.	64	53	11
King *James* II.	8	8	0
K. *William* and Q. *Mary*	30	21	9
Queen *Anne*	30	24	6
King *George*	20	10	10
	332	154	119
Extinct	154		
Remains	178		

At the time of debating the bill, the ſtate of the Peers was as follows:

The Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York*		2
Dukes	22	
Earls	73	
Viſcounts	13	
Barons	68	
	178	
Archbiſhops and Biſhops	26	
Peers of *Scotland*	16	
	220	

1718-19. at heart the ſettling the Peerage of the whole Kingdom upon ſuch a foundation, as may ſecure the freedom and conſtitution of Parliaments in all future ages, that he is willing, that his prerogative ſtand not in the way of ſo great and neceſſary a work.'

A motion being made for an addreſs of thanks for this meſſage, the Earl of *Nottingham* excepted againſt it, ſaying, It was unuſual for the King to take notice of any thing depending in Parliament, before the ſame was laid before him in a Parliamentary way. But the Duke of *Bucks* over-ruled this objection, and ſaid, It could not be ſuppoſed, that the King alone ſhould be ignorant of what every body elſe knew; and that ſince his Majeſty was pleaſed, for the good of his ſubjects, to ſuffer his prerogative to be reſtrained, they ought readily to accept, and thankfully acknowledge, ſo great and ſo gracious a condeſcenſion. Upon this the addreſs was agreed to, and the debate was put off to the next day; when the Earl of *Sunderland*, in a long ſpeech, ran over the ſeveral changes, that had happened in the Peerage ſince the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* to this time; urged the neceſſity of limiting the number of Peers; and propoſed the Duke of *Somerſet*'s ſcheme with relation both to the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Peers. Earl *Cowper* in anſwer to this ſpeech endeavoured to ſhew, 'That what was intended to be done with relation to the *Scots* Peerage was a manifeſt violation of the treaty of *Union*, and the higheſt piece of injuſtice; for it was no leſs than to deprive perſons of their right without being heard, and without any pretence of forfeiture on their part; urging, that the *Scots* Peers, who ſhould be excluded from the number of the twenty-five hereditary, would be in a worſe condition than any other ſubjects, ſince they would be neither electing nor elected, nor repreſenting, nor repreſented, which could not fail of raiſing dangerous diſcontents amongſt them. That beſides it would be a breach of truſt in thoſe, who repreſented the *Scots* Peerage, wholly to diveſt their principals of a power, with which they had intruſted them only for a few years: And therefore he was of opinion, that the *Scots* Peers ought to have been conſulted, before any ſteps were made in ſo nice and ſo important an affair.' Theſe objections were anſwered by the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Stanhope*, and *Cadogan*, the Dukes of *Bucks* and *Newcaſtle*, 1718. the Biſhop of *Glocester*, and ſome other *Engliſh* Lords, who were ſupported by ſeveral *Scots* Peers, particularly the Dukes of *Roxburgh* and *Montroſe*, the Marquiſs of *Annandale*, and the Earl of *Ilay*. In the firſt place, it was alledged, 'That the ſettling the Peerage, in the manner propoſed, was rather a benefit than a diſadvantage to the *Scots* Peerage, whoſe Repreſentatives were thereby increaſed by nine, and all made hereditary: And as for thoſe Peers, who, for the preſent, would be excluded, they would afterwards have a chance to come in, upon failure of any of the twenty-five: That this regulation could not be looked upon as a violation of the Union, two things only being made unalterable fundamentals of that contract, *Religion*, and the *Proportion* of *public Taxes*: That the conſulting of the *Scots* Peers in this affair, would be altogether improper and unparliamentary, and attended with great inconveniencies. The Earl of *Ilay* in particular repreſented, That the bringing in a number of Peers into that Houſe, by election, was certainly derogatory to the dignity of that Auguſt Aſſembly, and of the higheſt Tribunal in the united Kingdoms: And therefore he had long before wiſhed to ſee this defect in the Union rectified, and the *Scots* Peers freed from that ignominious mark of diſtinction, which made them be looked upon as dependant on the Court and Miniſtry, and not at liberty to vote like the other Members, for the good and intereſt of their Country.' The Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lord *Townſhend*, and ſome other Peers, declared, 'That they were not againſt the ſettling and limiting the Peerage, but only againſt the doing it in ſuch a manner, as, in their opinion, was unjuſt, and might be attended with dangerous conſequences.' But, after a long debate, reſolutions agreeable to the Duke of *Somerſet*'s motion were agreed to, and the Judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill (1).

Diſputes about Peers bill.

As this affair had made a great noiſe, and alarmed, not only the generality of the *Scots* Peers, but alſo many of the *Engliſh* Commoners, a Pamphlet, ſaid to be written By Mr. *Benſon*, called the *Plebeian*, was publiſhed againſt the bill, which was anſwered by Mr. *Addiſon*, in his paper called *the Old Whig*. In theſe papers, the chief arguments, on both ſides of that important

(1) The reſolutions about the *Scots* Peers were theſe ſix:

I. That, in lieu of the ſixteen elective Peers to ſit in this Houſe on the part of *Scotland*, twenty-five Peers, to be declared by his Majeſty, ſhall have *hereditary Seats* in Parliament, and be the Peers on the part of the Peerage of *Scotland*.

II. That ſuch twenty-five Peers ſhall be declared by his Majeſty, before the next Seſſion of Parliament.

III. That nine of the ſaid twenty-five ſhall be appointed by his Majeſty to have immediate right to ſuch hereditary ſeats in Parliament, ſubject to the qualifications requiſite by the laws now in being.

IV. That none of the remaining ſixteen, ſo to be declared by his Majeſty, or their heirs, ſhall become ſitting Peers of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, 'till after the determination of this preſent Parliament, except ſuch as are of the number of the ſixteen Peers now ſitting in Parliament on the part of *Scotland* and their heirs.

V. That if any of the twenty-five Peers, ſo to be declared by his Majeſty, and their heirs, ſhall fail, ſome one or other of the Peers of *Scotland* ſhall be appointed by his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to ſucceed every ſuch Peers ſo failing, and every Peer ſo appointed ſhall be one of the Peers on the part of the Peerage of *Scotland*, in the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, and ſo, *toties quoties*, as often as any ſuch failure ſhall happen.

VI. That the hereditary right of ſitting in Parliament, which ſhall accrue to the twenty-five Peers of *Scotland*, to be declared by his Majeſty, ſhall be ſo limited, as not to deſcend to females.

The Reſolutions concerning the *Engliſh* Peers (which were agreed to the next day) were theſe five:

I. That the number of Peers of *Great-Britain*, on the part of *England*, ſhall not be inlarged, without precedent right, beyond ſix above what they are at preſent: But, as any of the ſaid preſent Peers, or ſuch ſix new Peers, in caſe they be created, ſhall fail, their number

portant queſtion, are largely and fully diſplayed (1).

Whilſt the public was in expectation of the iſſue of this affair, a ſudden ſtop was put to all farther proceedings. Earl *Stanhope*, when the bill came to be read the third time, made a ſpeech, wherein he obſerved, 'That this bill had made a great noiſe, and raiſed ſtrange apprehenſions: And ſince the deſign of it had been ſo miſrepreſented, and ſo miſunderſtood, that it was like to meet with great oppoſition in the other Houſe, he thought it adviſeable to let the matter lie ſtill till a more proper opportunity.' Upon this, the third reading was put off a fortnight, by which means the bill was dropped for this Seſſion: For the King, four days after, came to the Houſe of Peers, and put an end to the Seſſion with the following ſpeech, which the Lord-Chancellor read to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I AM now come to put an end to this "Seſſion, in which you have ſhewn many "great and ſeaſonable proofs of your duty and "affection to my Perſon and Government, and "of your care for the ſafety and welfare of your "Fellow-ſubjects.

"By the bleſſing of God on our endeavours, "we have hitherto diſappointed the ill deſigns "of our enemies, who flattered themſelves with "ſucceſs from our unhappy diviſions.

"We perceive, by the raſh and wicked coun"ſels which have lately prevailed in the Court "of *Spain*, that the deſperate and extravagant "projects of one ambitious man, though not "capable of giving fears to their neighbours, "may occaſion to them ſome expence and "trouble.

"That Court being influenced by counſels "odious and deſtructive to the *Spaniards*, who "find themſelves neglected and oppreſſed, after "having endeavoured to foment conſpiracies and "ſeditions both here and in *France*, and ſtoop"ed to practices unuſual, accompanied by ma"nifeſtoes of a ſtile unheard of among great "Princes, has at laſt proceeded to acknowledge "the Pretender.

"As this news has given great ſurprize to all "*Europe*, I queſtion not, but it will be received "by every good *Briton* with indignation and "contempt.

"It is our happineſs, at this juncture, to find "ourſelves aſſiſted by the greateſt powers in *Eu*"*rope* againſt an enemy, that has no Allies, but "thoſe, who would betray the Government, 1719.
"under which they live, and are protected.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I thank you very heartily for the Supplies "you have granted me this year. The manner, "in which you have raiſed them, without any "new burden to my people, the great addition "you have made to the fund for ſinking the "debts of the Nation, the diſcharge of the *Ex*"*chequer* bills, and the proviſions you have "made to pay whatever remains juſtly due to "foreign States and Princes, are the ſtrongeſt "proofs of your wiſdom, as well as of your zeal "for my Service, and the good of your Country. "You may obſerve, I have hitherto been very "cautious of making uſe of the power you have "given me, to increaſe our forces by ſea and "land. If our enemies ſhould oblige me to a "greater expence, it ſhall be employed for your "ſervice. This is what the truſt you repoſed "in me requires at my hands, and what I owe "to ſo dutiful and affectionate a Houſe of Com"mons.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"There being nothing more deſirable, at all "times, than a firm Union between Proteſtants, "I reflect with ſatisfaction upon the law you "have paſſed this Seſſion, which will, I hope, "prove effectual to that purpoſe. As it is a "ſignal inſtance of moderation and indulgence "in our Eſtabliſhed Church, ſo I hope it will "beget ſuch a return of gratitude from all Diſ"ſenting Proteſtants, as will greatly tend to her "honour and ſecurity, both which I ſhall ever "have near at heart.

"I have always looked upon the glory of a "Sovereign, and the liberty of a Subject, as in"ſeparable; and think it is the peculiar happi"neſs of a *Britiſh* King, to reign over a free "people. As the civil rights, therefore, and "privileges of all my ſubjects, and eſpecially of "my two Houſes of Parliament, do juſtly claim "my moſt tender concern; if any proviſion "deſigned to perpetuate theſe bleſſings to your "Poſterity remains imperfect, for want of time, "during this Seſſion, maturely to diſcuſs and "ſettle matters of ſo great importance, I pro"miſe myſelf, you will take the firſt opportu"nity to render my wiſhes for your happineſs "compleat and effectual, and to ſtrengthen the "Union, which is of ſo much conſequence to "the welfare of this Kingdom.

"If

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number may be ſupplied by new creations of Commoners, natural born ſubjects of this Kingdom, and ſo, *toties quoties*, as often as ſuch failure ſhall happen.

II. That no perſon be at any time hereafter created a Peer by writ, nor any Peerage granted by Patent for any longer eſtate than for the grantee, and the heirs male of his body.

III. That there be not any reſtraint on the Crown to create any of the Princes of the Blood Peers of *Great-Britain*, with right to ſit in Parliament.

IV. That, whenever any of the Lords now ſitting in Parliament, whoſe ſons have been called by writ, ſhall die, then it ſhall be lawful for his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to create a Peer to ſupply the number ſo leſſened.

V. That every creation of a Peer hereafter to be made contrary to theſe reſolutions ſhall be null and void to all intents and purpoſes.

(1) The *Plebeian* has the following expreſſions: 'The greateſt Traitor to civil ſociety, that ever yet appeared, will be the man, if ſuch a one can be found, who ſhall contend for ſuch a bill, ſhould it be propoſed among the Commons, with the aſſurance in his pocket of being a Peer, as ſoon as the bill paſſes. And ſhould he ſucceed, which God forbid, that honour, which is to be the reward of ſo baſe a treachery, will be a laſting mark of infamy to the family that bears it, whilſt any notion of honour remains among mankind.'

Mr. *Benſon* was ſoon after removed from his poſt of Surveyor-General of his Majeſty's works, and was ſucceeded by Sir *Thomas Hewet*.

(1) An

1719. "If the circumſtances of my affairs ſhall allow "of my going abroad this ſummer, I ſhall take "the ſame care of your intereſts, as if I remain- "ed here. The many Negotiations, which "will be on foot, to reſtore the peace of the "*North*, in which the trade and tranquillity of "this Kingdom may be very much concerned, "will make my preſence there of great uſe to "theſe my Dominions. And, as in that caſe I "deſign, by the bleſſing of God, to meet you "early next winter, I will only recommend to "you moſt earneſtly, that, laying aſide all ani- "moſities, you would, in your ſeveral Coun- "ties and Stations, uſe your utmoſt endeavours "to preſerve the public peace, and ſee a due "execution of the laws."

After this ſpeech, the Parliament was prorogued to the 19th of *May*; and afterwards, by ſeveral prorogations, to the 23d of *November* (1).

The King goes to Hanover.

Soon after the prorogation, the King declared his intention of going to *Hanover*, and appointed for *Lords Juſtices*, in his abſence, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor *Parker*, the Dukes of *Kingſton*, *Argyle* (now alſo *Greenwich*) *Newcaſtle*, *Bolton*, *Marlborough*, and *Roxburgh*, the Earls *Sunderland*, *Berkly*, and *Stanhope*, and Secretary *Craggs*. The Prince and Princeſs of *Wales*, not being appointed Regents, retired into the Country, and appeared no more till the King's departure, a few days after which they came to *St. James*'s to ſee the young Princeſſes, who kept a levy twice a week: And to them it was, that the Lords Juſtices, and a numerous appearance of foreign Miniſters, Nobility, and Gentry, made their compliments on the King's birth-day, who was entered into the ſixtieth year of his age.

As the King thought his preſence in *Germany* neceſſary to forward the many Negotiations that were on foot, he ſet out the 11th of *May*, and, after a ſhort paſſage of ſeventeen hours, arrived in *Holland*. With the King embarked Earl *Stanhope*, the Ducheſs of *Munſter* (now Ducheſs of *Kendal*) and the Lord and Lady *How*, with ſome others. The King ſtaid two days at *Oſnabrug*, and came to *Herenhauſen*, the 18th of *May*.

He makes peace with Sweden.

The death of the King of *Sweden* having removed the chief obſtacle to the peace of the *North*, the King turned his thoughts firſt that way. The new Queen, who had ſucceeded her Brother *Charles* XII, as well as the whole Nation, were deſirous of peace; drained of men and money, they were unable to make war: Almoſt the whole army, led by the late King to the fatal expedition of *Norway*, miſerably periſhed. But it was not ſufficient to give peace to *Sweden*, it was neceſſary alſo to diſarm her other enemies, and bound their pretenſions. Theſe enemies were the Czar, and the Kings of *Denmark*, *Pruſſia*, and *Poland*. King *George*, diſpleaſed with the Czar, whom he ſuſpected of having entered into all the projects which had been formed againſt him, reſolved to keep no meaſures with him. He began with a ſincere reconciliation with *Sweden*, then endeavoured to ſoften the King of *Denmark*, and induce the two others to proceed with great moderation, to acknowledge him for Mediator, and join with him, if neceſſary, to compel the Czar to accept of equitable conditions. 1719.

The Duke of *Orleans*, in concert with King *George*, had offered his mediation to *Sweden* for a reconciliation with that Prince. The offer was accepted, and, in *July*, a proviſional treaty was ſigned, by which a peace was to be concluded as ſoon as poſſible, agreeable to the plan, and terms agreed upon with the Mediator. This was punctually performed, and in *November*, the Sieur *de Baſſewitz*, Miniſter of his *Britannic* Majeſty, as Duke and Elector of *Brunſwick*, ſigned the peace with the Plenipotentiaries of Queen *Ulrica*.

By this treaty *Sweden* gave up for ever, to the Royal and Electoral Houſe of *Hanover*, the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, with all their rights and dependencies, according to the treaty of *Oſnabrug*, of the 23d of *October*, 1648, by virtue of which the Kings of *Sweden* had enjoyed them. On the other hand, the Elector of *Hanover* engaged to continue to his new ſubjects their rights, privileges, effects, and religion; and to diſcharge the engagements of his predeceſſors in thoſe Duchies. Moreover, he obliged himſelf to pay to the Queen of *Sweden* a million of Rix-Dollars at two payments; the firſt before the ſigning of the treaty; the ſecond, five or ſix weeks after the exchange of the ratifications. He engaged likewiſe to renew, both as King of *Great-Britain*, and Elector of *Hanover*, the Alliances formerly eſtabliſhed with his Predeceſſors and the Kingdom of *Sweden*. Laſtly, the treaty of *Weſtphalia* was renewed with a reſervation of demanding and accepting the guaranty of the Emperor, and, according to circumſtances, of ſome other powers.

At the ſame time the Lord *Carteret*, Ambaſſador Plenipotentiary from *Great-Britain* to the Court of *Sweden*, was employed to negotiate the confirmation of this treaty of peace, by an Alliance between the two Crowns, ſtill under the mediation and guaranty of *France*. But this Alliance was not concluded till the next year, as will be related.

Theſe Negotiations with the Queen of *Sweden* were not the moſt difficult; ſhe readily agreed to a peace, and conſidered it as the ground of her ſafety, and the end of her miſeries. But it was not the ſame either with the King of *Denmark* or the Czar, who looked upon theſe Negotiations as the ruin of their ſchemes, and an obſtacle to their conqueſts. As for King *Auguſtus*, he entered intirely into the views of the King of *Great-Britain*, and was contented with being acknowledged King of *Poland*; he did not even require, that the intereſts of his Competitor ſhould

(1) An act paſſed after the Reſtoration, obliging all Mayors and Aldermen, *&c.* at their admiſſion into offices, to ſign a declaration againſt *the ſolemn league and covenant*, on a conſiderable penalty. As this act was ſtill in force, and all the Magiſtrates liable to the penalty of it, becauſe the declaration had been univerſally neglected, on a petition of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, an act paſſed this Seſſion to repeal it, under the title of *an act for quieting and eſtabliſhing Corporations*.

The Truſtees of the forfeited eſtates delivered in an account of the value of the eſtates of Papiſts, which had, in purſuance of an act, for that purpoſe, been regiſter'd in the ſeveral Counties of *England*, amounting to 375,284*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* ½.

(1) Captain

should be abandoned, and consented, that, in the provisional treaty, the Queen of *Sweden* should reserve to herself the liberty of demanding for him what she should think proper. 1719.

The King of *Prussia* was a little more difficult; but he complied at last, and, accepting the mediation of *Great-Britain*, granted a suspension of arms till the conclusion of the peace.

The King of *Denmark* had made great preparations for an expedition against *Sweden*, which he was to execute in person: He had already had some success, but of a sudden he desisted, and, consenting to a suspension of arms for six months, accepted of the mediation of *France* and *Great-Britain*, and, after numberless disputes, gave way to the instances of the Mediators, and accepted of a sum of money by way of satisfaction for the conquests, which he was obliged to restore. The Czar was the only Prince, who would not comply, but sent his fleet to the *Scheuron* or *Batses* of *Sweden*, where twelve or fifteen thousand *Muscovites* landed, and made a dreadful ravage. The *English* fleet, which, under Sir *John Norris*, was in those seas, to support the Negotiations, had orders to treat the *Russian* fleet, as Admiral *Byng* had done that of *Spain*; but the Czar recalled his fleet, and prevented the blow. Thus stood affairs in the North; it is now time to see what was done in the *Mediterranean* this summer.

Whilst Admiral *Byng* and the Viceroy of *Naples* were waiting for the return of Count *Hamilton*, whom they had agreed to send to *Vienna*, to represent the posture of affairs, and bring back the final resolutions of that Court concerning the operations of the war, the Admiral sailed to *Port-Mahon* to refit his squadron (1).

Signor *Patinho* had hitherto resided in *Messina*, directing the affairs of the Island for the interest of his Master with great prudence; but, his presence being wanted at the Court of *Spain*, he embarked on board a Felucca, on the 16th of *January* in the night, and put to sea, attended by two gallies. If the darkness had continued an hour longer, he would have undoubtedly fallen into the mouths of two of the *English* cruizers, which chased his gallies into a bay near *Palermo*; but the Felucca escaped, and landed him in *Italy*, from whence he proceeded to *Madrid*, and, by his counsels and industry, all methods were used for supporting their army in *Sicily* with recruits of men, and all necessaries of war. The *Venetians* and *Genoese*, and even the *French* Consuls in the ports of *Italy*, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions of the Regent, were corrupted to give them all the assistance possible; and, though many vessels were taken, many escaped. As to the *French*, Admiral *Byng* found himself under a difficulty how to treat the ships of a Nation, that was in strict Alliance with *England*. He made loud complaints of their partiality, till at last the Regent gave him leave to confiscate all those he met with in the service of *Spain*, which put some stop to their clandestine proceedings (2).

Admiral *Byng*, having refitted most of his squadron at *Port-Mahon*, hastened away from thence with four men of war the 30th of *March*, leaving the rest to follow him, and arrived the 4th of *April* at *Naples*, where he hoped to find the army from *Hungary* arrived, and in a readiness to embark; but, contrary to his expectations, he saw every thing in extreme backwardness, partly for want of money.

On the 23d of *April*, Count *de Mercy* arrived at *Naples* from *Vienna*, to take upon him the command of the whole army. He was a native of *Lorrain*, but brought up in the Emperor's service, where he had risen to the rank of General of the horse. He was of a tall graceful presence, with a very soldierlike appearance, but had the misfortune of being short-sighted, almost to purblindness. He had great strength of body and

(1) Captain *Matthews* being left with a squadron at *Pentemelia*, to observe Rear-Admiral *Cammock*, and hinder his escaping out of *Messina* to the Southward, had the good fortune to run one of them ashore, a ship of sixty-four guns, called the *Sta Rosalia*; and another called the *St. Pedro* of sixty guns was cast away in *Tarento Bay*. *Cammock* himself, endeavouring to get away to *Spain* in a small frigate of twenty-two guns, was chased the 6th of *February* by a ship of Captain *Matthews*'s squadron, and escaped with much difficulty in his boat to *Catania*, but the frigate was taken, with all his effects and papers, amongst which was a commission from the Pretender, appointing him Admiral of the white squadron.

This unhappy man was a native of *Ireland*, and, being bred up at sea, had raised himself to the post of a Captain, and served in Queen *Anne*'s war, with no bad character. But associating himself with those who were enemies to the House of *Hanover*, and becoming obnoxious to the Government, on the Accession of that Family to the Crown, he abandoned his Country, and entered into the service of *Spain*, where he was promoted to the rank of a Rear-Admiral, and served in that post in the expedition against *Sicily*. He had never been noted to want courage, but, in the action of *Passaro*, he ran away among the first, and escaped to *Malta*, affording an instance, how much a consciousness of guilt and dread of punishment depresses the heart, more than the fear of an enemy. He was a vain boasting man, with a roving unsettled head, filled with airy schemes and projects, without any judgment or discretion. He assured Signor *Patinho*, that he could put most of the *English* fleet into his hands, in recompence for that which he had lost; and, in that senseless confidence, wrote a letter to the Admiral, to let him know, that he had the Pretender's commands to assure him, if he would bring over the greatest part of his fleet to *Messina*, or to any port in *Spain*, he would create him Duke of *Albemarle*, with a Royal Bounty of one hundred thousand pounds to support the honour and dignity of that rank; and that every Captain should have ten thousand pounds, and the seamen a gratuity of two months wages. That Signor *Patinho* would satisfy him of the King of *Spain*'s security for the performance of this agreement, and that no body else but the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Mar* were in the secret. Whether he wrote by direction or not, does not appear, but the letter met with the contempt it deserved. He likewise sent another letter to Captain *Walton*, with the promise of a reward of ten thousand pounds, a Commission of Admiral of the Blue, and to be made an *English* Peer, if he would bring his ships into *Messina*, which the honest Captain brought to the Admiral, with vehement expressions of abhorrence and indignation.

(2) Mr. *Corbet* mentions here an instance or two of the unfair practice of other Nations at this time upon the *English* trade, and which, it is apprehended, will always be the case, whenever *England* is engaged in foreign wars. The Admiral having intelligence from *Genoa*, that a privateer of twenty-four guns had been fitted out by *French* Merchants of that place, and was cruizing with a *Spanish* Commission off of Cape *Corso*, and

1719. and mind, and was indefatigable in the uſe of both, when neceſſary. He was full of fire, and his converſation abounded with wit and humour. He had great ſkill in courting and careſſing perſons, when he wanted to gain any point, but, at other times, his behaviour diſcovered much haughtineſs. He had an inſatiable thirſt for glory, which was ſeconded by a bold and moſt reſolute temper, always heading his troops himſelf, and ſeemed to have a ſort of paſſion for fighting. He was ſeldom in any action but he was wounded, and was not eſteemed a fortunate Officer. He deſpiſed an enemy too much, was impatient for engaging, and had the character of not caring what men he ſacrificed to obtain his purpoſe, when a few days patience might perhaps have ſucceeded as well without it; which opinion made the ſoldiers uneaſy under him, as they were in continual apprehenſions of being led to the ſlaughter. Upon the whole, as he had great parts, and great experience of ſervice, he muſt have made a great General (as he was a complete fine Gentleman) if he had had a cooler temper, or could have commanded it better. But with all his faults he was certainly in the ſuperior rank of men, of which there needs no better proof, than that he was a favourite of Prince *Eugene*. He was now going to encounter an old ſchool-fellow in the Marquiſs *de Lede*, who was a *Fleming* by birth, and a good General under a quite oppoſite character, being as different from the other in perſon, as he was in temper. He was of a low miſhapen ſtature, not affable nor open in his diſpoſition, but much eſteemed for his judgment and prudence, and was of great military experience too. He was as cautious and circumſpect, as the other was bold and enterprizing; and, in this reſpect, both ſeemed to be in their proper employment, the one in a ſituation of defence, and the other of attack. It was thought, that, in the courſe of this war, he ſlipped ſome opportunities, which the overſight, or wants of the *Germans*, gave him of acting upon them to advantage; but, he conſidered, that he was in a Country, where he was ſhut up from receiving any conſiderable ſupplies of men, while the enemy poured in what numbers they pleaſed, and that any large diminution of his troops might endanger the whole, and therefore made it a principal point to preſerve his army as much as poſſible, and with the advantage of the paſſes, and the affection of the country people, to diſtreſs and diſable his adverſary, which he effected with much ſkill and wiſdom, and maintained the honour of the arms of *Spain* with great reputation; and at laſt, when the King his Maſter was forced by the weight of the Alliances againſt him, to relinquiſh the Iſland, he brought a gallant army back into *Spain* (1).

Whilſt the troops were arriving, and the veſſels to tranſport them getting ready, Admiral *Byng* aſſiſted at ſeveral Conferences with the Viceroy of *Naples* and General *Mercy*, about the intended deſcent on *Sicily*. All agreed, that *Syracuſa* was out of the way, but it was not ſo eaſy to determine, whether it would be beſt to land at *Palermo*, or near *Melazzo*. *Palermo* was judged ſafeſt, and would not only make them Maſters of the capital City, but alſo of the fertile Province of *Mazzara*, from whence they might eaſily draw proviſions and neceſſaries for the ſubſiſtance of the army. But *Melazzo* was moſt expeditious, as it would preſs the enemy cloſer, and bring matters more quickly to a deciſion; and this opinion prevailed. But, when they came to examine into the ſtate of their military ſtores, they were ſo deficient in a train of artillery, that the Admiral yielded to ſupply them with cannon, powder, and ball from the *Spaniſh* prizes, rather than ſuffer time to be loſt for want thereof.

All things being at length got ready, the army embarked, conſiſting of ten thouſand foot, and three thouſand five hundred horſe, all choice troops, and the flower of thoſe, that had lately ſerved victoriouſly in *Hungary*. The Admiral ſailed from the Bay of *Baiæ*, the 22d of *May*, *N. S.* with eight men of war, and above two hundred tranſports; and, on the 27th in the evening, arrived before *Melazzo*, from whence General *Zumjungen* came off, and adviſed Count *de Mercy* to land in the Bay of *Patti*, about twenty miles weſtward, the coaſt to the eaſtward being all guarded by the enemy. Upon this, ſo good a diſpoſition and order was made, that, the

and having no ſmall frigates with him, he converted the *Loo* Hoſpital ſhip into a frigate, and, putting twenty guns and one hundred men into her, ſent her, under the command of Captain *Prothero*, in queſt of the ſaid privateer. The Captain fortunately met with her off the Iſland of *Capraia*, and after a ſmart engagement took her. She had one hundred and thirty men, moſt *French*, of whom fifty-ſix were killed, and nineteen wounded, with the loſs only of two men in the *Loo*, and four wounded. The Admiral directed the priſoners to be ſent to *Thoulon*, and delivered into the cuſtody of the Intendant; and he wrote to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Paris* to repreſent thoſe proceedings to the Regent, to whoſe juſtice he left the priſoners. Another ſhip was fitted out at *Venice*, with fifty guns, and two hundred and fifty men, all *Venetians*, except three *Spaniards*, and eight *Engliſh*; and having taken a *Spaniſh* commiſſion at *Malta*, which Signor *Patinho* had lodged there for her, ſhe went a cruizing on the coaſt of *Spain*. The Admiral, being informed of it, ſent the *Orford* and *Rupert* after her, the latter of which, meeting with her off of *Peniſcola*, engaged and took her by boarding, having killed ſixty-one men, and wounded twenty-nine, with the loſs only of one man killed and three wounded.

(1) The City of *Naples* was at this time full of General Officers, and perſons of high quality and diſtinction, and abounded in all the pleaſures of that delightful climate. The Viceroy was ſtudious of making the place agreeable to the Admiral, as much out of affection, as politeneſs. On the feſtival day of *St. Januarius*, he appointed him a box near his own, to behold that famous ceremony. The blood continued long without liquifying, at the approach of the head of the Saint. The vaſt concourſe of people began to ſhew ſigns of concern: They fell firſt to praying, afterwards proceeded to groans and lamentations; and, at length, ſuch a confuſed murmuring and uneaſineſs was perceived amongſt them, that the Viceroy, being apprehenſive of ſome ill conſequences, ſent Count *Hamilton* to the Admiral, to beg he would not take it ill, if he deſired him to retire, not knowing what effect it might have upon the populace, if they ſhould take it into their heads to attribute the failing of the miracle to the Saint's being diſpleaſed at his preſence. The Admiral had no ſooner quitted his box, and was ſtepping into the Viceroy's coach, but he heard a prodigious ſhout of, *é fatto, é fatto, it is done, it is done*; and ſuch joy and exultation appeared in every countenance, as if they had been delivered from ſome terrible calamity.

19. the next morning early, all the foot landed in leſs than two hours, and moſt of the cavalry by three in the afternoon, having only loſt two horſes in the voyage.

Upon the landing of the Imperialiſts, the Marquiſs *de Lede* decamped with precipitation, and marched, without halting, to *Franca Villa*, a ſtrong poſt, thirty-two miles diſtant, in a mountainous Country, and from whence three roads led to *Palermo*, *Meſſina*, and *Syracuſa*. Count *de Mercy* arrived, by eaſy marches, at *Melazzo*, and found in the *Spaniſh* camp ſome cannon, with ammunition and utenſils of war, which the haſte of the *Spaniards* had left behind.

Whilſt matters were preparing here for the further operations of the army, Count *Seckendorf* was detached with a body of two thouſand five hundred foot, and one hundred and fifty horſe, to reduce the Iſlands of *Lipari* to the Emperor's obedience, which he effected, after ſome reſiſtance, in four days time. This conqueſt was abſolutely neceſſary to keep open the navigation between *Naples* and *Sicily*, which had been diſturbed by the armed veſſels of thoſe Iſlands. *Lipari*, the principal Iſland, is ſaid to contain eight thouſand inhabitants, a bold people, addicted to pillage, and the beſt mariners in thoſe parts.

It was now under deliberation, whether the army ſhould go and beſiege *Meſſina*, or follow the *Spaniards*, who were ſtrongly intrenching themſelves at *Franca Villa*. *Meſſina* had a numerous garriſon, and was well provided for a long ſiege, which might waſte away the ſummer, whilſt the *Spaniards* got in the corn, now near ripe, and kept the magazines of the Iſland in their poſſeſſion. It was therefore determined to march towards the enemy, and to endeavour to bring them to battle. The haſty retreat they had made from *Melazzo* animated Count *de Mercy* ſo much, that he did not imagine they would make any great ſtand at *Franca Villa*, but that he ſhould trample them under foot (which was his expreſſion) when he came up with them. The way to the enemy lay through a barren mountainous Country, and it took up ſo much time to get together a few mules and horſes for carriage from *Calabria*, that the army did not move from *Melazzo* till the 17th of *June*, *N. S.* amounting to about twenty-one thouſand men. They ſuffered a moſt painful march of three days, through wild unknown roads, broken up, and rendered almoſt unpaſſable by the enemy, conducted by ignorant guides, and climbing over cragged rocks and precipices, the ſoldiers oppreſſed with the weight of their ammunition, and ſix days bread, which they carried, beſides their arms, with a fiery ſun burning over their heads, and harraſſed and aſſaulted all along the heights and eminences by the armed peaſants of the Country, mixed with ſome *Spaniſh* foot; but arriving, the 19th in the afternoon, on the top of the mountain of *Tre Fontane*, they diſcovered the enemy incamped below, in the valley of *Franca Villa*. At the ſight of their camp, a ſhout of joy ran through the whole army, in hopes of coming to a deciſive action, which ſeemed to promiſe favourably to them, it not being imagined, that the enemy could poſt themſelves in a bottom, with ſo much advantage againſt an army deſcending from higher ground upon them.

The ſituation of the *Spaniſh* camp was in this manner. The rapid river *Cantara*, whoſe banks are of a ſteep quick rock, from ſix to eight feet perpendicularly deep, and runs through the valley of *Franca Villa*, was in their front. Their left was on the riſing grounds about *Franca Villa* (the town lying behind in their center) and extended to a high mountain, where they had placed ſome armed peaſants, and a few foot. On the other ſide of the river (but joined by a bridge to the town of *Franca Villa*) was a ſteep rock, with a convent of *Capuchins* upon it. Here they placed five battalions of their beſt troops, in as many rows of intrenchments cut into the rock, one above the other; and at the point of the rock was a ſmall battery of two pieces of cannon of three pounders. On their right they had carried on a fortification of large ſtones, like a wall, all along the river, as far as a high rocky hill, which had a convent on the top, as advantageouſly fortified, as that of the *Capuchins*; and, cloſe behind the hill, the ſteep river *Caſtiglione* runs into the *Cantara*, by means of whoſe confluence, and the neighbouring mountains being guarded by armed peaſants, the *Spaniards* were ſecure from any danger in their rear. It was unfortunate to the *Germans*, that not one deſerter, nor even a peaſant of the Country (who were all up in arms in favour of the *Spaniards*) came over to give them the leaſt information, ſo that they knew little of the ſtrength and advantage of the enemies poſt, till they came to action, and were within musket-ſhot of their trenches. 1719. *The battle of Franca Villa.*

Count *de Mercy* made a diſpoſition for attacking the enemy that evening at three different places. He detached all the firſt line of foot, conſiſting of ſixteen battalions and twenty-three companies of grenadiers, with three hundred *Huſſars*, under the command of General *Zumjungen*, to an adjoining hill on the left. He had under him the Lieutenant-Generals *Wallis*, *Wachtendonck*, and the Prince of *Holſtein*. Upon that hill General *Zumjungen* was to ſeparate his men in two bodies, the one under the command of *Wallis*, conſiſting of eight battalions and eleven companies of grenadiers, being to deſcend on the right, whilſt *Zumjungen* did the ſame on the left with eight battalions, twelve companies of grenadiers, and the *Huſſars*. All the horſe and ſecond line of foot, this conſiſting of twelve battalions under Lieutenant-General *Seckendorf*, and the horſe under Lieutenant-General Count *de Eck*, conſiſting of thirty-five ſquadrons, including three companies of horſe-grenadiers, and as many carabiniers, were at the ſame time to deſcend from the mountain of *Tre Fontane*, and join the other bodies below. Before all this could be effected, night came on, which obliged them to put off the attack till the next morning; and at break of day the ſecond line of foot being got down, and meeting with ten or twelve ſquadrons of the enemy in the valley, they obliged them, as they advanced, to retire towards their intrenchments. When the army was got down to the places appointed in the valley, Count *de Mercy* perceiving, that the enemy poſſeſſed ſeveral conſiderable poſts on a hill to his right, from whence they would flank him in his attack, he ordered Lieutenant-General *Seckendorf*, and the Prince of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, with ſix battalions, to endeavour to diſlodge them from thence, and then to deſcend and rejoin the army in the general attack, which the

Generals

1719. Generals *Zumjungen* and *Wallis* were ordered to defer till they ſaw *Seckendorf* engaged, and deſcending towards them. The hill being very ſteep and difficult, and the enemy being very advantageouſly poſted, *Seckendorf* was obliged to make many windings, which took up much time to get up to them. In the mean while the enemy, ſeeing that detachment, ſent more foot thither, which made Count *de Mercy* ſtrengthen him with four battalions more; ſo that it was four in the afternoon before they all arrived on the top of the mountain. *Seckendorf*, having his ten battalions together, drove the enemy down from thence to their intrenchments; and, if night had not come on too ſoon, it was thought he would have been able to have forced his way into their lines, which at that place were weakeſt, and moſt eaſy to be penetrated. At the ſame time four companies of grenadiers of *Wallis*'s body attacked a poſt of the enemy on the back of the ſame hill, and drove them thence, whilſt the reſt of the grenadiers (being ſeven companies) ſuſtained by the battalions of the ſame body, and the regiment of Dragoons of *Anſpach*, attacked a ſmall intrenchment, which the enemy had made acroſs the valley, and, having carried it, they advanced on towards the rock of the *Capuchins*, which they attacked about ſix in the evening, being reinforced by two battalions of *Leffelholtz*, which Count *Mercy* had drawn from the left to ſuſtain them. Here was very warm and bloody work, the *Germans* being expoſed to a continual fire from the ſeveral trenches of the enemy on the ſides of the rock. During this attack, Count *d'Eck*, with the carabiniers and horſe-grenadiers, followed by the regiments of horſe of *Liege*, *Hanover*, and *Portugal*, traverſed the valley within half muſket-ſhot of the enemy, and placed himſelf to the left of *Zumjungen*, the plain there appearing large enough for the horſe to act, and to ſuſtain *Zumjungen*'s attack, and penetrate with him into the enemies intrenchments. But this motion of the horſe croſſing *Zumjungen* in his march, did very much retard his attack, ſo that it was late before he attacked three caſſines, which ſtood near the river, within eighty paces of the enemy's lines, which he took, not without loſs of men. Here the Prince of *Holſtein* was mortally wounded, and, being left on the field of battle, he ſent to the Marquiſs *de Lede*, who cauſed him to be carried into *Franca Villa*, where he died three days after. While *Zumjungen* was diſpoſing his troops to attack the intrenchments, by the way of a mill, which lay on the river oppoſite to the caſſines, he perceived the *Heſſian* battalions on his right following by miſtake the two battalions of *Leffelholtz* to the rock of the *Capuchins*, which diſappointed his deſign, for it was night before they returned. Count *de Mercy* animated his troops every where by his preſence and example, heading himſelf the two battalions of *Leffelholtz* at the attack of the *Capuchins*, and after having one horſe killed under him, and two diſabled, he was at laſt himſelf dangerouſly wounded in the reins with a muſket-ball. Night coming on put an end to the action, and left things undecided, except that the *Germans* maintained ſome ſmall poſts they had gained, which ſerved to ſtraiten the enemy in their camp. In this action the *Germans* had eight hundred and forty-ſix men killed, and two thouſand four hundred and forty-nine wounded; amongſt the latter Admiral *Byng*'s ſecond ſon very dangerouſly, who ſerved as a volunteer. The *Spaniards* had about one thouſand five hundred men killed or wounded. 1719

Count *de Mercy*, having withdrawn his wounded men in the night, ranged his army in order to renew the attack next morning; but, the action of the day before having convinced the other Generals of the ſtrong ſituation of the enemy, and perceiving the ſoldiers extremely diſpirited and dejected with their hardſhips and ill ſucceſs, they, with much difficulty, prevailed upon him not to perſiſt in that reſolution, but, by extending to the left, endeavour to cut off the enemy from *Meſſina*, and open a communication with the *Engliſh* convoy, which (according to agreement) was to rendezvous in *Schiſo-Bay* near *Taormina*, a ſea-port town, about three hours diſtant from *Franca Villa*, with the tranſports laden with proviſions, ammunition, baggage, and other neceſſaries, which the army ſtood in extreme need of. Here was a contingency of great hazard and danger, which gave the *Germans* much fear and uneaſineſs. For it might have happened, that the winds had hindered the convoy from paſſing through the *Faro*. Or, if they ſhould have gained their paſſage into *Schiſo-Bay*, *Taormina* and all that coaſt was poſſeſſed by the enemy, and it was poſſible, that the ſhips might not be able to open a communication with the ſhore. Or ſtill, if both theſe points ſucceeded, the eſtabliſhing a correſpondence between the ſea and the camp, through an hoſtile Country, was another work of hazard and difficulty; and a diſappointment, in any one of them, was the inevitable ruin of the whole army, who ſaw themſelves near the end of their proviſions, without any other poſſibility of getting more. But they were ſoon delivered from their fears, by hearing, that the convoy was ſafely arrived in *Schiſo-Bay*; that the ſailors had taken and deſtroyed a ſmall fort of two guns, which had endeavoured to moleſt their anchoring; and that the guns of the men of war had diſperſed a body of troops, which the Marquiſs *de Spinola* had ſent from *Meſſina* to the ſea-ſide, to oppoſe them. Upon this reviving news, Count *de Mercy* ſent General *Wachtendonck*, with three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, down to incamp at the ſea-ſide, where the ſhips lay at anchor, and ordered the roads, which were hardly paſſable, to be repaired, under the direction of Engineer-General *Schmettau*; and, having got ſome field-pieces from the ſhips up to the camp, he greatly annoyed the enemy, who lay beneath him. This communication was too important for the Marquiſs *de Lede* not to endeavour to interrupt it; and, amongſt many ſkirmiſhes that daily happened, a party of ſeven hundred *Spaniſh* horſe fell in with the bread-waggons and mules, that were returning from the ſea-ſide, laden with proviſions for the camp, and guarded only by three hundred horſe. The defence, which the *Germans* made, was reckoned a gallant action. A ſmall party of foot, that happened to be in the neighbourhood, hearing the fire, and coming up to their aſſiſtance, they put the *Spaniards* to flight, and conducted the waggons and mules ſafe to the camp.

When Count *Merci* parted from Admiral *Byng* at *Melazzo*, to go in queſt of the *Spaniſh* army, it was the Admiral's deſign to return to *Naples*, and put things there in motion for an intended

1719. intended expedition to *Sardinia*, which the Duke of *Savoy* had much at heart, and was no leſs preſſed by the Courts of *England* and *France*. But reflecting within himſelf, that the impetuous temper of the *German* General, and the contempt he ſaw he had of the enemy, might poſſibly bring about ſome occaſions, that would want his aſſiſtance, he tarried a few days on the coaſt, in uneaſy expectation of the news of the ſucceſs of their march from *Melazzo*. The armed peaſants had cut off all communication between *Franca Villa* and *Melazzo*; ſo that the firſt miſdoubt he entertained, that things had not gone well, was from hearing the firing of the guns at *Meſſina* and at the *Faro*, and ſeeing great illuminations made along the coaſt. Soon after he perceived the *Neapolitan* gallies rowing out of the *Faro*, and the General of them, coming on board, gave him an imperfect account of the action, but enough to ſatisfy him, that it had not been fortunate; upon which he immediately imbarked two battalions from the garriſon of *Melazzo*, and about a thouſand recruits, who were juſt arrived there, and ſent them, the ſame day, under a convoy, through the *Faro* to *Schiſo-Bay*. In the evening he received letters from Count *de Mercy*, informing him of the particulars of the whole action, with the great difficulties he laboured under, and uncertainty what to do; earneſtly preſſing him to come to the camp, that they might confer and conſult together. Upon this, the Admiral ſent his firſt Captain with his own ſhip and two others to *Naples*, by whom he ſent a letter to the Vice-roy, giving his opinion, that all thoughts of an expedition to *Sardinia* ſhould be laid aſide for the preſent, and the troops, which could be ſpared from his Government, ſent immediately into *Sicily*, till whoſe arrival all things there would be at a ſtand; and that he had ſent his officers and ſhips to promote that ſervice. He then imbarked on board the General of the gallies, laying aſide the ceremony of his flag and character, and, in his way to *Schiſo*, Count *de Ligneville* came to him in a Felucca, bringing freſh letters from Count *de Mercy*, which expreſſed his great impatience to ſee him. Being landed at *Schiſo*, General *Wachtendonck* renewed the ſame intreaties, which the Admiral's zeal did not want; who, accepting that General's horſes, and forgetting for a while his own ſtation and element, ſet out under a ſtrong eſcort, attended by Captain *Matthews* and his eldeſt ſon, and paſſing through roads ſtrewed with dead bodies of men and horſes, that had fallen in ſkirmiſhes the day before, between the ſea-ſide and the camp, he alighted at Count *de Mercy*'s tent in the evening, where a guard of Grenadiers being drawn out for his reception, one of them was ſhot through the head by a muſket-ball from the enemy's camp, at the door of his tent, and fell down dead at his feet. He found the General very weak and faint with his wound, the ball ſtill remaining in his reins; but, as he had a magnanimity of ſpirit ſuperior to his condition, it did not hinder them from entering into converſation on the melancholy ſituation of their affairs. The General ' made great complaints of *Zumjungen*, to whoſe ſlowneſs in marching, and coming ſo late into action, he attributed his ill ſucceſs. He ſaid, he himſelf was ſtill of opinion to make another attack upon the enemy, rather than decamp and retire; but that his Officers in general were againſt it; and in that caſe he ſaw nothing left for them to do, but to go down, and join the forces at the ſea-ſide, and march into the Country about *Catanea* and *Syracuſa*, for their better ſubſiſtance. That he had wrote for two battalions of *Savoyards* to be ſent to him from *Syracuſa*, which, with the troops the Admiral had ſent from *Melazzo*, would repair his loſs of men; but that the loſs of his Officers was irretrievable; for, beſides many killed, a conſiderable number of the beſt and principal were wounded, and incapable of preſent ſervice.' After many propoſitions and ſchemes ſtarted and diſcuſſed between them, without any being concluded on, the Count deſired the Admiral to ſtay in the camp that night, to be preſent at a Conſultation of general Officers next morning. The converſation being ended, the Admiral went to ſee his ſon, who (as was mentioned before) was wounded in the action, and whom he found languiſhing in his tent, in a way, that gave little hopes of his recovery, not ſo much from the malignity of the wound (though that was in a dangerous part) as from the unſkilfulneſs of thoſe, who attended him, the *German* army being very ill provided with ſurgeons and medicines (1). 1719.

Such an univerſal dejection had reigned throughout the army, on account of the ill ſucceſs of the late action, and for the loſs and diſability of ſo many brave Officers, and they had ſuch continual apprehenſions, that the fiery temper of their General would order them on another attack, that their joy on the arrival of the Admiral was inexpreſſible. They looked on him as their Deliverer, who alone, they thought, could extricate them from their preſent difficulties and misfortunes, and influence their General with cool and prudent counſels. In the morning early he viſited General *Zumjungen*, the ſecond perſon in the army, whoſe ſedate deliberate temper had procured him great eſteem and confidence among the ſoldiery. He complained much ' of the General's raſh impatience, in not giving time to all the troops to come up; which if

(1) Mr. *Corbet* obſerves here, It may be wondered, that the Emperor is ſo well ſerved in the courage of his troops, when ſo little care is generally taken of their preſervation in accidents of wounds or ſickneſs. Surgeons and medicines are few and bad in their armies, and there is little difference between being wounded and killed in action, except that of a lingering or a ſudden death. After the battle of *Franca Villa*, the wounded men were laid on the ground, with their ammunition-bread ſet by them, and left expoſed to the ſun and fortune. The General himſelf had only his own *Valet de Chambre* to dreſs his wound, and attend him. It was a moving ſpectacle to the Admiral, to meet with great numbers of poor wretches in his way up to the camp, ſome endeavouring, with the ſupport of their wives or comrades, to crawl down to the ſea-ſide, in order to get a paſſage over to the hoſpital at *Reggio*; others unable to go on from pain or faintneſs, falling down on the earth, and left to die there. This is a great blemiſh of their ſervice, and gives handle to the maxim which their enemies would fix on them, that they account it cheaper to get a man than cure one, and ſo give themſelves little concern for his recovery.

1719. if he had done, and had delayed the attack till next morning, they would have had the whole day before them, have judged better of the measures for carrying it on, which would then have been diſpoſed in another manner, and with more reaſonable expectation of ſucceſs; and that this was not his own ſingle opinion, but that of all the other Officers. He bewailed the little regard the General gave to the advice of his Officers; and intreated him to oppoſe any overture he might make at the Conſultation for another attack, which he feared was not out of his head, and what he (the Admiral) only had credit enough to diſſuade him from it.'

The principal Officers of the army being met in the General's tent, the firſt point he put in queſtion was, Whether the enemy ſhould be attacked again? The Officers keeping a long ſilence, and directing their looks to the Admiral, he addreſſed his ſpeech to the General, wherein he 'reminded him of the warning he had formerly given him not to deſpiſe the enemy, whoſe numbers and reſolution he now experienced to be otherwiſe than what he expected. He ſaid, that he had viewed the ſituation of the enemies camp, the night before; and, though he did not pretend to much judgment in the operations of land ſervice, yet it ſeemed to his plain underſtanding, that for one army to attack another equal in number, under the ſhelter of ſtrong and almoſt impregnable intrenchments, was rather an undertaking of deſpair than diſcretion, and could not be attended with any reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs.' All the other Officers declaring themſelves of the ſame opinion, that queſtion was laid aſide. It came next under deliberation, What the army was to do? The General's opinion was, 'That it was inſufficient for a ſpeedy conqueſt of the Iſland, in regard the enemy had as numerous an army, with all the ſtrong holds and magazines in their poſſeſſion, and the affection of the people on their ſide. That, as they could not continue where they were, it was his opinion, they ſhould march into the fertile Country about *Catanea*, and endeavour to make themſelves maſters of *Auguſta*; or elſe canton themſelves about *Syracuſa* for their better ſubſiſtance, till new and effectual ſupplies of troops were ſent from *Germany*.' To this the Admiral replied, 'That he was ſo much of his opinion, that they wanted a further reinforcement of men, that, upon the firſt news of the ill ſucceſs of the battle, he had wrote to the Viceroy of *Naples* his ſentiments accordingly: That indeed the Courts of *London* and *Paris* did earneſtly preſs the carrying on the enterprize againſt *Sardinia*; but, when they ſhould come to be informed of the ſtate of affairs, they would probably conſent to have the army, deſigned for that expedition, paſs firſt into *Sicily*, which, as things ſtood, he thought the neareſt way to the conqueſt of both Iſlands. That, after his departure from them, he would immediately go to *Naples*, and labour that point with the proper Courts, with all the earneſtneſs and application poſſible. That, as to their marching in the mean time into the Country about *Catanea* for ſubſiſtance, he apprehended, it would give the world a worſe opinion of the late action than it deſerved, and make it be concluded, that they had been defeated and diſabled; which would blemiſh the credit of their arms, and give too much ſpirit to the enemy, and to the *Sicilians* in their intereſt. That being now joined by the recruits he had ſent them, and the battalions from *Syracuſa* being daily expected, they would be in a condition to act offenſively, and advance the Emperor's affairs: That *Auguſta* was out of the way, and not worth their attention; and delaying their time there was drawing the war into unneceſſary length; but that the way was open to *Meſſina*, the beſieging of which City would ſupport the character of their arms, and the taking of it make the reduction of the reſt of the Iſland eaſy. That, as to what regarded the fleet, the experience of the laſt winter in keeping two ſquadrons, one within, the other without the *Faro*, to block up the ſhips in *Meſſina*, and ſecure the paſſage of the proviſions, which the army at *Melazzo* drew from *Calabria* and *Apulia*, had determined him never to hazard again the deſtruction of his Maſter's ſhips on a ſea-ſervice of ſuch evident danger in that tempeſtuous ſeaſon, without having a port to ſhelter or befriend him. That the reduction of *Meſſina* was their mutual intereſt, as his ſhips would then clean there, and be more at hand to aſſiſt them; and, the cauſe of the blockade being removed, he ſhould be able to ſend a detachment to cruiſe on the coaſts of *Spain*, which would ſtraiten the enemy, and obſtruct their ſending ſuccours into *Sicily*.' This remonſtrance had the weight it deſerved, and not only convinced, but gave great ſatisfaction to the General and his Officers; eſpecially after his removing an objection of their being in want of cannon for battery, by agreeing to ſpare them out of the *Spaniſh* prizes twenty-ſeven cannon of twenty-four pounders, twelve of eighteen, and as many of twelve pounders; with a proportionable quantity of powder and ball, to inable them to begin the ſiege, and promiſing to ſollicit ſtrongly at *Naples* for remitting to the army all things neceſſary for carrying on that important ſervice with ſucceſs.

The Conference being over, the Admiral took his leave, the General and all his Officers expreſſing the greateſt eſteem and affection for him at their parting, and, being eſcorted down to the water-ſide, he imbarked in the neareſt man of war, and, without regard to his own dignity of moving at the head of a fleet, ſailed away with two ſhips only, and after an impatient paſſage of eleven days, a time tedious to a mind active and charged with important affairs, he arrived at *Naples*, where the firſt thing he heard, with great ſurprize and concern, was, that his friend Count *Daun* was removed from the Government, and departed for *Vienna*, though his time was not expired, and that Count *de Gallas* was come thither in his room. The diſplacing at that juncture a man ſo experienced in military affairs was a ſtep very inconvenient to the Emperor's intereſt, and an unhappy effect of Court faction; for, though the new Viceroy was a man of undoubted worth and honour, and had ſuſtained the character of Ambaſſador at the Courts of *England* and *Rome*, with proper dignity and magnificence, and in quieter times might have filled his Government with great ſufficiency and applauſe, yet, not being bred a ſoldier, it was not to be expected, he could ſo readily comprehend the ſprings of motion in armies, or foreſee every proviſion neceſſary for military operations, the timely ſupplies of which are the ſureſt foundations of ſucceſs in war.

After

1719. After the first civilities, the Admiral, entering into Conferences with the Viceroy, painted out to him in very lively colours the state of the Imperial army in *Sicily*, 'where the event of things, he said, had not answered the sanguine hopes they had flattered themselves with, on their landing on that Island; that, instead of trampling over the enemy, they had received such a shock themselves, as very much humbled their spirits and expectations, and had been so far from making impression on an army favoured and assisted by the Natives, that they were reduced to think of their own preservation, being intangled among barren mountains, depending on a precarious subsistance from the sea, and in a Country, where every man they saw was their enemy; and finally, that, without a reinforcement equal to another army, the conquest of that Kingdom was impracticable.' The Admiral, having proceeded thus far, was cautious of touching on the army, that lay in the *Milanese*, designed for *Sardinia*; for, by the last letters, the Courts of *England*, *France*, and *Turin*, were still very pressing for that expedition: But he demanded of the Viceroy, Whether the Emperor had any considerable number of troops in *Italy*, besides those designed for *Sardinia*? To which he replying, he believed not: The Admiral asked, Whether, if those troops designed for *Sardinia* were immediately sent over to *Sicily*, they could soon be replaced by other troops from *Germany*, to go on that expedition? Which the Viceroy doubting, he then spoke out his opinion plainly, 'That the expedition to *Sardinia* ought to be laid aside for the present: That the carrying on both undertakings together would end in the failure of both; and that the shortest way of getting both Islands was by conquering one first.' The Viceroy replied, 'That the proposition was so much for his Master's interest, that his concurrence with it was not to be doubted, but that he feared, he was not at liberty to divert those troops, without the consent of the other Courts in Alliance; and prayed the Admiral to make the proper representations thereupon to them, as he would do himself to the Emperor.' The Conference being over, the Count *de Ligneville*, whom Count *de Mercy* had sent with the Admiral to *Naples*, was dispatched away to *Vienna*, with instructions to lay before that Court the state of their affairs in *Sicily*, and the measures proposed for retrieving them.

Naples seemed to be, at this time, the center of affairs in *Europe*. All the powers in the Quadruple Alliance, as well as those, who had any concerns with them, had Ministers there to watch over their respective interests, and drew their measures from information of what passed there. The Admiral went to the Viceroy to visit the Marquis *de Breille*, the King of *Sardinia*'s Minister; and shewing him the weak condition of the Imperial arms in *Sicily*, and that the expedient of sending the troops designed for *Sardinia* thither was the effect of invincible necessity, and not a pretence for postponing his Master's interests, which the Courts of *England* and *France* had as much at heart as those of the Emperor, he convinced that Minister of the reasonableness of the measure, who, at his request, represented the matter in a true light to his own Court, and obtained his Master's concurrence.

During the Admiral's stay at *Naples*, the *Grafton* brought in two *Genoese* ships, which she had taken off *Palermo*, with six hundred *Swiss* recruits on board for the *Spanish* army, who were committed prisoners to the Castles. The *Lenox* ran a third a-shore, with about two hundred more soldiers, and burnt her, but most of the men escaped. 1719.

There being nothing more to do at *Naples*, till the sentiments of the several Courts were known, upon the proposed alteration of measures, the Admiral determined, in the mean time, to pass over again into *Sicily*, hoping to find the army before *Messina*, in which case his assistance would be wanting. He had then a strong feverish disorder hanging on him, which had reduced him to a very low condition; a little rest seemed necessary for his recovery; but his heart was with the army, and his health had no part in his thoughts. The Viceroy too was ill in bed of a fever; they were desirous of seeing each other before the Admiral departed, having some necessary points to settle together. The Admiral, scarce able to stand, was carried to the Viceroy's bed-side, where being seated, they could do little more than give broken and imperfect hints to each other, of what their minds laboured with, and were soon obliged to put an end to a Conference, wherein the weakness of their bodies did not second the zeal of their hearts for the public. The Admiral complimented the Viceroy with as many of the *Swiss* prisoners, as would be necessary to exchange what *Germans* were prisoners in *Sicily*; and, taking a final leave of him, imbarked for that Island. The Viceroy died two days after, whose sickness the *Italians* attributed to his travelling through the *Campania* of *Rome* in the dog-days, which they esteem fatal. His death threw the affairs of that Kingdom into great confusion; the collateral Council assuming the Government, and the military Power refusing to obey their orders, which proved no small disservice and retardment to the affairs in *Sicily*.

During the Admiral's absence, Count *de Mercy*, being struck blind with an apoplectic fit, was obliged to quit the camp, and pass over to *Reggio* for advice, leaving the command of the army to General *Zumjungen*. General *Wachtendonck* had taken by stratagem the town of *Taormina*, a strong pass in the way to *Messina*, upon which encouragement *Zumjungen* broke up from *Franca Villa* with his army, on the 17th of *July*, without any molestation from the enemy, and forcing the strong passes of *Alexis* and *la Sceletta*, with less opposition than was expected, after a painful march through a mountainous Country and excessive heats, but assisted by the transport-vessels coasting along with the provisions, artillery, and heavy baggage, he sat down, the 20th, before *Messina*; in which the enemy had three thousand men, under the command of the Marquis *de Spinola*, an Officer of great reputation, and well furnished with provisions and all necessaries for a long and obstinate defence. In the mean time, Count *de Mercy* burning with impatience to lie idle at *Reggio*, notwithstanding the anguish of his wound, and the Surgeon's not being able to get the ball out of his body, as soon as ever he began to see a little with one eye, returned to the camp before *Messina*. The Admiral, after a passage of five days, anchored, the 28th, off of the point of the *Faro*, and, being too weak to go out of his ship, sent his first Captain a-shore to the General,

1719. ral, to acquaint him with his proceedings at *Naples*; and learning, that he was in great want of powder, ſent him a conſiderable ſupply.

The Imperialiſts having taken the Caſtle of *Gonzaga*, which ſtands on a hill over the City; and the baſtion of the town, called *Secreto*, having a conſiderable breach made in it, and the Governor having withdrawn his troops from the town into the citadel, the Senate of *Meſſina* ſent out Deputies to capitulate upon articles; but the General deſiring to know, whether he was to treat with them as ſubjects of the Emperor, or as enemies; if as the former, he bid them open the gates, and receive his troops, and he would interpoſe his good offices with the Emperor in their favour; but, if he was to treat with them as enemies, they were to get the beſt terms they could for themſelves; and he gave them leave to go back into the town to conſider with their principals about it. They returned the ſame evening, and told the General, that the next morning, as ſoon as it was day, they would open the gates, and rely on the Emperor's clemency; and accordingly the troops marched on the 8th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* and took poſſeſſion.

The City being taken, the Admiral landed ſome *Engliſh* grenadiers, who took the tower of the *Faro*; which opening a free paſſage for his ſhips, he came to an anchor in *Paradiſe Road*, which the Officers of the *Spaniſh* men of war in the *Mole* perceiving, and deſpairing now of getting out to ſea, they unbent their ſails, and unrigged their ſhips, expecting their fate with that of the citadel. This gave the Admiral great eaſe, and inabled him to employ ſhips on other ſervices, which had long attended the blocking up of that port.

It came now to be matter of debate, what was to be done with thoſe ſhips, when the citadel ſhould be taken, and they fall into their hands. Signor *Scarampi*, General of the King of *Sardinia*'s gallies, firſt ſtarted the queſtion, and claimed the two beſt of ſixty and ſixty-four guns, new ſhips, which had belonged to his Maſter, and were ſeized by the *Spaniards* in the port of *Palermo*. He grounded his right on a Convention made at *Vienna*, the 29th of *December*, 1718, in which it was ſaid, 'That as to the ſhips belonging to the King of *Sardinia*, if they be taken in port, they ſhall be reſtored to him: But that this ſhall be referred to Admiral *Byng* to anſwer.' To this the Admiral replied, 'That, this Convention having been only a ground-work for another to be made at *Naples*, he could be directed by none but that, which was made in conſequence thereof in *April*, 1719, between the Viceroy of *Naples*, the Marquiſs *de Breille* Miniſter of *Sardinia*, and himſelf, in which no mention is made of thoſe ſhips; and, as to the reference to his opinion, he did freely declare, he could not think the King of *Sardinia* had any ſhadow of title to them: That they had been taken by the enemy, and were now fitted out, and armed at their expence, and under their colours: That they would put out to ſea, if he did not hinder them, and attack all *Engliſh* ſhips they met with; and, if ſtronger, take them; ſo that he could not conſider them in any light, than what they were, the ſhips of an enemy.' Count *de Mercy* put in his claim for the Emperor, alledging, 'That as thoſe ſhips would be found within the port of a town taken by his Maſter's arms, according to the right of Nations, they belonged to him.' The Admiral 1719.
replied, 'That it was owing to his keeping two ſquadrons on purpoſe, and at a great hazard, to watch and obſerve theſe ſhips, that they were now confined within the port, which if he was to withdraw, they would ſtill be able to go to ſea, and he ſhould have a chance of meeting with and taking them.' But reflecting afterwards with himſelf, that poſſibly the garriſon might capitulate for the ſafe return of thoſe ſhips into *Spain*, which he was determined never to ſuffer: That, on the other hand, the right of poſſeſſion might breed an inconvenient diſpute among the Princes concerned; and if it ſhould prove, that they did not belong to *England*, it were better they belonged to no body, he propoſed to Count *de Mercy* to ſet up a battery, and deſtroy them as they lay in the baſin; who urging, that he had no orders concerning thoſe ſhips, and muſt write to *Vienna* for inſtructions about it, the Admiral replied with ſome warmth, that he could not want a power to deſtroy every thing, that belonged to the enemy, and inſiſted on it with ſuch firmneſs, that the General, being concerned in intereſt not to carry matters to a diſagreement, cauſed a battery to be erected, notwithſtanding the proteſtations of *Scarampi*, which in a little time ſunk and deſtroyed them, and completed the ruin of the naval power of *Spain*.

In five days after the taking of the City, the Imperialiſts obliged the Caſtles of *Caſtellazzo* and *Matagriffone* to ſurrender; and, being thus become maſters of all the caſtles and eminencies about the City, they applied themſelves to the ſiege of the Citadel, where from the ſtrength of the place, the numerous and well-provided garriſon, and the great reputation of the Governor, they were ſure to meet with a very warm and vigorous reſiſtance, and the more, as the *Germans* were ill provided with neceſſaries for ſuch an undertaking.

On the 13th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* the Count *de Ligneville* arrived in the Camp from *Vienna* with the good news of the Emperor's having diſpatched orders to the Governor of *Milan* to ſend his troops, which lay in the *Milaneſe*, and were deſigned for *Sardinia*, down to *Vado*, in order to be tranſported into *Sicily*. He brought a gracious letter from the Emperor to the Admiral, wherein he ſignified to him 'his approbation of a project, that was the effect of his zeal and activity; the ſatisfaction he had in his wiſe conduct, and for his love and attachment to his Imperial perſon and auguſt houſe; and on all occaſions he ſhould give him marks of his affection and eſteem, and of his good remembrance of the ſervices he had done him.'

The tranſportation of the troops from *Genoa* to *Sicily* was a ſervice of ſuch moment, and diſpatch in it ſo neceſſary, that the Admiral determined to conduct that affair himſelf, well knowing from his experience of the ſlowneſs of the *Germans* in all their undertakings, how much his weight and credit were neceſſary to give their motions that quickneſs, which their affairs required; and having intimated his reſolution to Count *de Mercy* of paſſing over to *Naples*, and from thence to *Genoa* for that purpoſe, he prayed the Admiral to repreſent plainly his wants to the Government of *Naples*; which no body knew or underſtood better than himſelf, and, giving him a liſt of what particulars he wanted, added jocoſely,

1719. jocoſely, 'That, as the ſiege was a child of his own begetting, he ought to nurſe it, as well for his own ſake, as for the common intereſt.'

The Admiral ſailed the 16th of *Auguſt*, *N. S.* and anchored the 23d before *Naples*, where the Cardinal *de Schrottenbach* was newly arrived by ſea from *Rome* in quality of Viceroy. The next day the Admiral went to the palace, and, entering into Conference with the Cardinal, repreſented to him, 'how much the army had ſuffered from the diviſions of the Government during the *Interregnum*. That the ſiege they were employed in was a deciſive point, on which the fate of the Iſland depended;' and ſetting before him the evil conſequences, that would attend a miſcarriage by the want of neceſſary ſupplies from his Government, he put into his hands a liſt of particulars he had received from the General. The Cardinal was an honeſt good-natured man, and very willing to forward buſineſs, but had no great talents for it. His high quality had advanced him to the purple, being Lord of a principality in *Bohemia*, with ſome marks of Sovereignty. He was appointed to manage the Emperor's affairs at *Rome*, after the departure of Count *Gallas*, and, at his death, ſucceeded him in his Government. He told the Admiral, 'That, by the accounts he had received from the proper Officers, there was not in the ſtores the quantity of cannon and ammunition, which the General demanded: That he would ſend to *Mantua* for cannon, which might be tranſported down the *Po* into the *Adriatic*, and ſo on by ſea to *Meſſina*, where poſſibly, if no croſs accidents happened, they might arrive in two months time.' The Admiral coming to know, that thoſe cannon had no carriages, the Cardinal thought he ſatisfied that objection, by ſaying, 'he would ſend ſome carpenters into the woods of *Abruzzo* to cut down timber for carriages.' Thoſe and the like unſoldierlike propoſals gave the Admiral a ſenſible regret of the loſs of Count *Daun*, in whoſe room he found himſelf co-operating with a Viceroy better qualified for his breviary than for council in operations of war, and whoſe Court was crouded with Monks and Prieſts, and ſuch like diſagreeable objects, inſtead of men of buſineſs and ſervice (1).

The Admiral perceiving, that the army had no reſource, but what lay in himſelf, generouſly ſent them twenty-four pieces of cannon of eighteen pounders, belonging to the *Spaniſh* prizes, and a proportionable quantity of powder and ſhot, contenting himſelf with the ſingle credit of the General for repayment to the captors, and at the ſame time wrote to *Genoa* and *Leghorn*, to purchaſe one thouſand barrels more of powder, engaging his own ſecurity to the *Britiſh* Conſuls for their repayment. 1719.

During theſe tranſactions, a number of tranſports having been provided at *Naples*, the Admiral ſent them under a convoy to *Vado*, and, having diſpatched his other affairs with the Cardinal, departed after them, and arrived at *Genoa* the 7th of *September*, *N. S.*

He had been made to believe, that, by the time of his arrival there, the army would be ready to imbark; but he found every thing in extreme backwardneſs. The troops had not ſo much as begun their march from the *Milaneſe*, nor could get to *Vado* in leſs than a fortnight: Very few proviſions or neceſſaries had been bought up, and none ſhipped, nor were the tranſport-veſſels properly fitted for the reception of the troops. Count *de Bonneval*, who was to command this body, arriving the next day, went on board the Admiral, and underſtanding that he intended to tranſport his army to *Melazzo*, and even to *Meſſina*, if Count *Merci* ſhould think it neceſſary, he was mortified to the laſt degree. He had been appointed to command theſe forces on the intended expedition to *Sardinia*, and the diverting them to a different ſervice ſo diſguſted him, that, inſtead of forwarding the imbarkation of the troops, he reſolved to retard it all he could. Accordingly, whilſt the Admiral gave himſelf incredible pains at *Genoa* and *Vado*, to quicken their departure, he threw in the way all the ſecret obſtructions he could, till he knew the iſſue of the ſollicitations he was carrying on at *Vienna*, to be continued in a ſeparate command. However, the Admiral after twenty days labour and pains, and at laſt ſuch menaces as even *Bonneval* himſelf began to be afraid of the Admiral, ſhipped off the troops to the number of about ſix thouſand, on the 27th of *September*, *N. S.* with ſuch proviſions as could be got, and, leaving a man of war to convoy the remainder when ready, ſailed the 28th from *Vado* (2). The Admiral receiving letters in his paſſage, from Count *de Mercy*, requeſting,

(1) The Viceroy returned the next day the Admiral's viſit, and, upon conſidering the ſeveral points in the General's demands, the ſame difficulties recurred about complying with them, eſpecially as to the cannon and ammunition. The Viceroy ſaid, 'he would ſummon all the general Officers in town, and conſult with them about finding out expedients to ſatisfy the wants of the army, which was all that was in his power to do.' Upon which the Admiral deſired his eminence, 'That, after they had attended him, and taken thoſe matters into conſideration, he might have a Conferrence with them.' Accordingly the next day the general Officers came to the Admiral's houſe, and entering into converſation together, upon the particulars of the General's demands, which lay before them, the articles relating to corn and recruits were ſoon got over; but the main difficulty was the demand of cannon and ammunition. The Admiral told them, 'That Count *de Mercy* had not above twenty cannon in battery: That he was within two hundred paces of the counterſcarp of the citadel; and hoped he ſhould not be forced to ſtop in ſo fair a way, for want of neceſſary ſupplies; and that he would be contented, if they could ſend him but ten or twelve cannon from *Naples*, with a proportionable quantity of powder and ball.' The Officer of the ordnance attending gave in a liſt of eight cannon, which he ſaid might be taken from the mole and batteries of the City, and ſent to *Meſſina*; but, upon enquiry, they appeared to be of fifty and ſixty pounders, ſome without ball, others without carriages, all of them too unwieldy and unfit for battery. He then delivered in to them a ſtate of all the ordnance ſtores in the Kingdom; upon examining of which the general Officers unanimouſly confeſſed, that the whole Country was not able to furniſh the cannon and ammunition, which Count *de Mercy* wanted. This was ſuch a declaration of weakneſs, as was not to be expected in ſo fine a Kingdom.

(2) *Bonneval*, finding his troops incorporated with the army, and his projects of a ſeparate command vaniſhed, pretended ſickneſs, and, getting leave to go to *Reggio* for advice, he repaired to *Vienna*, and returned

1719. queſting, that the troops might not land at *Melazzo*, but go on to *Meſſina*, he ſtood away for the *Faro*, and arrived before *Meſſina*, the 8th of *October*, *N. S.* which ſo elevated the ſpirits of the army, that, upon the firſt ſight of the fleet, Lieutenant-General *Wallis*, with five thouſand men, made a vigorous attack upon the half-moon, which was neareſt to their approaches, and carried it with the loſs of only one hundred and three killed, and eight hundred and thirty wounded. The Admiral, going aſhore to the General's quarters, was embraced by him, and all the general Officers, with the moſt tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to ſee a man, who always brought them relief and ſucceſs, and every good, that attended them. On the 17th at ten in the morning, the Imperialiſts aſſaulted the counterſcarp, and mounted to the top of the breach with great gallantry; but, after two hours very warm work, were repulſed with the loſs of one hundred and twenty men killed, and ſix hundred and ſeventeen wounded. The Governor having acquitted himſelf with great honour in this repulſe, as well as in the general defence of the place, and finding himſelf unable to hold it longer, beat a parley the next day, and ſurrendered it upon articles. The *Spaniſh* garriſon marched out through the breach, and were tranſported by ſea to *Auguſta*. Thus ended a ſiege of twenty-one days, which coſt the *Germans* above five thouſand men killed or wounded.

Meſſina *ſurrenders to the Imperialiſts.*

Whilſt the ſiege of the Citadel was depending, the *Spaniſh* army decamped from *Franca Villa*, the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, and, marching towards *Rametta*, the Marquiſs *de Lede* gave out, that he would attack the Imperialiſts, and appeared upon the hills in ſight of the camp, attended by a great number of peaſants he had drawn together; but finding it well guarded, and his army being ſickly, he fortified a ſtrong and advantageous poſt at *Caſtro Giovane*, in the center of the Iſland, where he laid in large magazines, in order to retire thither in caſe of neceſſity; and in the mean time cantoned his troops about *Aderno*, *Palermo*, and *Catanea* (1).

The Imperialiſts having ſpent ſome time in levelling the lines, trenches, and batteries before *Meſſina*, and in putting the place into a poſture of defence, they held ſeveral Conſultations, at which the Admiral aſſiſted, concerning what meaſures were next to be taken. The reduction of *Meſſina* had brought *Val Demona* under the obedience of the Emperor; but the whole Province, being mountainous and barren, was ſo little able to ſupply the army with proviſions and forage, that the inhabitants of *Meſſina* and other towns daily petitioned the General for their own ſubſiſtance, ſince they could draw no corn, as they uſed to do, from the plentiful parts of the Iſland, which were in the poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*. To march after the enemy in a wintry ſeaſon, with their horſe already harraſſed, and almoſt ſtarved, through an adverſe Country, and without any proviſions but what they carried; and, if they ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, to attack them in the ſtrong camp of *Caſtro Giovane*, was judged too raſh to be attempted, after the experience of *Franca Villa*. To march to *Palermo*, and get poſſeſſion of the Capital, was more deſirable than eaſy of execution. It was a march of ſeventeen days, along the northern coaſt of the Iſland, through an unknown, mountainous, ſterile Country, where they ſhould be expoſed to ſudden inſults, great part of the way being ſo narrow, that two men could hardly go a-breaſt; and, if they met with no enemy, they had no forage for their horſe, no magazines in the way of their march, nor a ſufficient number of beaſts of burthen to carry proviſions along with them, nor money to buy them, if they could be got. The next project, that occurred, was to go to *Trapani*, where the *Piedmonteſe* had a garriſon. This would be changing the ſcene of the war to great advantage; for, inſtead of being confined and famiſhed in the mountains, they ſhould be able to inlarge themſelves in a plentiful Country, and, by acting on equal terms with the enemy, have a reaſonable chance to drive them out of the Iſland. But to go thither by land was impracticable; and, as their tranſport-veſſels could not carry above a third part of the army

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no more to the army. He was a native of *France*, and had all the ſprightlineſs and levity of that Nation. He was a gallant Officer, had received many wounds, and ſtill feels the painful remembrance of a moſt terrible one he got in *Hungary*. He had no zeal for the ſervice of his Prince, any farther than it ſuited his own intereſt or ambition, to which he willingly ſacrificed his duty. *Corbet.*

(1) It was during this ſiege, that the Admiral having received information, that veſſels belonging to *Malta* had gone to ſea with *Spaniſh* Commiſſions, and taken ſome *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips, ſent a letter to the Grand Maſter, 'complaining of his partiality and injuſtice, demanding ſatisfaction for the damages the Merchants had ſuſtained, and his giving ſtrict orders to prohibit the like unfair proceedings for the future.' He wrote, at the ſame time, to Mr. *Alexander Young*, the *Engliſh* Conſul at *Malta*, to make a ſtrict inquiry what Merchant-ſhips had been taken by Privateers fitted out from *Malta*, or wherein *Malteſe* ſubjects had been concerned, and to lay a ſtate thereof before that Government, with a demand of reparation, and to let him know their anſwer. The Grand Maſter and his Council, being alarmed at this meſſage, ſent the Chevalier *Balbini* to the Admiral, to repreſent and excuſe the proceedings of their Government in the points complained of, and to lay before him the difficulties they were under, from their dependance on *Spain*, and to endeavour to remove all cauſes of his diſſatisfaction with them. But the Admiral, not having yet received any ſpecific account of the particular loſſes of the Merchants, and ſo not able to ſettle the terms of reſtitution with *Balbini*, ſent his firſt Captain, *Saunders*, with two men of war, to *Malta*, directing him 'to make an exact inquiry into the ſeveral captures, that had been made, and to lay the ſame before the Grand Maſter and his Council, and to demand reparation, ſo far as their ſubjects had been concerned therein; and, in caſe he found them willing to give reaſonable aſſurances of doing juſtice for what was paſt, and of a better behaviour for the future, he was to enter into a Convention with them for that purpoſe, and for eſtabliſhing a good agreement with them; but, otherwiſe, he was to take all ſhips and veſſels he ſhould meet with belonging to that Iſland.' Captain *Saunders*, arriving at *Malta*, found a fair diſpoſition in thoſe people to give the Admiral and the *Engliſh* Nation all reaſonable ſatisfaction in their proceedings. They ſhewed, 'That they had never conſented to, or approved of their ſubjects entering into the ſervice of *Spain*, but had iſſued ſtrict proclamations, prohibiting them to be any ways concerned on either ſide in the war. They did not deny, that one of their veſſels had taken a Commiſſion from the Marquiſs *de Lede*, to cruiſe upon the enemies of *Spain*,

19. army at a time, the diviſion of their troops was hazardous, and might be fatal. For, *Trapani* being ſituated on an *Iſthmus*, and having no magazines of corn, the Marquiſs *de Lede* might march, and pen up the firſt detachment within that narrow neck of land, where they would ſtarve for want of proviſions, before the reſt of the army could join them. The only choice remaining was to go to *Syracuſa*; but that too was impracticable by land, by reaſon of the ſame objections, as are already mentioned; and beſides, there lay in the way ſeveral deep and rapid rivers, where the enemy might defend the paſſages with great advantage. And, though it was not difficult to tranſport the army thither by ſea, yet it was an uncomfortable reflection, that they ſhould be then the whole length of the Iſland diſtant from *Palermo*, and could only propoſe to ſubſiſt themſelves from day to day during the winter, the enemy lying between them and the great *Caricatori*, or ſubterraneous magazines, where the inhabitants uſually lay up their corn, which were ninety miles diſtant. With theſe diſagreeable proſpects they paſt away ſome days under uncertainty what to do; when, one evening, the Generals *Mercy* and *Zumjungen* repairing on board the Admiral, and renewing the ſubject of their late Conferences, they told him, in a very deſponding manner, 'That, having thoroughly weighed the ſituation of their affairs, and finding they could neither ſubſiſt nor undertake any action where they were, they had come to a reſolution to leave a ſtrong garriſon in *Meſſina*, and tranſport the horſe over by ſea to *Calabria*, and the foot to *Syracuſa*, where they might be able to maintain themſelves during the winter, and be ready to make uſe of ſuch advantages as might offer, for acting againſt the enemy in the ſpring; and prayed his aſſiſtance in that ſervice.' The Admiral replied, 'That he hoped, their affairs were not ſo deſperate, as they apprehended: That he had been employing his thoughts for their ſervice, and believed he ſhould be able to extricate them out of their preſent circumſtances: That, of all the late propoſitions, the tranſporting the army to *Trapani* pleaſed him beſt, as it would turn the difficulty upon the *Spaniſh* army, by obliging them to make uneaſy marches, and to keep the field in the winter. That, when the whole army was at *Trapani*, they ſhould be able to inlarge their quarters; the granaries of corn would fall into their hands, and their neighbourhood to *Palermo* keep that place in awe, till the ſeaſon ſhould favour their marching towards it, the reduction of which would bring the war to a ſpeedy iſſue. That he had conſidered of the difficulty of ſubſiſting one part of the army at *Trapani*, till the reſt arrived; and, as *England* was in peace with the Governments of *Barbary*, he would ſend his Secretary to *Tunis*, which was the neareſt *African* port to *Trapani*, and employ him, and the *Engliſh* Conſul, to buy up whatever quantity of corn was neceſſary, and tranſport the ſame to *Trapani*. That he knew very well they had no money, and therefore would employ his own caſh, and credit, to procure this Supply, depending upon their honour for repayment, and did not doubt to lodge the corn at *Trapani*, before the firſt detachment of troops arrived there.' Count *de Mercy*, penetrating immediately into the facility, and advantageous conſequences of this ſcheme, roſe up, and, embracing the Admiral in a kind of tranſport, acknowledged, 'That he had hit on the only method practicable, not only for the preſervation of the army, but even for puſhing on the war with ſucceſs. That, as it was a Proteſtant ſcheme, he ſhould have Proteſtant troops, and Proteſtant Generals to put it in execution.' And accordingly General *Zumjungen*, with Count *Seckendorf*, the Prince of *Heſſe*, and General *Schmettau*, imbarked the 23d of *November*, with ſeven thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, and arrived fortunately in three days at *Trapani*, where finding a plentiful remittance of corn ready arrived from *Tunis*, they not only poſted themſelves there in ſecurity, but, inlarging their quarters into the Country, brought the Cities of *Marſala* and *Mazzara* to ſubmit to the obedience of the Emperor. The tranſports and convoy, returning, brought thither more troops. Count *de Mercy* 1719.

Spain, but made appear, that they had ſent one of their order to intreat him to revoke that Commiſſion, and had made the ſame application to the Court of *Madrid*, but had been anſwered with great roughneſs and menaces. That, to avoid as much as they could all occaſions of complaint, they had called in all their Privateers, which had been cruiſing in the *Levant* againſt the *Turks*, in order to diſarm them; but they could not always govern the unrulineſs of their people, when they would enter into the ſervice of any Chriſtian Prince, whoſe colours protected them from their inquiry or viſitation, which was the misfortune of their Conſtitution, as they depended upon the Chriſtian Princes of *Europe* for their revenue, and, in particular, drew at that time their daily ſuſtenance of proviſions from that part of *Sicily*, which was under the ſubjection of the *Spaniſh* General; and, finally, that they received no part or benefit from the prizes, which had paſſed intirely through the hands of the *Spaniſh* Agent, and in which they had no manner of intereſt or concern.' The Captain was convinced of the ſincerity and truth of their declaration; but, on the other hand, told them, 'That it was not his buſineſs to inquire into the nature or dependance of their Government; and it was for them to accommodate their grievances with *Spain* as they could. That his inſtructions were plain, and founded in juſtice, demanding redreſs for the loſſes his Countrymen had ſuſtained, from thoſe, who occaſioned them, who were their ſubjects; and that, if they would not enter into a Negotiation for that purpoſe, he ſhould be obliged to put his orders in execution.' Intimidated by theſe threats, they immediately appointed two Commiſſaries to treat with him; and it being made out by proof, that five *Engliſh* Merchant-ſhips had been taken by *Malteſe* ſhips under *Spaniſh* colours, they ſubmitted to pay the full value of them and their lading, within twelve months after application from the Claimants. But thinking themſelves aggrieved by this treaty, and proteſting themſelves to be under a force to ſign any terms, rather than feel the effects of the Admiral's diſpleaſure, they reſerved to themſelves a liberty of appealing to the equity of the Admiral, and from him to the King, for a mitigation of the ſeverity of the conditions. They diſpatched away, accordingly, the Chevalier *de la Val* to the Admiral, who not thinking he had any right to compound for other men's properties, the Deputy paſſed on to the *Engliſh* Court at *London*, to execute his Commiſſion. He had likewiſe a private inſtruction, to implore the King's intereſt with the ſeveral Princes at the approaching Congreſs, that *Malta* might be freed from its ſubjection to *Sicily*, and enjoy the rights and privileges of a free and neutral port in time of war, among the Chriſtian powers.

1719. *Mercy* and the Admiral departing with the laſt convoy from *Meſſina*, on the 19th of *January*, conſiſting of five thouſand four hundred foot, and eleven hundred horſe, they were overtaken by a violent ſtorm off the Iſle of *Alicudi*, which drove all the tranſports into *Melazzo* and *Meſſina*, the Admiral, with the General on board his ſhip, getting with difficulty to *Trapani*, on the 29th, but the whole convoy did not arrive there till the 2d of *March*, many ſoldiers dying in the paſſage, and amongſt them General *Wachtendonck*, regretted by every body. The whole army, being got together, amounted to fourteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, beſides the garriſons left in *Meſſina*, *Melazzo*, *Syracuſa*, and the adjacent parts.

Theſe motions of the Imperialiſts made the Marquiſs *de Lede* quit the poſts of *Mola*, *Taormina*, and *Catania*, and leaving a detachment in his ſtrong camp at *Caſtro Giovane*, to ſecure the magazines he had erected there, he marched and fixed his camp from *Alcamo* to *Salama*, with his head quarters at *Caſtel Vetrano*, from whence he continually ſent out detachments to deſtroy the Country about *Marſala* and *Mazzara*, and to carry off all the cattle, grain, and wine, which *Zumjungen* could not at firſt prevent; but, being ſtrengthened with new ſupplies by ſea, he at laſt obliged their parties to retire, and, on the arrival of Count *de Mercy*, the *Spaniſh* General was reduced to fortify his camp with ſtrong intrenchments and redoubts, with batteries of cannon.

Count *de Mercy* making a motion of extending his quarters beyond *Mazzara*, the Marquiſs *de Lede* quitted *Caſtel Vetrano*, and retired with his army to *Alcamo*, from whence he ſent his Mareſchal de camp Signor *d'Aponte*, on the 6th of *February*, 1719-20, *N. S.* with overtures to Count *de Mercy* and the Admiral for evacuating *Sicily*, on condition of leave to tranſport his army into *Spain*, and in order thereto deſiring a ſuſpenſion of arms. This propoſition contained nothing diſagreeable to the *Germans*, who would thereby obtain all they wanted, by becoming maſters of the Kingdom, without any further trouble; but the Admiral proteſting againſt it, and declaring, that not a man of the *Spaniſh* army ſhould paſs out of that Iſland, until a general peace was made, for that it would be to furniſh *Spain* with a body of their beſt troops to ſtrengthen their army acting againſt *France*, or elſe they might be employed in diſturbing *England*, he was diſmiſſed with this counter-propoſition from the Count *de Mercy*, that, if the Marquiſs would ſurrender *Palermo*, and the South-ſide of the Iſland, and retire with his army into the middle of the Country towards *Caſtro Giovane*, or to any other paſs proper for his ſecurity, he would conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms for ſix weeks, till the ſentiments of the ſeveral Courts might be known; which being an advantage more than equivalent to the operations of ſix weeks in that early ſeaſon, the Admiral conſented thereto, with this reſtriction, that, if the *Spaniards* attempted to withdraw any of their men in the mean time, the ſuſpenſion ſhould be void, and he would act againſt them with all his force. Count *de Mercy* diſpatching Lieutenant-Colonel *Bellaire* to *Vienna*, to acquaint that Court with theſe overtures, and bring back their directions, the Admiral ſent away thither his eldeſt ſon Mr. *Byng*, with inſtructions, if the Imperial Court liſtened to the propoſals of the *Spaniſh* General, to declare, that his father could never ſuffer any part of the *Spaniſh* army to depart out of the Iſland, till the King of *Spain* had acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, or till he received poſitive inſtructions from *England* for doing ſo. 17

The 12th of *February*, *N. S.* Count *de Mercy* marched towards *Caſtel Vetrano*, for the more commodious ſubſiſtance of his cavalry, from whence he detached General *Seckendorf*, with fifteen hundred men, and ſome cannon, to reduce *Sacca*, where there was a large caricatore of corn. The town immediately ſurrendered, but the *Spaniards*, to the number of three hundred, retired into the Caſtle.

The Marquiſs *de Lede*, finding his firſt propoſitions ineffectual, ſent two General Officers, the Marquiſs *de San Vicenzo* and Signor *d'Aponte*, to the Imperial camp, the 19th of *February*, *N. S.* with inſtructions to treat about the ſurrender of *Palermo*, and a conſiderable part of the adjacent Country, in conſideration of a ſuſpenſion of arms for three months. But, whilſt the Negotiation was depending, the Marquiſs receiving an expreſs from *Madrid*, on the 28th, with advice, that a general peace was made, he ſent immediately to break off the treaty. This ſeemed matter of great ſurprize; but the ſecret reaſon was, that *Spain* was at that time treating with *France* to reſtore *Fontarabia*, *St. Sebaſtian*, and other places taken in the war, and hoped to get in exchange, for the evacuation of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, the reſtitution of thoſe towns, and of *Gibraltar*, or, at leaſt, to have both the one and the other referred to a Congreſs. Upon this, Count *de Mercy* gave freſh orders for attacking the Caſtle of *Sacca*, which had been retarded by the great rains. The Caſtle being battered with four pieces of cannon, and not very ſtrong, ſurrendered, the 6th of *March*, the garriſon being made priſoners of war. The taking of this place gave great relief to the Imperial army, who found there twenty thouſand ſolms of wheat.

During theſe tranſactions, a Courier diſpatched from *Paris* by the Earl of *Stair*, the *Britiſh* Ambaſſador there, brought the Admiral information, that the Marquiſs *de Beretti Landi*, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter at the *Hague*, had ſigned the Quadruple Alliance the 17th of *February*, *N. S.* and he brought likewiſe a packet from that Miniſter to the Marquiſs *de Lede*, and another from the Emperor's Miniſter to Count *de Mercy*, to acquaint them therewith. A trumpet was ſent with the *Spaniſh* Miniſter's packet to the Marquiſs *de Lede*, and to know his ſentiments thereupon. He returned anſwer, 'That, his Maſter's Miniſter having ſigned the Quadruple Alliance, he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded, and was therefore ready to treat of a ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea and land, until they ſhould receive farther orders from their reſpective Courts.' To this it was replied by the Admiral and Count *de Mercy*, 'That, as the evacuation of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* was to be performed within two months after the ſaid ſigning, they were ready to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, upon his delivering up the City and Caſtles of *Palermo*, at which place tranſports would be beſt provided, and other neceſſary meaſures concerted for the tranſportation of their army into *Spain*.' The Marquiſs returned anſwer, 'That, as he underſtood, the Plenipotentiaries of their Maſters

19. Maſters at the *Hague* were in treaty for ſettling the terms of evacuating thoſe Iſlands, he did not think himſelf authorized to agree to a ceſſation on any other condition, than that each party ſhould remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their reſpective Principals.'

The diſadvantages ariſing from ſuch an agreement were too obvious to be ſubmitted to; for the men of war and tranſports lay very inconveniently at *Trapani*, an unſafe road, where they had ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and ſome of the tranſports had been loſt. It was therefore neceſſary to have poſſeſſion of *Palermo*, as a ſecure retreat for the fleet, and the moſt commodious port for ſhipping off the troops. Beſides, it was a pledge of the ſincerity of the intentions of *Spain* to evacuate the Iſland. In the next place, it put the *Germans* under a manifeſt inequality, to be confined to the ground they occupied, while the *Spaniards* were in poſſeſſion of the principal *Caricatori* of corn, and plundered and rifled at pleaſure a Country they were ſoon to leave. Nor could they comprehend, how an enemy, who, ſix weeks before, offered to leave the whole Iſland, on condition of being ſent back into *Spain*, ſhould now ſcruple to ſurrender *Palermo*; and therefore, as it had the appearance of chicaning, they reſolved to go on with the operations of the war. But, before they proceeded to action, they agreed to ſend a joint letter to the Marquiſs, propoſing an interview between them at the *Caſſine de Roſſignola*, halfway between the two armies, where accordingly they met the 2d of *April*, *N. S.* at noon, with an eſcorte of two hundred horſe on each ſide. In the Conference the Marquiſs *de Lede* owned, 'That he knew the King his Maſter had ſigned the Quadruple Alliance, and did not doubt of his intention to evacuate *Sicily*; but declared, he had no orders yet about it: That he expected full powers and inſtructions ſoon, and wiſhed they would, in the mean time, come to a ceſſation of arms.' He was asked, 'What propoſals he had to make for that purpoſe?' He anſwered, 'None, but that both armies might hold the Country, that was in their poſſeſſion, until he received orders to treat about the evacuation.' Count *de Mercy* thinking it unreaſonable to be tied down to a ſmall tract of the Country, where he could not ſubſiſt, asked him, 'Whether, in caſe they ſhould conſent to his keeping poſſeſſion of *Palermo*, he had power to deliver up *Auguſta*, and the other poſts they held on that ſide of the Iſland, which were now of no uſe to him, but it would be rather a conveniency to him to draw away the garriſons and troops he had in thoſe parts, to join his army, in order to the intended evacuation?' He confeſſed, 'He could not give up, nor quit the poſſeſſion of any part he had of the Iſland, until he received further orders from his Maſter;' and read part of his inſtructions to them. Count *de Mercy*, on the other ſide, ſhewed him part of the Emperor's orders, which directed him 'to agree to a ſuſpenſion of arms, in order to the evacuation of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and to concert with the Marquiſs *de Lede* the neceſſary conditions for facilitating the ſame, and to adjuſt that affair by all reaſonable meaſures: But that, if the Marquiſs *de Lede* ſhould not own his having orders, or endeavour to evade them, and gain time, by pretending to ſend to *Madrid* for farther inſtructions, and not name a reaſonable time for beginning to imbark part of his troops, in that caſe he was to make uſe of his arms to oblige him to execute the treaty, which the *Spaniſh* Miniſter had ſigned at the *Hague*.' He farther told the Marquiſs, that the 17th of *April* was underſtood to be the time they ſhould go upon the evacuation; but, if it was not poſſible for him to begin ſo ſoon, he would not differ about a few days, provided they entered now into ſome agreement about the manner of doing it. He offered him the tranſports he had in his ſervice, and aſſured him, that he ſhould be accommodated with proviſions, and every thing he could in reaſon demand. The Admiral, on his part, gave him the like aſſurances, and that he ſhould be eſcorted by as many of his Maſter's ſhips, as he ſhould deſire. The Marquiſs owned, that all they ſaid was reaſonable; but, complaining of the want of orders, the Conference broke off, without coming to any iſſue. At parting, the Marquiſs deſired the Admiral to releaſe the Biſhop of *Mazzara*, who was his priſoner, which the Admiral readily conſented to. 1719.

During theſe debates, one of the *Engliſh* ſhips, cruiſing off *Palermo*, took a Felucca, ſent by Cardinal *Aquaviva* from *Rome*, with packets of letters from *Spain*, to the Marquiſs *de Lede*, which he delivered to the Admiral; who, ſeeing the King of *Spain*'s ſeal to the letters, generouſly ſent them unopened to the Marquiſs, and ſet the Felucca and Crew at liberty.

The Conference being broken off, the Admiral returned to the fleet at *Trapani*, and Count *de Mercy*, reſolving to attack the *Spaniards*, marched towards *Alcamo*, where he arrived the 8th of *April*, *N. S.* the Marquiſs having retreated the night before with precipitation, leaving ſome ſick men behind, whom he could not carry away. The Marquiſs incamped at *Valguernera* and *Sala di Partenico*; but, fearing to be followed by the Imperialiſts, he retired on to *Monreale*. The retreat of the *Spaniards* made Count *de Mercy* reſolve on the ſiege of *Palermo*; in order to which he ſent Colonel Baron *Neyperg* to confer with the Admiral about the neceſſary aſſiſtance to be given by the fleet in facilitating the march of the army towards that place, by coaſting along with the proviſions and neceſſaries they ſhould want in their march, as well as in the ſiege, and ſupplying them with cannon and ammunition for that enterprize. The neceſſary diſpoſitions being concerted between the army and fleet, the Count decamped from *Alcamo* the 18th of *April*, *N. S.* and followed the Marquiſs *de Lede*, who, retreating towards *Monreale*, kept poſſeſſion of that and other advantageous poſts, which led into the plains before *Palermo*, fortifying at the ſame time a ſtrong paſs by the ſea-ſide, called *Sferra Cavallo*, which was another way between the ſea-ſhore and the mountains into the ſame plain. Count *de Mercy* being arrived at *Sala di Partenico*, and not judging it adviſeable to attempt the paſſes, which the enemy poſſeſſed on the road of *Monreale*, he divided his army into two bodies, ſending General *Zumjungen*, with all his cavalry (except the *Huſſars*, and a regiment of Dragoons) and ſeven battalions of foot, with the artillery and baggage, to the ſea-ſide, with orders to force the paſs of *Sferra Cavallo*, and enter that way into the plain of *Palermo*, whilſt he himſelf with the reſt of the army aſcended the difficult mountains about *Carini*, in order to

1719. get down that way into the ſame plain, judging, that, if the Marquiſs drew his army to defend the paſs of *Sferra Cavallo*, he ſhould get between him and *Palermo*, or, at leaſt, have the advantage of falling upon his rear. The Count having gained the heights of the mountains, from whence are diſcovered the Plain and City of *Palermo*, perceived the *Spaniſh* army incamped in the bottom, intending to obſtruct his deſcent, and occupying all the paſſes in the way. Here Count *de Mercy* ſent to *Zumjungen* to rejoin him, which he did by the aſſiſtance of guides, provided by the Magiſtrates of *Carini*, leaving a detachment under the command of Colonel Baron *de Witgenau*, to convoy the artillery and baggage by the way of the ſea-ſide, who, arriving at the paſs of *Sferra Cavallo*, found it abandoned by the *Spaniards*. On the 21ſt, the *Germans* began to deſcend from the mountains, and, forcing the ſeveral paſſes with leſs oppoſition than was expected, were almoſt all got down before night to the bottom. The whole was a moſt difficult and fatiguing march, through ways, that the inhabitants themſelves had rarely practiſed, but which the Count ſurmounted with great expedition and military judgment.

The Admiral coaſting along, in conformity to the motions of the army, came to an anchor with the fleet the 20th, in *Mondello-Bay*, and ſent ſome of his ſoldiers to take poſſeſſion of a tower on the point, and another at the landing-place, as alſo three caſſines, that ſtood between, in order to preſerve their communication. On the 22d, the Marquiſs *de Lede* ſent Colonel *Lacy*, his Aid de Camp, with a letter to the Admiral, incloſing a *Spaniſh Gazette*, wherein was publiſhed the treaty of ſuſpenſion of arms at ſea, concluded at the *Hague* between the Miniſters of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, which was to take place on the 10th inſtant; and therefore he propoſed to the Admiral, 'to come to an agreement with him, for a ſeparate ceſſation of hoſtilities, as they had both full powers for that purpoſe; and proteſted againſt any violences he ſhould commit, contrary to the plain inſtructions of their Sovereigns.' This ſnare, laid to ſeparate the Admiral from the *German* army, had no effect, the Admiral returning anſwer, 'That he could give no regard or credit to a pretended Convention, publiſhed in a foreign news-paper, and even in which there was a clauſe, that nothing in it ſhould derogate from what ſhould be agreed between him and the Marquiſs, for what concerns the *Mediterranean* Sea. That, as the *Spaniſh* Miniſter had ſigned the Quadruple Alliance ever ſince the 17th of *February* laſt, it was ſurpriſing, that in all this time the Marquiſs had received no orders for treating about the evacuation of the Iſland, which was the neceſſary conſequence of it, but that he ſtill maintained every point and poſt with the ſame zeal and ardour, as before his Maſter's Acceſſion to the Alliance. That the time for beginning the evacuation was elapſed; and therefore, without ſome reaſonable ſecurity, that he really intended it, he could come into no agreement for a ſuſpenſion of arms; but, whenever he ſhould be impowered to treat for both, he would moſt gladly go more than half-way to meet him, and not only agree on ſuch meaſures, as might put an end to the preſent differences, but which might reſtore and cultivate a good underſtanding, which no body more ardently wiſhed for, than he did.' This was an adventurous proceeding in the Admiral; for his inſtructions from *England* directed him to come to a ſuſpenſion of arms with *Spain*, without ſtaying for ſettling the terms of evacuation, which might take up time. But his penetration ſhewed him, that, if a ſuſpenſion took place at ſea, the *Spaniards* might introduce what ſuccours and troops they pleaſed into the Iſland, which would unravel all they had been doing; and, if any interruption happened in the Negotiations on foot, put the *Spaniards* in a better ſtate of proſecuting the war, and perhaps protract it another year. Their late conduct had made him jealous of their artifices, ſeeing them lay hold of every advantage to evade the evacuation of the Iſland, which this ſeparation would encourage, and render the way to peace more diſtant and difficult. He determined therefore, as the Convention for a ceſſation of arms at ſea, ſigned at the *Hague* the 29th of *February*, *N. S.* left him at liberty of treating as he thought proper, to remain united to the *Germans*, which, he prudently ſaw, was the quickeſt way to bring the *Spaniards* to a compliance, and to come into real meaſures for the evacuation of the Iſland. The event juſtified his precaution, and his conduct received at home the approbation it deſerved. 1719.

The march of the Imperialiſts had made the *Spaniards* change the ſituation of their camp, which they pitched acroſs the plain before *Palermo*, extending their left to *Monte Caputo*, and their right to the ſea near the mole of *Palermo*, the whole army being under the cannon of that City, and having ſtrong intrenchments before them, lined with forty pieces of cannon. They were provided with plenty of all things, and ſeemed determined to ſtand the fate of a battle. The *Germans* incamped on the ſame plain, in the front of the enemy, and within a mile and a half diſtance, with their right at the foot of the mountains, from whence they had deſcended, and their left reaching to *Monte Pelegrino*, near the ſea-ſide, the artillery and baggage being arrived in their camp by the way of *Sferra Cavallo*. Count *de Mercy* ſeeing himſelf ſtraitened in room, and under difficulty of ſubſiſting, whilſt the enemy plundered and inriched themſelves with the ſpoils of a Country they were quickly to abandon, he determined to bring matters to an engagement as ſoon as poſſible. In order to it, his ſcheme was to endeavour to get poſſeſſion of the mole, by which means he ſhould flank the enemy, and oblige them either to come to a battle with diſadvantage, or elſe to retire to *Termini*. For this purpoſe he detached Baron *Neyperg* on the 26th, with ſix companies of Grenadiers, to diſlodge the enemy from ſome poſts, which they had fortified on the ſea-ſide; and, to facilitate the ſame, ſent Baron *de Witgenau*, with ſix other companies of Grenadiers, to ſeize on *Monte Pelegrino*. At the ſame time the Admiral detaching three ſhips, to cannonade the poſts on the ſea-ſide, their fire made the *Spaniards* abandon them, and the Imperialiſts took poſſeſſion of them without any loſs. Theſe advantages confirmed Count *de Mercy* in his reſolution to puſh his point that way; and, having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, the next day he cauſed to be attacked a Caſſine, that ſtood a little diſtance from the enemy's trenches, but ſtrongly fortified with lines, and ſome cannon, drawing out his whole army at the ſame time in order of battle,

719. battle, in caſe the enemy ſhould come out of their camp to ſupport it. The lines were ſoon taken, but the Caſſine was not carried till after a very vigorous defence of above an hour, wherein the *Germans* had about one hundred and forty men killed or wounded; among the former a Prince of *Anhalt*, and Lieutenant-General *Seckendorf* wounded in the ſhoulders. On the 2d of *May*, about two in the afternoon, the weather being very hot, and the *Spaniſh* guard taking a *Sieſto*, according to the cuſtom of that Nation, the *Germans* ſurprized a redoubt near the enemy's lines, entering the ſame without firing a ſhot, and puſhing the *Spaniards* out with their bayonnets in their pieces. The Marquiſs *de Lede*, being informed of it, roſe from table, and ordered the army to be immediately drawn out, in order to retake that fortification, which commanded the whole line of the camp. On the other hand, Count *de Mercy* being determined to maintain his hold, both armies were in motion, and juſt on the point of engaging, when fortunately a courier arriving in the very inſtant from *Spain*, in a Felucca, delivered to the Marquiſs a packet, containing full powers from the King of *Spain* to treat and agree about the evacuation of the Iſlands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and the tranſportation of the army into *Spain*. The Marquiſs upon this drew off his army, and ſent letters by a trumpet to the General and Admiral, to inform them of his orders. The next morning early, the Admiral repairing to the *German* camp, Officers were appointed on each ſide to treat of the ſuſpenſion of arms, and to regulate the manner of evacuating both Iſlands; and Conventions were drawn up for that purpoſe, and ſigned that for *Sicily* on the 6th of *May*, and that for *Sardinia* two days after.

In purſuance of theſe Conventions, the *Germans* were put in poſſeſſion of *Palermo* and the Citadel of *Caſtelamare* the 10th, and the *Spaniſh* army marched to *Termini*, a ſea-port, about twenty-five miles diſtant, from whence the firſt imbarkation conſiſting of about twelve thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, ſailed the 20th of *June*, for *Barcelona*, and the remainder arrived at the ſame place the 25th of *Auguſt* following. 1719.

Nothing now remained to be done, but to put the Duke of *Savoy* in poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Sardinia*: In order to which four battalions of *Piedmonteſe* troops imbarked at *Palermo*, under the command of Baron *St. Remi*, and ſailed under the convoy of ſome *Engliſh* men of war to *Cagliari*, where the Admiral arriving as ſoon as he had ſettled all affairs in *Sicily*, he aſſiſted at the Conferences with the Miniſters and Generals of the ſeveral powers concerned, wherein was regulated the manner of ſurrendering the Iſland by the *Spaniſh* Viceroy to the Emperor, and the ceſſion of the ſame from the Emperor to the Duke of *Savoy*; and, at the inſtance of this Prince, the Admiral did not depart, till he had ſeen the whole fully executed, the *Spaniſh* troops returned into *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* put into quiet poſſeſſion of his new Kingdom.

Thus ended the war of *Sicily*, wherein the fleet of *Great-Britain* bore ſo illuſtrious a part, that the fate of the Iſland was wholly governed by its operations, both competitors agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been ſubdued, without it. Never was any ſervice conducted in all its parts with greater zeal, activity, and judgment; nor was ever the *Britiſh* flag in ſo high reputation and reſpect in thoſe diſtant parts of *Europe* (1).

Progreſs of the French againſt Spain.

During theſe tranſactions in the *Mediterranean*, the *French* army, under the command of the Duke of *Berwick*, advancing to the frontiers of *Spain*, took *Fort-Paſſage*, where they deſtroyed ſix men of war on the ſtocks. Then the Duke formed the ſiege of *Fonterabia*, which was taken the 5th of *June*. The King of *Spain* made an unſucceſsful attempt to relieve the place, and approached

(1) As this Hiſtory will not go down ſo low as the Admiral's death, it may not be improper to inſert here what Mr. *Corbet* ſays of him: King *George*, who had named him for the expedition to *Sicily*, and knew his abilities, uſed to ſay to his Miniſters, when they applied for inſtructions to be ſent to him for his guidance, on certain important occaſions, that he would ſend him none, for he knew how to act without any; and indeed, all the meaſures he took abroad were ſo exact and juſt, as to ſquare with the councils and plan of policy at home. The cauſe of the Emperor being become the cauſe of his Maſter, he ſerved the intereſts of that Prince with a zeal and fidelity, that ſtood a pattern to his own ſubjects. He lived in ſuch harmony with the Imperial Viceroys and Generals, as has been ſeldom ſeen among fellow-ſubjects united in command, the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing his duty in a cold or negligent manner; and, when any ſervice was committed to his management, he devoted his whole time and application to it; nor could any fatigue or indiſpoſition of body ever divert or interrupt his attention from any point that required preſent diſpatch. To this it might be in great meaſure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miſcarried in any ſervice that was entruſted to his direction. For whoever will trace upwards, to the ſprings and cauſes of public or private events, ſhall find (except where the immediate finger of Providence is viſible) that what is uſually called ill-luck, is generally the effect of negligence, or imprudence. He always proceeded upon ſolid principles, and left nothing to fortune, that could be accompliſhed by foreſight and application. His firmneſs and plain dealing were ſo apparent to the foreigners, who treated with him upon buſineſs, that it contributed much to the diſpatch and ſucceſs of his tranſactions with them; for they could depend upon what he ſaid, and as they ſaw he uſed no arts or chicanes himſelf, and had too diſcerning a ſpirit to ſuffer them to paſs unobſerved in others, they often found it their beſt policy to leave their intereſts in his hands and management, being very ſure of a moſt impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed in this particular, that in the frequent diſputes and altercations which aroſe between the *Savoyards* and *Germans* in the courſe of the war, and between the latter and the *Spaniards* at the concluſion of it, wherein little faith or confidence was given to the promiſes or aſſeverations of each other, he was the common umpire between them, always ſtemming and oppoſing any extravagant or unjuſt demands (which the over-bearing temper of the *German* General was very apt to ſuggeſt, where he had the ſuperior hand) and reconciling, as much as poſſible, the violences of war, with the rules of honour and juſtice. When he departed from *Italy* to attend his late Majeſty at *Hanover*, the King, among many gracious expreſſions, told him, that he had found out the ſecret of obliging his enemies as well as friends, and that the Court of *Spain* had mentioned, with great acknowledgment, his fair and friendly behaviour in the proviſion of tranſports and other neceſſaries for the imbarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexations and oppreſſions

1719. approached with an army of nine thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; but it was in the hands of the *French* before he could draw near enough to it; ſo he marched back to *Pampeluna*, doubly diſappointed, both of raiſing the ſiege, and of the *French* forces deſertion: For he depended as much on an Inſurrection in *France*, as on a Rebellion in *England*; upon both which Cardinal *Alberoni*'s projects were founded. The Cardinal ſtill refuſing to accede to the Quadruple Alliance, the Duke of *Berwick* took *St. Sebaſtian*; and a party of *French*, joined by two hundred *Engliſh* ſeamen, made themſelves maſters of *Port Antonio*, in the bottom of the bay of *Biſcay*, where two ſixty guns ſhips were deſtroyed on the ſtocks, and all the naval ſtores were burnt by the *Engliſh*.

Negotiations with Spain.

About this time the Cardinal received the news of the action at *Franca Villa*, in a letter from the Marquiſs *de Ledè*, who aſſumed to himſelf the victory. The Cardinal choſe that occaſion to yield to the preſſing inſtances of the *Dutch* Ambaſſador to conſent to a peace: He declared to him, that his Catholic Majeſty's intention was, that the *States-General* ſhould be Mediators.

A few days after, he ſent the Marquiſs *de Scotti* to *Paris*, from whence he was to paſs into *Holland*, to carry inſtructions to the Marquiſs *de Beretti Landi*, how to proceed with the *States*. The Duke of *Orleans*, to whom he had orders to declare his intentions, refuſed him a paſſport, ſaying, he could not do it without the knowledge of the Emperor and King *George*, who were ſtill more concerned than himſelf in this affair, and that the paſſport would be a tacit approbation of the conduct of the *States-General*, and a ſort of acceptance of their mediations; deciſions, ſaid the Regent, that become me not to make. And indeed, the Emperor and King *George*, being conſulted on that head, abſolutely rejected it.

Beſides that, they were unwilling the *States* (with whom they were diſpleaſed for their ſlowneſs in acceding to the Quadruple Alliance) ſhould have the honour of this mediation, and reap, as it were, the fruit of their conduct, they had each their particular hopes and views, which a ſudden peace would have diſappointed. The Emperor wanted to repair the glory of his arms by the conqueſt of *Sicily*; and King *George* had a mind to be revenged, for the uneaſineſs given him, on account of the intended Invaſion of *Scotland*. He was reſolved to make ſome conqueſt, that ſhould indemnify his ſubjects for the charge they had been at. He formed two projects, to take the *Corunna*, the beſt port of *Biſcay*, and to make himſelf maſter of *Peru* in *America*. Great preparations were made, fifty tranſports were provided, with three bomb-veſſels, and four thouſand men were ordered to be in readineſs to imbark in the Iſle of *Wight* (1). The Lord *Cobham* was appointed to command in chief, with the title of Captain-General (2). Theſe forces being imbarked ſailed from *St. Helens* the 21ſt of *September*, under convoy of five or ſix men of war, commanded by Admiral *Mighels*, who was to be joined by Captain *Johnſon*, then cruiſing off *Fonterabia*. But this junction was never made, and the important and *ſecret* (as it was called) expedition upon the *Corunna* ended only in the taking of *Vigo*, which ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons; the Citadel made ſome reſiſtance, but ſurrendered likewiſe in a few days. On the 10th of *October*, the garriſon marched out, conſiſting of about three hundred men, beſides one hundred and fifty peaſants, there having been above three hundred killed or wounded by the bombs. The *Engliſh* loſt but two Officers, and three or four men. There were in the town about ſixty pieces of large cannon, which when the enemy abandoned, they nailed and damaged them, as much as the time would give them leave. In the Citadel were forty three pieces, of which fifteen were braſs guns, and two large mortars; beſides above two thouſand barrels of powder, and ſeveral cheſts of arms, amounting to about eight thouſand muſkets. All theſe ſtores and the braſs ordnance had been lodged there from on board the ſhips, which were to have viſited *Great-Britain*, and the very troops, which gave up *Vigo*, were likewiſe of that expedition. The Lord *Cobham* had ſummoned the adjacent Country to furniſh proviſions, and pay contribution, on pain of military execution; and had ſent a party

1719. Vigo taken.

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that had been attempted. No wonder, that a man, endowed with ſuch talents and ſuch a diſpoſition, left behind him in *Italy*, and other foreign parts, the character of a great Soldier, an able Stateſman, and an honeſt Man.

To give ſome deſcription of his perſon, he was of a ſlender conſtitution, but well ſupplied with ſpirits, which did not diſplay themſelves ſo much in gaiety of converſation (for he was modeſt in his nature) as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or buſineſs, in which he was indefatigable, and, by a continued habit of induſtry, had hardened and inured a body, not naturally ſtrong, to patience of any fatigue. He had made no great proficiency in ſchool-learning (which the early age of going to ſea ſeldom admits of) but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a juſt ſenſe of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult Negotiations and Commiſſions with proper dignity and addreſs. In his younger days he was both in the ſea and land ſervice, being an Officer of foot in the garriſon of *Tangier*, but, preferring the ſea, he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed and favoured by that great ſeaman Admiral *Ruſſel* (afterwards Earl of *Orford*) who made him his firſt Captain at the age of twenty-nine, a poſt equal in rank to a Rear-Admiral, and, by degrees, he arrived to be a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and firſt Admiral of the fleet, in which quality he commanded in the war of *Sicily*. On his repairing to *Hanover*, his late Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs his regard to his eminent ſervices, by making him Treaſurer of the Navy, and Rear-Admiral of *Great-Britain*; and ſoon after a Privy-Counſellor, and Peer of *Great-Britain*, with the title of Viſcount *Torrington*; and afterwards Knight of the *Bath*, upon the revival of that order. When his preſent Majeſty came to the Crown, he was pleaſed to place him at the head of his naval affairs, as firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, in which high ſtation he died, in the year 1733, in the 70th year of his age.

(1) Seven Companies out of each of the three regiments of Guards; Colonel *Chudleigh*'s regiment, Lieutenant-General *Wills*'s regiment, Lord *Hinchinbrook*'s regiment; and the regiments of *Howard*, *Grove*, *Hurley*, and *Barrel*, and fifty dragoons.

(2) He had under him Major-General *Wade*, the Lords *Mark Kerr* and *Dunmore*, Colonel *Honeywood*, Brigadier-General; Colonel *Armſtrong*, Quarter-Maſter General; and Colonel *Ligoniere*, Adjutant-General.

(1) While

party to *Redondella*, where they found the old fort abandoned, and run to ruin, and the inhabitants fled. That part of the province was under ſuch conſternation, that it was thought half the people had run away into *Portugal*. There were but few regular troops in the province; but the Marquiſs *de Riſburg* had drawn together as many as he could get near *Tuy*, which is within three or four leagues of *Vigo*.

Two days after the ſurrender of the Citadel of *Vigo*, one thouſand men were ordered on board four tranſports under the command of Major-General *Wade*, to ſail to the upper end of the bay of *Vigo*, and to march from thence to *Pont a Vedra*, ten leagues off. The Magiſtrates of the town met them with the keys; and there were found in the place two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, ſix eight pounders, and four mortars, all braſs; beſides ſeventy pieces of iron cannon, two thouſand ſmall arms, and ſome bombs. The *Biddeford* man of war, and two tranſports, were ſent thither, to bring away the braſs cannon, arms, and ſtores; after which the detachment under Major-General *Wade* was ordered on board their ſhips, and the Major-General returned to *Vigo*, the 23d of *October*. Four days after, the troops being imbarked, the fleet ſailed for *England* (1).

Vice-Admiral *Hoſier* was to ſail to the *Weſt-Indies* with a ſquadron of men of war, where he was to be joined by all that were in thoſe parts; but this expedition was fruſtrated by the winds, and *Peru* was not ſo much as attacked.

Spain, oppreſſed on all ſides, and drained by the great efforts ſhe had made, began to think ſeriouſly of peace. A plan was ſent to the Marquiſs *de Beretti Landi*, which he delivered to the *States* the 22d of *December*. By this plan, *England* was to reſtore *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, and *France* all the conqueſts ſhe had lately made: The Succeſſions of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia* were to be ſettled on the Queen of *Spain*'s ſon, without being held either of the Emperor or Empire: All the ſhips taken this war were to be reſtored to *Spain*: *Sicily*, in the hands of the Emperor, was to be ſubject to the ſame right of reverſion, as when granted to the Duke of *Savoy*: The Pope was to be obliged to reſtore to the Duke of *Parma* the Duchy of *Caſtro*, and the Country of *Roneiglione*, uſurped by *Innocent* X. from the Houſe of *Farneſe*: Laſtly, The Dominion and Commerce of the *Weſt-Indies* ſhould be regulated, according to the treaty of *Utrecht*.

Theſe propoſals had been preceded by a ſtep very grateful to the Allies. The ambition of Cardinal *Alberoni* had rendered him perſonally odious to the Emperor, to King *George*, and to the Duke of *Orleans*. All three had declared, at leaſt intimated, that they would hearken to no peace as long as he was in place: The King of *Spain* thought it proper to make him a ſacrifice, and purchaſe the tranquillity of his people at the expence of a Miniſter ever unfortunate. The King writ to him with his own hand, forbidding him to meddle with the affairs of State, to appear any where in his preſence, to remain in *Madrid* above eight days, and in *Spain* above three weeks. 1719.

Spain accedes to the Quadruple Alliance.

The plan of the Court of *Madrid* was rejected as ſubverſive of the treaty of *London*, and nothing leſs would be accepted, but a full acceſſion to the Quadruple Alliance; which, after immenſe charges, and many mortifications, was ſubmitted to by the King of *Spain*. The war with *Spain* has been thus related, without regard to the order of time, that an idea of the whole might be formed, without having recourſe to different parts of the Hiſtory.

The King intercedes for the Proteſtants in Germany.

Whilſt the King was at *Hanover*, memorials full of grievances were preſented to him by the Proteſtants from *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Spire*, *Mentz*, and particularly from the *Palatinate*. In *Poland*, contrary to the fundamental Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, and the expreſs tenor of the Treaties, the Popiſh Clergy had engaged the Diet of *Grodno* to take from ſome of the Reformed Towns their right of ſuffrage. In *Hungary*, by the credit and practices of the Jeſuits, many books of Divinity, brought from *England* and *Holland*, were confiſcated. At *Spire* and *Mentz*, ſeveral Churches were taken from them, and given to the Catholics.

The greateſt complaints came from the *Palatinate*. The Catechiſm of *Heidelberg* was ſuppreſſed, after having been received above a hundred and ſixty years as a *formula* of union among the Reformed. The Church of *the Holy Ghoſt* at *Heidelberg* was alſo taken from the Proteſtants, on pretence of its belonging to the Court, and likewiſe the Church of *Creutzpach*, with the revenues of ſeveral others; and, what ſeemed ſtill more intolerable, the diſpoſal of the alms of the Reformed were given to the Catholics, who forced them, moreover, to contribute to the Popiſh ceremonies, and forbid them to open their ſhops, or to work on the holidays.

Almoſt all the Proteſtant States and Princes interpoſed in behalf of the oppreſſed. King *George* diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal on this occaſion, and writ very preſſing letters, which were ſupported by memorials from his Miniſters. But this affair ſucceeded not to his wiſh: His repreſentations were well received, as they could not fail to be, conſidering his great weight; the Elector *Palatine* gave favourable anſwers, and made fair promiſes; but the grievances were not redreſſed (2).

During

(1) While the *Engliſh* were at *Vigo*, Captain *Johnſon*, Commander of the *Weymouth*, the *Wincheſter*, and another *Engliſh* man of war, came up with a *Portugueze* Carval from *Ribadeo*, and being informed that there were two *Spaniſh* men of war in that port, about ſixteen leagues to the Eaſt of Cape *Ortegas*, he made thither; ſent the boats in a head to ſound, and followed with the ſhips. He anchored within muſket-ſhot of the enemy's ſhips, and a battery of eight guns fired on both, and ſoon beat the *Spaniards* out of the battery, which he took poſſeſſion of, and entirely demoliſhed. In the interim, the two *Spaniſh* men of war blew up; and after ſome ſmall firing on the town, he ſailed out of the harbour, taking with him a *Spaniſh* Merchant-ſhip, which he found there.

(2) The King, in his letter to the King of *Poland*, in behalf of the Proteſtants, expreſſed himſelf thus: 'That they may enjoy, for the future, their former liberty of conſcience, which cannot be forced by any human power, and over which God hath reſerved to himſelf the ſole command.'

At his return to *England*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,

1719. During the King's abſence all was quiet at home, and the Regency had little to do. There was, however, a kind of diſpute with the Czar's Miniſter about his Secretary, who had been committed to priſon by a Juſtice of Peace. But, upon the firſt complaint of his Maſter, the Secretary was releaſed, and the Juſtice put out of his office, and obliged to beg pardon for his imprudence. There was alſo a great riot in *June*, raiſed by the journeymen weavers about *Biſhopſgate* and *Aldgate*. They inſulted the women for wearing calicoes, and tore their gowns off their backs. The Militia was ordered out to ſuppreſs the Rioters, of whom ſome of the ring-leaders were taken and condemned to ſtand in the pillory (1).

The Parliament of Ireland *meets*, July 1.

The Parliament of *Ireland* met the 1ſt of *July*. The Duke of *Bolton*, Lord Lieutenant, pointed out in his ſpeech the ſubjects of their deliberations. He ſaid, they were called together to conſult of proper meaſures, and to make neceſſary proviſions to repel or ſuppreſs any attempt to involve the Kingdom in the calamities of a Rebellion, or a foreign Invaſion. He repreſented it as a deluſion to imagine, that the deſigns of their enemies did not extend to *Ireland*, as well as to *England* and *Scotland*: And, though theſe deſigns had been hitherto prevented by the King's counſels and indefatigable endeavours, yet it would be prudent to provide ſuch effectual remedies as might render it impracticable to proceed farther with any proſpect of ſucceſs.

'It is obvious and viſible to every conſidering man, that a good agreement and union among all Proteſtants will greatly contribute to this end; and the numbers, as well as ſtrict union, of the Papiſts, among themſelves, together with their apparent inclinations and attachment to the intereſt of the Pretender, ſeem to make it more immediately neceſſary at this time. In what manner a thing ſo deſirable may be obtained, his Majeſty leaves to your conſideration, and has commanded me to acquaint you, that as he has the welfare of the Church, by law eſtabliſhed, under his peculiar care, and reſolves always to ſupport and maintain it; ſo it would be very pleaſing to him, if any method could be found (not inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of it) to render the Proteſtant Diſſenters more uſeful and capable of ſerving his Majeſty, and ſupporting the Proteſtant intereſt, than they now are; they having, upon all occaſions, given ſufficient proofs of their being well affected to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and to the Succeſſion of the Crown in his Royal Houſe: And this I am ordered to lay before you as a thing greatly importing his Majeſty's ſervice and your own ſecurity.'

The method here mentioned was already found. The act paſſed in the laſt Seſſion in *England* was an ample direction to proceed by. Both Houſes aſſured, that they thought it their duty and intereſt to promote a good underſtanding and union among all Proteſtants, to enable them to withſtand the deſigns of ſuch numerous and malicious enemies, and therefore they would readily enter into the conſideration of ſuch methods, as might render the Proteſtant Diſſenters more eaſy and capable of ſupporting the Proteſtant intereſt. Accordingly, an act paſſed for that purpoſe, under the title of 'A bill for exempting the Proteſtant Diſſenters of the Kingdom of *Ireland* from certain penalties, to which they are now ſubject.'

The Parliament made other uſeful regulations, for preventing the marriage of infants againſt the will of the parents or guardians; for incouraging the cultivation of lands; for preventing tumults and ſeditious aſſemblies; for ſuppreſſing tories, robbers, and rapparees; and for the better maintenance of ſchools and teaching the *Engliſh* tongue throughout the Kingdom.

In *Scotland* there appeared no remains of Rebellion. The Chiefs being retired, the *Highlanders* ſurrendered their arms, and the Regency ſeemed to fear no diſturbance from that quarter, nor had they any orders to give. However, the evil was not quite cured, of which were ſeen now and then ſome ſtrange proofs. At *Edinburgh* alone, five Miniſters, cited before the Magiſtrates, refuſed to acknowledge King *George*, and their Churches were forced to be ſhut up.

The retu

After ſix months abſence, the King returned to *London*, the 14th of *November*, more reſpected than ever, on account of the great things he No had

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terbury, accompanied with ten other Biſhops, in a congratulatory ſpeech ſaid, among other things, 'I am alſo directed by my Lords the Biſhops, to return our moſt humble acknowledgment to your Majeſty, for the protection your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to give to our brethren, the Proteſtants of the *Palatinate*, and of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, perſecuted for the faith of Chriſt: We are perſuaded, that this Royal charity will draw down innumerable bleſſings from Heaven, upon the Perſon of your ſacred Majeſty, and your affairs.'

In the addreſs from the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, preſented by Dr. *Gooch*, the Vice-Chancellor, were the following words: 'It is with particular pleaſure we behold your Majeſty, in conjunction with other powers, aſſerting the cauſe of Liberty, and ſupporting the intereſt of our Proteſtant Brethren abroad, whoſe deplorable condition every day convinces us, that the Proteſtant Profeſſion muſt ſtand or fall with the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

(1) During the King's abſence died Mr. *Joſeph Addiſon*, *June* 17. He was ſon of Dr. *Lancelot Addiſon*, Dean of *Litchfield*; and, being educated at the *Charter-Houſe* ſchool, was ſent from thence to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he finiſhed his ſtudies in *Magdalen-College*: He became firſt known to the world by the excellency of his *Latin* poems, which he publiſhed in the *Muſæ Anglicanæ*, and dedicated to *Charles Mountague*, Earl of *Halifax*, who, together with the Lord *Sommers*, then Lord-Keeper (to whom he inſcribed the firſt piece he publiſhed in *Engliſh*, viz. A poem to his Majeſty King *William* III. on the taking of *Namur*, in the year 1695) recommended him to that Prince, who gave him a penſion of 300 *l. per ann.* and ſent him to travel. At his return from his travels, he was made Commiſſioner of Appeals in the Exciſe; afterwards he was under Secretary to two Secretaries of State, and Secretary of State himſelf in *Ireland* under two Lord Lieutenants: Upon the death of Queen *Anne*, he was made Secretary to the Regency, after that one of the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, and then advanced to be one of the Principal Secretaries of State to King *George*; which office, by reaſon of his ill ſtate of health, he was obliged to reſign ſome time before his death. He married *Charlotte*, daughter of Sir *Thomas Middleton*, of *Chirk-Caſtle*, in the county of *Denbigh*, Bart. and relict of *Edward Rich*, Earl of *Warwick*, by whom he left iſſue only one daughter.

July 6, died *Meinhardt Schomberg*, Duke of *Schomberg* and *Leinſter*, Marquiſs of *Harwich*, &c. Knight Companion

had done for the welfare and intereſt of his Dominions. He was received with demonſtrations of the livelieſt joy, and thoſe who were not forward to ſhew it were puniſhed by the populace, and the windows broken that were not illuminated. Whilſt in *Germany*, he had ſent orders for the meeting of the Parliament on the 23d of *November*, and for the Members to be all there, by reaſon of the importance of the affairs he had to communicate to them. 1719.

On that day the Seſſion was opened with the following ſpeech, read by the Chancellor to both Houſes: *Parl. Hiſt.* 23.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THE ſatisfaction, with which I always " meet you, is very much increaſed at this " time, when it has pleaſed Almighty God ſo " to ſtrengthen the arms of *Great-Britain* and " our Confederates, and ſo to proſper our ſe- " veral Negotiations, that, by his bleſſing on our " endeavours, we may promiſe ourſelves to reap " very ſoon the fruits of our ſucceſſes. I am " perſuaded, it will be accounted by all my good " ſubjects a ſufficient reward for ſome extraordi- " nary expence, that all *Europe*, as well as theſe " Kingdoms, is upon the point of being de- " livered from the calamities of war, by the in- " fluence of *Britiſh* arms and counſels. One " Proteſtant Kingdom * has already been re- " lieved by our ſeaſonable interpoſition; and " ſuch a foundation is laid, by our late treaties, " for an union amongſt other great Proteſtant " Powers, as will very much tend to the ſecurity " of our holy Religion.

" I believe you cannot but be ſurprized at the " continuance of the war, where our enemies " have nothing to hope, and ſo much to fear. " It is indeed difficult to frame any judgment of " thoſe counſels, which have broke out of late " in ſo many raſh and ill-concerted meaſures. If " they depend upon our diviſions at home, I " doubt not but, in a very ſhort time, their " hopes, founded upon this expectation, will " prove as vain and ill-grounded, as any of their " former projects.

" In congratulating with you on this happy " poſture of affairs, I muſt tell you, that, as I " have been very juſt and faithful to my engage- " ments, ſo I have met ſuch frank and power- " ful returns of aſſiſtance from my Allies, as will, " I doubt not, eſtabliſh a laſting friendſhip a- " mong us.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" You will ſee, by the accounts I have or- " dered to be delivered to you, how moderate a " uſe I have made of the power intruſted with " me, to augment my forces by ſea and land. " I depend upon the eminent duty and affection " you have always ſhewn to my Perſon and " Government, that you will be vigorous in " diſpatching the neceſſary Supplies for the year; " to which purpoſe I have ordered the eſtimates " to be laid before you. And, at the ſame " time, I muſt deſire you to turn your thoughts " to all proper means for leſſening the debts of " the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" You all muſt be ſenſible of the many un- " deſerved and unnatural troubles I have met " with, during the courſe of my Reign. Our " diviſions at home have been magnified abroad; " and, by inſpiring into ſome foreign powers a " falſe opinion of our force, have encouraged " them to treat us in a manner, which the " Crown

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Companion of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and Count of the ſacred *Roman* Empire: He married *Charlotte*, eldeſt daughter of *Charles Lewis*, Elector-Palatine, by whom he left iſſue only two daughters; *Frederica*, married to *Robert d'Arcy*, Earl of *Holderneſs* (the preſent Counteſs *Fitzwalter*) and *Mary*, married to Count *Dagenfeldt* of the Empire.

July 24, died *Heneage Finch*, Earl of *Aylesford*, ſecond ſon of *Daniel Finch*, Earl of *Nottingham*. He was ſucceeded by his ſon of the ſame name.

While the King was abroad, a great diſpute and diſference aroſe between the *Diſſenting Miniſters* in *London*, about ſubſcribing and non-ſubſcribing *articles of advice* for the conduct of their congregations.

The Diſſenters at ſeveral places, but more eſpecially at *Exeter*, being jealous that their Miniſters were not as orthodox as themſelves, in the article of the Trinity, had demanded of them a confeſſion of faith; and upon advice of the differences between their paſtors and them, on this occaſion, the Diſſenting Miniſters, in and about *London*, held a Synod, to conſult of *articles of advice for peace*. They met at *Salters-Hall*. The main debate was inſerting in the *advice* the firſt article of the Church of *England*, and the anſwer to the fifth and ſixth queſtions in the Aſſembly's-Catechiſm. But upon the queſtion it was carried by a majority of fifty-ſeven againſt fifty-three, *That no human compoſitions or interpretations of the Doctrine of the* Trinity *ſhould be made a part of theſe articles of advice*, which they were met to draw up. How far the heats carried them on both ſides, may be ſeen by what happened at the diviſion. One of thoſe, who were againſt human compoſitions, ſaying, as he went out, *You that are againſt perſecution, come up ſtairs*; and another, who was for them, *You that are for the Doctrine of the* Trinity, *ſtay below:*

The *Subſcribers* withdrew from the aſſembly, notwithſtanding the queſtion had been carried againſt them, and ſet their names to a paper containing the firſt article, and the two anſwers beforementioned.

At the ſame time the *Non-Subſcribers* made the following declaration:

' We freely declare that we utterly diſown the *Arian* doctrines, and ſincerely believe the doctrine of the *Trinity*, and the *proper Divinity* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which we apprehend to be clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures; but are far from condemning any who appear to be with us in the main, though they chuſe not to declare themſelves in other than Scripture terms, or not in ours.'

Which they farther explained thus:

' The human words, *Trinity* and *proper Divinity*, in this *Declaration* of our faith, are uſed only to notify the things we ſpeak of; and we do not preſume in the way of *Teſt* to go into any particular explanations of thoſe things, either in our own, or other mens words: But for that we refer to the Holy Scriptures, whence it may appear, that we take the Scripture account of thoſe things, to be the beſt and fitteſt we can uſe on ſuch occaſions.'

Whilſt theſe matters were tranſacting at *London*, three Congregations at *Exeter* proceeded to the actual excluſion of their Paſtors, Mr. *Pierce*, Mr. *Withers*, and Mr. *Hallet*, for refuſing to ſubſcribe certain articles of faith, which had been prepared for them.

It is not unlikely (ſays a certain Author *) that a leading man or two among the *Subſcribers* had private incouragement from a great Prelate to proceed as they did.

* Oldmixon.

1719. " Crown of *Great-Britain* ſhall never endure " while I wear it. The trouble and expence, " which this hath brought upon us, have been " the moſt loudly complained of by thoſe, " who were the occaſion of them. But with " your aſſiſtance I have hitherto got through all " theſe difficulties, and, by the continuance of " your help, I hope very ſoon to overcome " them, ſince the hand of God hath ſo viſibly " been with us in all our undertakings.

" If the neceſſities of my Government have " ſometimes engaged your duty and affection to " truſt me with powers, of which you have " always, with good reaſon, been jealous, the " whole world muſt acknowledge they have " been ſo uſed, as to juſtify the confidence you " have repoſed in me. And, as I can truly " affirm, that no Prince was ever more zealous " to increaſe his own authority, than I am to " perpetuate the liberty of my people, I hope " you will think of all proper methods to eſta- " bliſh and tranſmit to your poſterity, the free- " dom of our happy Conſtitution, and particu- " larly to ſecure that part, which is moſt liable " to abuſe. I value myſelf upon being the firſt, " who hath given you an opportunity of doing " it; and I muſt recommend it to you, to com- " pleat thoſe meaſures, which remained imper- " fect the laſt Seſſion.

" So far as human prudence can foretel, the " unanimity of this Seſſion of Parliament muſt " eſtabliſh, with the peace of all *Europe*, the " glory and trade of theſe Kingdoms on a laſt- " ing foundation. I think every man may ſee " the end of our labours. All I have to ask of " you is, that you would agree to be a great " and flouriſhing People, ſince it is the only " means, by which I deſire to become a happy " King."

Addreſſes of both Houſes.

The addreſſes were agreeable to the ſpeech, the King was thanked and congratulated for the great ſucceſs of his meaſures to eſtabliſh the peace of *Europe*. 'It is with the utmoſt plea- ſure and ſatisfaction (ſay the Lords) that we ſee the preſent happy union between your Majeſty and the other great Proteſtant Powers, which does ſo viſibly tend to the ſecurity of our Holy Religion; and we deſire to expreſs the deep ſenſe which we have of your Majeſty's ſeaſonable interpoſition for the poor perſecuted Proteſtants abroad; and we humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you would be pleaſed to continue your powerful protection and offices in favour of them.' They concluded with ſaying, 'We promiſe ourſelves, that the whole world will ſoon be convinced with how little foundation the enemies of your Majeſty and your Kingdoms have flattered themſelves to reap any benefit from our inteſtine diviſions.

We ſhould be wanting in our duty to your Majeſty and our Country, if we did not return your Majeſty our moſt hearty thanks for that tender and unprecedented care and concern, your Majeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs in your moſt gracious ſpeech from the Throne, for the liber- ties of your People, and the freedom of our happy Conſtitution.'

The Commons, after thanks and congratula- tion, very ſtrongly expreſſed their aſſurances in theſe words:

'We crave leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that we will, on our parts, by the vigour of our reſolutions, for the ſupport of your Government, and by the diſpatch which we will give to the neceſſary Supplies, convince the world, that, if our enemies have conceived any hopes from our diviſions at home, this hath been the vain- eſt of all their projects. And we will enable your Majeſty, in concert with your Allies, effec- tually to ſupport and perfect thoſe juſt and equi- table meaſures which have been taken to eſtabliſh a general peace.

And we farther aſſure your Majeſty, That we will apply ourſelves to find out the beſt means for leſſening the debts of the Nation, and ſup- porting the public credit, and will concur in all proper methods to eſtabliſh and preſerve the freedom of our happy Conſtitution, for which your ſacred Majeſty has given ſo many tender proofs of your care and affection.'

As the King had recommended in his ſpeech the thinking of proper methods to eſtabliſh the freedom of the Conſtitution (by which was meant the Peerage-Bill) the Duke of *Buckingham*, two days after the beginning of the Seſſion, revived the bill for limiting the Peers, which had been dropped by the prorogation. In op- poſition to this bill, Earl *Cowper* ſaid, 'Beſides the reaſons, that induced him laſt Seſſion to be againſt this bill, he had now another, that weighed no leſs with him than all the reſt, the earneſtneſs, with which it was recommended, and the eagerneſs, with which it was brought be- fore them at the beginning of a Seſſion. He had obſerved both from hiſtory, and his own experience, that, in affairs of moment, precipi- tation was ever dangerous, and, in many caſes, to be ſuſpected; and, for his own part, he could not help being of opinion, that, if there were no ſecret meaning in this bill, ſome men would not be ſo preſſing for it.' To this the Earl of *Sun- derland* anſwered, 'That it could not with any juſtice be ſaid, that any precipitation had been uſed in this affair, ſince the bill in queſtion had been brought in the laſt Seſſion, and then thoroughly examined; ſo that he doubted not, but every Member of that Houſe was fully ap- prized of it, and ready to give his vote for or againſt it. That the reaſon, why it was brought in ſo ſoon at this time, he conceived to be, that it might give no interruption to the other impor- tant affairs, which the King had recommended to his Parliament. And, as for any ſecret mean- ing in this bill, he ſolemnly declared, he knew of no other, but what his Majeſty had been pleaſed graciouſly to intimate in his ſpeech, the ſecuring the freedom of our Conſtitution, by by preventing, for the future, the abuſe of one branch of the Royal Prerogative, of which they had a fatal inſtance in the late Reign, and which had given juſt offence, and terrible apprehen- ſions to all ſober men.' To this it was replied, 'That if it was foreſeen, that bill might inter- rupt the other important affairs, it had been ad- viſable to keep it till the middle, or towards the end of the Seſſion, and to begin with the King's buſineſs.' But the Duke of *Bucks* compromiſed the matter, by ſaying, 'That, for his own part, he apprehended no danger from this bill; and if it was attended with any inconveniencies, as all human affairs are apt to be, time would diſcover it; and then, as in all other caſes, they might apply a remedy to it. As to the time of bringing it in, he thought it no mate- rial objection, ſince this Houſe had no other

1719. buſineſs to go upon; but that he foreſaw, that, whatever diſpatch they made in that bill, it would not get ſo quick a paſſage in the other Houſe.' After theſe ſpeeches, the bill paſſed the Lords without any farther oppoſition, and was ſent to the Commons, where it was oppoſed by a great many Members. Mr. *Craggs* urged in favour of the bill, 'That his Majeſty, ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, had had no other view, than to procure the good and happineſs of his ſubjects, and to ſecure their rights and liberties. That having, in his Royal wiſdom, conſidered the abuſe, that was made in the laſt Reign of that branch of the prerogative relating to the creating of Peers, which abuſe had brought the liberties of *Great-Britain*, and of all *Europe*, into immediate danger, his Majeſty, through a condeſcenſion worthy of a Prince truly magnanimous, had graciouſly been pleaſed to conſent, that ſuch bounds be ſet to that part of the prerogative, as may prevent any exorbitant and dangerous exerciſe of it for the time to come. That it was only in the Reign of good Princes, that Legiſlators had opportunities to remedy and amend the defects, to which all human inſtitutions are ſubject: And that, if the preſent occaſion of rectifying that apparent flaw in our Conſtitution were loſt, it might perhaps never be retrieved.' Mr. *Walpole* ſpoke on the other ſide, and endeavoured to anſwer all that had been offered for the bill. He took notice, 'That among the *Romans*, the wiſeſt people upon earth, the Temple of Fame was placed behind the Temple of Virtue, to denote, that there was no coming to the former, without going through the other. But that, if this bill paſſed into a law, one of the moſt powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, ſince there would be no coming to honour, but thro' the winding-ſheet of an old decrepit Lord, and the grave of an extinct noble family. That it was matter of juſt ſurprize, that a bill of this nature ſhould either have been projected, or at leaſt promoted by a Gentleman, who not long ago ſat amongſt them, and who, having got into the Houſe of Peers, would now ſhut up the door after him. That this bill would not only be a diſcouragement to virtue and merit, but alſo indanger our excellent Conſtitution: For, as there was a due balance between the three branches of the Legiſlature, if any more weight were thrown into any one of thoſe branches, it would deſtroy that balance, and conſequently ſubvert the Conſtitution. That the Peers were already poſſeſſed of many valuable privileges; and to give them more power and authority, by limiting their number, would, in time, bring back the Commons into the ſtate of the ſervile dependency, which they were in, when they wore the badges of the Lords. That he could not but wonder, that the Lords would ſend ſuch a bill to the Commons; for how could they expect, that the Commons would give their concurrence to ſo injurious a law, by which they and their poſterities are to be excluded from the Peerage? And how would the Lords receive a bill, by which it would be enacted, that a Baron ſhould not be made a Viſcount, nor a Viſcount be made an Earl, and ſo on? That, beſides all this, that part of the bill, which related to the Peerage of *Scotland*, would be a manifeſt violation of the act of *Union*, on the part of *England*, and a diſhonourable breach of truſt in thoſe, who repreſented the *Scots* Nobility. That ſuch an infringement of the Union would indanger the intire diſſolution of it, by diſguſting ſo great a number of the *Scots* Peers, as ſhould be excluded from ſitting in the *Britiſh* Parliament. For as it was well known, that the Revolution-Settlement ſtood upon the principle of a mutual compact, if we ſhould break firſt the articles of Union, it would be natural for the *Scots* to think themſelves thereby freed from all allegiance. And as for what had been ſuggeſted, that the election of the ſixteen *Scots* Peers was no leſs expenſive to the Crown, than injurious to the Peerage of *Scotland*, it might be anſwered, that the making twenty-five hereditary ſitting *Scots* Peers would ſtill increaſe the diſcontents of the electing Peers, who thereby would be deprived of a valuable conſideration for not being choſen.' After theſe, and ſeveral other ſpeeches, the bill was at laſt rejected by a majority of two hundred and ſixty-nine againſt one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven. Thus the prerogative of increaſing the number of the Peers, as the King ſhould think proper, which he ſeemed ſo willing to diveſt himſelf of, was, as it were againſt his conſent, preſerved to him. It was obſerved by an * oppoſer of the bill, that ſome perſons had through indiſcretion occaſioned an unhappy difference [in the Royal Family] and he was apprehenſive if that bill, ſo prejudicial to the rights of the next heir, ſhould paſs into a law, it might render that difference irreconcileable. This was ſaid chiefly with regard to the Earl of *Sunderland*, who promoted the bill with the greateſt eagerneſs. It was alſo reported that Mr. *Craggs* was to have been one of the ſix *Engliſh* Peers, to be created after the paſſing of the bill.

1719.

* *Sir J. Packington.*

During this Seſſion, a bill, for better ſecuring the dependency of *Ireland* upon the Crown of *Great-Britain*, paſſed both Houſes. This bill took its riſe, from an appeal to the Houſe of Peers in *England*, by *Maurice Anneſley*, againſt a decree of the Houſe of Peers in *Ireland*; which the *Britiſh* Houſe of Peers received, and ordered the Barons of the *Exchequer* in *Ireland* to cauſe Mr. *Anneſley* to be forthwith put in poſſeſſion of certain lands in the County of *Kildare*, of which he had been diſpoſſeſſed by virtue of a decree of the Houſe of Peers in *Ireland*. Purſuant to this order, the Barons of the *Exchequer* in that Kingdom iſſued out an injunction to *Alexander Burrows*, Sheriff of the County of *Kildare*, and ſet ſeveral fines upon him, for refuſing to put it in execution; which the Houſe of Peers in *Ireland* diſcharged, and voted, that *Jeffery Gilbert*, Lord Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*, *John Pocklington* and Sir *John St. Leger*, the other Barons of the *Exchequer* in *Ireland*, had acted in manifeſt derogation to the King's prerogative, in his High Court of Parliament in *Ireland*, as alſo of the rights and privileges of this Kingdom, and of the Parliament thereof. Theſe Barons were alſo ordered to be taken into cuſtody of the Uſher of the Black-Rod (1).

A bill for ſecuring the dependency of Ireland

Pr H. L. Pr. H. C.

The

(1) Several Lords diſſented from theſe reſolutions, viz. the Lord *Middleton*, Lord High-Chancellor, the Lords *Donerayle* and *Fitz-Williams*, and the Biſhops of *Meath*, *Kildare*, *Killala*, *Kilmore*, and *Derry*.

(1) The

1719-20. The House of Peers in *Ireland* drew up a long representation to be transmitted to the King, setting forth their right to the final Judicature of causes in that Kingdom; and the Duke of *Leeds*, in a protest against a vote passed in the House of Peers in *England*, gave fifteen reasons to support the claim of the House
Jan. 28. of Peers in *Ireland*. But the House of Lords in *England* resolved, 'That the Barons of the *Exchequer* in *Ireland* had acted with courage according to law, in support of his Majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the Crown of *Great-Britain*;' and ordered an address to the King, 'for conferring on them some marks of his Royal favour, as may be a recompense for the ill usage they have received, by being unjustly censured, and illegally imprisoned, for doing their duty.' Then it was that the bill, *for better securing the dependency of* Ireland, was
Feb. 22. brought in, and, having passed the House of Lords, was sent down to the Commons. Mr. *Pitt* was the first, who spoke against the bill, because, as he said, it seemed calculated for no other purpose, than to increase the power of the *British* House of Peers, which, in his opinion, was already but too great. He was seconded by Mr. *Plummer*, who excepted, in particular, against the preamble of the bill, as incoherent with the enacting part; which was partly owned by Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, who, in the main, spoke for the bill. Mr. *Hungerford*, on the other hand, endeavoured to shew, that *Ireland* was ever independent with respect to Courts of Judicature; and he was supported by the Lord *Molesworth*, the Lord *Tyrconnel*, and some other Members; but, Mr. *Yorke* having supported the Master of the *Rolls*, the bill was at last agreed to, and received the Royal assent (1).

About this time a misunderstanding happened between Mr. *Lechmere*, Attorney-General, and Sir *William Thompson*, Sollicitor-General, which was carried so far in a grand Committee of the Commons, the 16th of *March*, that Sir *William* charged Mr. *Lechmere* with breach of his oath, trust, and duty, as a Privy-Counsellor; urging, 'that he acted as Council, and received sums of money for his advice, in matters to him referred by the Privy-Council, as Attorney-General'. After this, he proceeded to the reading of several reports, made either by the Attorney-General or himself, but was interrupted by Mr. *Craggs*, who said, 'They were not there to examine, who was the best Lawyer; but that, a heavy accusation having been raised against a 1719-20. Gentleman of distinguished merit, and in very eminent stations, it was incumbent upon the Accuser to produce clear evidence to make good his charge.' Upon this, Mr. *Lechmere* stood up in his own defence, and said, 'He had the honour to be a Privy-Counsellor, Chancellor of the Duchy, Attorney-General, a Member of that House, and a Gentleman; and therefore such a heinous accusation could not but fall the heavier upon him: That he owned himself liable to a great many human frailties and imperfections; but, as his conscience intirely acquitted him of the crimes laid to his charge, so he defied all the world, and the worst of his enemies, to prove him guilty of corruption or any unwarrantable practices: That, though he was thus wrongfully accused in so solemn a manner, yet, as a good Christian, he did heartily forgive his Accuser, and was willing to believe, that he was prompted to this rash action, rather by mistake, or ignorance, than by malice; concluding, with desiring that Honourable Assembly to sift and weigh the whole matter with their usual candour, impartiality, and equity, and to excuse any unguarded expressions, that might escape him, in vindicating his innocence.' After this, several witnesses were sworn, and eight or nine of them examined; but, their depositions amounting to no more, than that Mr. *Lechmere* had taken nothing but his usual fees, as Chamber-Counsellor, the accusation laid against him appeared groundless to the Committee, and was declared by the House to be malicious, false and scandalous.

On the 8th of *March*, Sir *Joseph Jekyll* presented to the House a bill, to prevent the impious practice of duelling; which was occasioned by a duel between Mr. *William Aldworth* of *Windsor*, and Mr. *Owen Buckingham*, Member of Parliament for *Reading*; who, quarrelling after having drank too freely, fought in the dark, and Mr. *Buckingham* was killed. But this bill was dropped in the House of Lords.

The King had earnestly recommended, in his speech, the consideration of all proper means for lessening the debts of the Nation. Accordingly, a scheme was laid to reduce all the public funds into one, for discharging the national debt. The *South-Sea* Company and the Bank of *England* presented their several proposals to the House of Commons. The liberty of taking in the national debts, and, in consequence thereof, of increasing their capital stock and yearly fund,

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(1) The act was as follows:

'Whereas attempts have been lately made to shake off the subjection of *Ireland* unto, and dependance upon, the Imperial Crown of this Realm, which will be of dangerous consequence to *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*.

And whereas the House of Lords in *Ireland*, in order thereto, have, of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the Courts of Justice in the Kingdom of *Ireland*: Therefore, for the better securing of the dependency of *Ireland* upon the Crown of *Great-Britain*, may it please your Majesty, that it may be enacted; and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the said Kingdom of *Ireland* hath been, is, and, of right, ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the Imperial Crown of *Great-Britain*, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and, of right, ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity, to bind the People and the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

And be it farther enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the House of Lords of *Ireland* have not, nor, of right, ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any Court within the said Kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.'

fund, was looked upon as a very valuable benefit; and therefore the conteſt between the Bank and the *South-Sea* Company was great. They endeavoured to outbid each other in Parliament. The *South-Sea* Company, for the liberty of taking into their ſtock the irredeemable and redeemable debts, by purchaſe or ſubſcription (amounting to above thirty millions) offered at firſt 3,500,000 *l.* to be paid into the *Exchequer* by four equal quarterly payments, beginning at *Lady-day* 1721. And agreed, that their whole capital ſhould be reduced to 4 *per cent.* after *Midſummer* 1727, and be thenceforth redeemable by Parliament.

The Bank, for the like liberty, offered, upon the long and ſhort annuities, three years purchaſe, which (if the whole purchaſe was compleated) would amount to about 2,367,600 *l.* and 20 *per cent.* upon the redeemable debts, amounting to about 3,180,000 *l.* So their whole offer was above five millions and a half.

But the *South-Sea* Company being reſolved, at any rate, to obtain the liberty of taking in the public debts, offered, in a ſecond ſcheme, not only 500,000 *l.* more, but alſo four years and a half's purchaſe upon all the annuities they ſhould take into their capital ſtock, which (if all the annuities were taken in) would amount to about 3,567,503 *l.* So that their whole offer was about 7,567,500 *l.* They likewiſe offered to circulate 1,000,000 *l.* in *Exchequer* bills *gratis*, and pay 3 *per cent.* intereſt for that million; as alſo one year's purchaſe upon ſuch annuities, as ſhould happen not to come into the Company's capital, before the 1ſt day of *March* 1721.

Though the Bank made ſome farther advances, this ſcheme of the *South-Sea* Company was approved by the Commons, and a bill was ordered to be brought in.

While this affair was debating in the Houſe of Commons, the ſtocks of the *South-Sea* Company gradually roſe from 130 to above 300, and advanced to near 400; but, after ſome fluctuation, ſettled at about 330, in which ſtate, with little variation, they continued till the end of *March*. This great riſe was chiefly owing to the rejecting of a motion for a clauſe in the *South-Sea* bill, to fix what ſhare in the capital ſtock of the Company the Proprietors of the annuities ſhould have, who ſhould voluntarily ſubſcribe, or how many years purchaſe in money they ſhould receive upon ſubſcribing, at the choice of the Proprietors. It was pretended, that the obliging the Company to fix a price upon the annuities might endanger the ſucceſs of ſo beneficial an undertaking: That, as it was the intereſt of the Company to take in the annuities, ſo it was not to be doubted, they would uſe all their endeavours for that purpoſe, and offer ſuch terms to the Annuitants, as would encourage them to come in voluntarily: That therefore the Company ought to be allowed a competent time to try what they could do; and if, in a ſubſequent Seſſion of Parliament, it ſhould appear, that the conditions offered to the Annuitants were not reaſonable, and conſequently had been ineffectual, the Commons, in ſuch a caſe, might give what directions they ſhould think proper about the matter. Upon theſe and other reaſons, the motion was rejected; and, ſoon after, the bill for enabling the *South-Sea* Company to increaſe their capital ſtock, paſſed the Commons, by a majority of a hundred and ſeventy-two againſt fifty-five, and ſent to the Lords for their concurrence, where it occaſioned a warm debate. 1720.

The Lord *North* and *Grey* ſpoke firſt againſt the bill, which he repreſented to be 'unjuſt in its nature, and might prove fatal in its conſequences, ſince it ſeemed calculated for the inriching of a few, and the impoveriſhing of a great many, and not only made way for, but countenanced and authorized the fraudulent and pernicious practice of ſtock-jobbing, which produced an irreparable miſchief in diverting the genius of the people from trade and induſtry. 'His Lordſhip was ſupported by the Duke of *Wharton*, who endeavoured to ſhew, 'That the *South-Sea* project might prove of infinite diſadvantage to the Nation: Firſt, as it gave foreigners an opportunity to double and treble the vaſt ſums they had in our public funds, which could not but tempt them to withdraw their capital ſtock, with their immenſe gains, to other Countries, which might drain *Great-Britain* of a conſiderable part of its gold and ſilver. Secondly, That the artificial and prodigious riſe of the *South-Sea* ſtock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, and allure them, by a falſe proſpect of gain, to part with what they had got by their labour and induſtry, to purchaſe imaginary riches. And, in the third place, that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give ſuch a vaſt power to the *South-Sea* Company, as might indanger the liberties of the Nation, and in time ſubvert our excellent Conſtitution, ſince by their extenſive intereſt they might influence moſt, if not all the elections of the Members, and conſequently overrule the reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons.' Earl *Cowper* ſpoke alſo againſt the bill, which he obſerved to be uſhered in and received with great pomp and acclamations of joy, but which was contrived for treachery and deſtruction. His Lordſhip urged in particular, 'That, in all public bargains, it is a duty incumbent on them, who are intruſted with the adminiſtration, to take care, that the ſame be more advantageous to the State, than to private perſons; but that a quite contrary method ſeemed to have been followed in the contract made with the *South-Sea* Company. For if the ſtocks were kept up to the advanced price, to which they had been raiſed by the oblique arts of ſtock-jobbing, either that Company, or its principal Members, would gain above thirty millions ſterling, of which they gave but one fourth part towards the diſcharge of the national debts. That, though this ſcheme carried the face of public good, yet nothing could be ſo, that was founded on injuſtice; as his Lordſhip took this bill to be. That he apprehended, in particular, that the main public intention of it, *viz.* The re-purchaſe of annuities, would meet with inſuperable difficulties; and that, in ſuch a caſe, none but a few perſons, who were in the ſecret, and had early bought ſtocks at a low rate, and afterwards ſold them at a high price, would, in the end, be gainers by this project.' The Duke of *Bucks* and ſome other Peers ſpoke on the ſame ſide; but the Earl of *Sunderland* anſwered moſt of their objections; and, among other things, ſaid, 'That, they who encouraged and countenanced the ſcheme of the *South-Sea* Company, had nothing in their view, but the eaſing the Nation of part of that heavy load of debt it labours

1720. bours under. That, on the other hand, the Managers for that Company had undoubtedly a proſpect of private gain, either to themſelves, or to their Corporation; but that, when that ſcheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foreſee, that the ſtocks would have riſen to the price they were now advanced. That, if they had continued as they were at that time, the public would have had the far greater ſhare of the advantage accruing from that ſcheme; and if the ſtocks were kept up to the price they had been raiſed to, which was not unlikely, it was but reaſonable, that the *South-Sea* Company ſhould enjoy the profits procured to it, by the wiſe management and induſtry of its Directors, which would enable it both to make large dividends among its Members, and thereby compaſs the ends intended by this ſcheme.' After theſe debates, the bill paſſed without any amendment or diviſion; and, on the 7th of *April*, the King came on purpoſe to the Houſe of Lords, to give the Royal aſſent to it. What were the effects of this famous act, will hereafter be largely ſhewn.

Abſtract of the act for for increaſing the capital ſtock of the South-Sea *Company.*

This act recites the ſeveral public debts and funds, the acts by which they were eſtabliſhed, the terms and conditions of their continuance, the amounts of the reſpective ſums of principal and intereſt due and payable, and dividing them into ſeveral claſſes and ſpecies of debts, namely, long and ſhort annuities, redeemable and irredeemable debts, and ſtating what rate of intereſt they bore, computes the principals and annuities at certain ſums, in order to ſettle the different rates and values at which they were to be eſtimated, to be redeemed, purchaſed, or taken in by the *South-Sea* Company.

The redeemable debts are ſtated at 16,546,482 *l.* 7 *s.* 1 *d.* ¾ (1), the irredeemable annuities, being for the remainder of ſeveral long terms of 89, 96, and 99 years, are computed to amount to 666,821 *l.* 8 *s.* 3 *d.* ½ a year, beſides ſome unſubſcribed lottery annuities and ſhort annuities for 23 and 22 ½ years then ſtanding out.

The Company is declared willing, and is accordingly authorized to take in by purchaſe, or ſubſcription, the irredeemable debts, at ſuch time or times as they ſhall find convenient, before the 1ſt of *March* 1721, and without any compulſion on any of the Proprietors, *at ſuch rates and prices as ſhall be agreed between the Company and the reſpective Proprietors.*

The Company is likewiſe declared willing, and is authorized at ſuch time and times, as they ſhall ſee convenient (but ſubject to ſuch notices of redemption as are therein mentioned) to take in all and every the redeemable debts, amounting to 16,546,482 *l.* 7 *s.* 1 *d.* ¾, either by purchaſe, taking ſubſcriptions, or by paying them off.

Provided that the Company for every annuity, part of the long annuities computed at 666,821 *l.* 8 *s.* 3 *d.* ſo to be taken by them, may, in lieu thereof, have an addition made to their capital ſtock, after the rate of twenty years purchaſe; and ſuch reſpective additions to their preſent yearly fund or annuity, as is after limited.

And for all ſuch ſhort annuities, as ſhall be taken in, to have an addition to their capital ſtock, after the rate of fourteen years purchaſe, with a proportional addition to their preſent annuity or yearly fund.

And for all and every of the redeemable debts that ſhall be taken in by purchaſe, ſubſcriptions, or paying off, to have an addition of 100 *l.* to their capital ſtock, for every 100 *l.* of the principal monies ſo taken in, with a proportional addition to their preſent yearly fund.

Thus far it appears, that the Proprietors of theſe public debts amounting to above twenty-ſix millions, that ſubſcribed into the *South-Sea* ſtock, by virtue of this act of Parliament, acted by their own choice and option without any compulſion. The Irredeemables were left at full liberty to have remained in the condition they were, and an expreſs proviſion was made for the ſecurity of ſuch as did not ſubſcribe.

The Redeemables had their option to have waited for the terms of redemption, to which they were before liable, and to have taken their money, when the public had been in a condition to pay them.

So that ſubſcribing and accepting *South-Sea* ſtock, in lieu and diſcharge of their former debts and annuities, was the voluntary act of them all, induced, no doubt, by the general infatuation that every where reigned, and the imaginary proſpect of great advantages.

For the liberty of thus taking in the national debts, and increaſing their capital ſtock, the Company in the firſt place have deſired and conſented that their preſent and to be increaſed annuity may be continued at 5 *l. per cent.* till *Midſummer*, 1727, and from thence be reduced to 4 *l. per cent.* and be redeemable by Parliament. In conſideration of this and other advantages expreſſed in the act, the Company are willing to make ſuch payments into the receipt of the *Exchequer*, as are herein ſpecified, for the uſe of the public, to be applied for paying off the public debts incurred before *Chriſtmas*, 1716.

The ſums, which they were obliged to pay, were 4,156,306 *l.* 4 *s.* 1 *d.* for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, and four years and a half's purchaſe for all the long and ſhort annuities that ſhould be ſubſcribed, and one year's purchaſe for ſuch long annuities as ſhould not be ſubſcribed. Theſe ſums upon the execution of the act were found to amount to about 7,000,000 *l.*

For enabling the Company to raiſe this ſum, they are impowered to make calls for money from their Members, or open books of ſubſcriptions,

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(1) 5 *l. per cent.* annuities.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Principal ſum ——	11,779,660	11	3¾
4 *l. per cent.* annuities.			
Principal ſum ——	4,766,821	15	9½
	16,546,482	7	1¼

The 5 *l. per cent.* annuities conſiſted of ſeveral lotteries, Bankers annuities, Blanks in lottery 1714, Navy deficiency, and Bank annuities.

The 4 *l. per cent.* annuities were, the Civil Liſt lottery, Prizes in lottery 1714, Deficiencies on low wines, &c. on funds, *Canada* bills, Army debts and debentures, firſt and ſecond lottery 1719.

o. ſcriptions, or grant annuities redeemable by the Company, or by any other method they ſhall think fit in a general Court. They might alſo borrow money upon any contract, bill, *&c.* under their common ſeal, or on the credit of their capital ſtock. The money, called for from their Members, ſhall (if thought proper) be an additional ſtock, but there ſhall be no addition thereby to the Company's annuities, to be paid out of the public duties.

Out of the firſt monies ariſing for the ſeveral ſums to be paid by the Company into the *Exchequer*, ſuch public debts carrying intereſt at 5 *l. per cent.* incurred before the 25th of *December*, 1716, founded upon any former act of Parliament, as are now redeemable, or may be redeemed before the 25th of *December*, 1722, ſhall be paid off in the firſt place: Then all the remainder ſhall be applied towards paying off ſo much of the capital ſtock of the Company as ſhall then carry an intereſt of 5 *l. per cent.* Proviſion is alſo made, that, after *Midſummer*, 1727, the Company is not to be paid off in any ſums, being leſs than one million at a time.

oyal Lon- Aſſu- Com- e.

Several projects were now ſet on foot, particularly for eſtabliſhing the two Companies of the *Royal Aſſurance*, headed by the Lord *Onſlow*, and of the *London Aſſurance* by the Lord *Chetwynd*. The projectors had been very induſtrious to beſpeak the countenance of the Houſe of Commons, for which they had cauſed two letters to be printed and given to the Members. But, theſe and all other ſollicitations having proved ineffectual, the Managers for the two Companies had recourſe to other methods, and being informed that the Civil Liſt was conſiderably in arrears (for which no proviſion had been, or could conveniently be made by the Parliament, becauſe the grand Committee of Supply had been inadvertently diſmiſſed) they offered to the Miniſtry 600,000 *l.* towards the diſcharge of that debt, in caſe they might obtain the King's Charter, with the parliamentary ſanction for the eſtabliſhment of their reſpective Companies. The Miniſters, being at a loſs for means to pay the Civil Liſt debt, readily embraced the offer, and, Mr. *Craggs* having the day before prepared the leading Members of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Aiſlabie* preſented, *May* the 4th, to the Houſe the following meſſage:

'His Majeſty having received ſeveral petitions from great numbers of the moſt eminent Merchants of the City of *London*, humbly praying, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant them his letters patents for erecting Corporations to aſſure ſhips and merchandize; and the ſaid Merchants having offered to advance and pay a conſiderable ſum of money for his Majeſty's uſe, in caſe they may obtain letters patents accordingly: His Majeſty being of opinion, that erecting two ſuch Corporations, excluſive only of all other Corporations and Societies for aſſuring of ſhips and merchandize, under proper reſtrictions and regulations, may be of great advantage and ſecurity to the trade and commerce of the Kingdom, is willing and deſirous to be ſtrengthened by the advice and aſſiſtance of this Houſe, in matters of this nature and importance: He therefore hopes for their ready concurrence to ſecure and confirm the privileges his Majeſty ſhall grant to ſuch Corporations, and to enable him to diſcharge the debts of his Civil Government, without burdening his people with any new aid or ſupply.' 1720.

Purſuant to the meſſage, a bill was brought in to enable his Majeſty to grant letters of incorporation to the two Companies, which paſſed both Houſes, and received the Royal aſſent.

The buſineſs of the Parliament being now finiſhed, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and put an end to the Seſſion with the following ſpeech to both Houſes: *The Parliament is prorogued,* June 11.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I am now come to put an end to this Seſ-
" ſion, which, though it hath advanced ſo
" far into the ſummer, cannot be thought a
" tedious one, when we conſider how much
" buſineſs hath been done, and the great ad-
" vantages, that may be expected from it.

" Your ſeaſonable vigour and perſeverance
" to ſupport me in the meaſures I have taken
" with my Allies, for reſtoring the tranquillity
" of *Europe*, have produced moſt of the effects
" I could deſire. Much the greateſt part of
" *Chriſtendom* is already freed from the calami-
" ties of war; and by what hath happened both
" abroad and at home my people muſt be con-
" vinced, that their welfare is inſeparable from
" the ſtrength and ſecurity of my Govern-
" ment.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I return you my thanks for the Supplies
" you have raiſed for the ſervice of the current
" year; and it is a particular ſatisfaction to me,
" that a method has been found out for making
" good the deficiencies of my Civil Liſt, with-
" out laying any new burden upon my ſubjects.
" The good foundation you have prepared this
" Seſſion for the payment of the national debts,
" and the diſcharge of a great part of them, with-
" out the leaſt violation of the public faith, will,
" I hope, ſtrengthen more and more the union
" I deſire to ſee among all my ſubjects, and
" make our friendſhip yet more valuable to all
" foreign powers.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" You will ſee the good effects, which our
" ſteadineſs hath produced. There remains but
" little on our part, to ſatisfy the world, that
" more credit, ſecurity, and greatneſs, is to be
" acquired by following the views of peace, and
" adhering ſtrictly to juſt engagements, than by
" depending on the advantages of war, or by
" purſuing the meaſures of ambition. To com-
" pleat what remains unfiniſhed, I propoſe very
" ſpeedily to viſit my Dominions in *Germany*,
" hoping to put an end to thoſe troubles in the
" North, which are now reduced to a very nar-
" row compaſs. I flatter myſelf, that my pre-
" ſence this ſummer in thoſe parts will prove
" uſeful to our poor Proteſtant brethren, for
" whom you have expreſſed ſuch ſeaſonable and
" charitable ſentiments.

" I doubt not but to meet you again next
" winter, diſpoſed to put a finiſhing hand to all
" thoſe good works, which, by your aſſiſtance,
" I have brought ſo near to perfection. I could
" wiſh, that all my ſubjects, convinced by time

1720. " and experience, would lay aſide thoſe partialities and animoſities, which prevent them " from living quietly, and enjoying the happineſs of a mild and legal Government. It is " what I chooſe to recommend at this time, " when I am ſenſible, that all oppoſition to it is " become vain and uſeleſs, and can only end unfortunately for thoſe, who ſhall perſiſt in " ſtruggling againſt it. I am perſuaded, that, " during my abſence, every one of you will take " particular care to preſerve the peace in your " ſeveral Counties; and that I ſhall find you at " my return in ſuch a ſtate of tranquillity, as " will ſhew mankind how firmly my Government is eſtabliſhed, which I chiefly deſire, " becauſe I think the ſecurity and preſervation " of my people, and of this happy conſtitution, " depends entirely upon it."

After this ſpeech the Parliament was prorogued to the 28th of *July*.

Before the proceedings of the *South-Sea* Company are related, it will be proper to give ſome account of the foreign affairs during this Seſſion.

Particular Alliance with Sweden.

The Negotiations with *Sweden*, *Pruſſia*, and *Denmark* were far advanced, when the King left *Germany* to return to *England*. Soon after his arrival, he received an account of the concluſion of his treaty of Alliance offenſive and defenſive with *Sweden*. The Lord *Carteret*, aſſiſted by the *French* Miniſter, had laboured with ſuch application, that the treaty was finiſhed and ſigned at *Stockholm* on the 20th of *January*. It contained one and twenty articles, ſeveral of which were expreſsly againſt the Czar.

The Peace and Alliance were to be perpetual and univerſal. The contracting powers were not only not to injure, but to procure to each other all kinds of advantages.

They were obliged to inform each other of every thing they ſhould diſcover, that might injure or diſturb them, and to aſſiſt each other with advice and forces againſt all enemies; and not to give protection, much leſs advice or ſupport to rebellious ſubjects, nor to permit them to continue in their Dominions; and thoſe were to be eſteemed Rebels, whom one of the contracting powers ſhould declare to the other to be ſo.

In caſe *Sweden* ſhould be attacked in any part of its Dominions, in its rights and privileges, in its navigation or commerce, *Great-Britain* was to furniſh that Kingdom with an aid of ſix thouſand foot, who were to be ſent four months after the demand ſhould be made, and to that place which ſhould be appointed. The diſpoſition of the enemy to peace, the good offices, that ſhould be employed to produce that diſpoſition, were not to prevent the ſending of that aid. The power, who was to ſend the troops, was obliged to pay and maintain them; but the other was to take care, that in his Dominions they ſhould be furniſhed with every thing neceſſary, at the ſame price with his own troops.

The contracting powers were allowed to demand the aid, in whole or in part; to demand ſhips, proviſions, and ammunition for the ſurplus of the money; and it was ſettled, that a thouſand men a month ſhould be valued at four thouſand Rix-dollars. Theſe troops and their Commander were to be ſubject, with reſpect to all the operations of the war, to the power, to whoſe aſſiſtance they came; and the ſhips were to bear his colours.

If this number of troops was not ſufficient for the preſſing occaſions, a more conſiderable aid was to be ſent. 'And as *Sweden* (ſays the Treaty) is now in theſe unhappy circumſtances, with regard to the Czar of *Muſcovy*, whom many fruitleſs attempts have been made to induce to a peace, *Great-Britain*, conformably to its engagements in the treaty of 1700, which is renewed by the preſent, obliges herſelf to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron in the ſpring, to the aſſiſtance of his *Swediſh* Majeſty, to act in concert againſt the Czar, in order to oblige him to deſiſt from his invaſions, and to conſent to the juſt and reaſonable conditions of peace, which have been offered him.'

This was the main article of the treaty; in order to obtain aſſiſtance againſt that formidable enemy, *Sweden* had reſigned to the Elector of *Hanover* the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*; and, in order to be revenged for the Czar's intrigues, the King of *Great-Britain* renewed the antient treaties, and entered into new engagements with the Crown of *Sweden*.

The other articles related to commerce, the particulars of which were to be regulated afterwards, for the contracting parties were deſirous to put an immediate ſtop to the conqueſts of the *Muſcovites*, and oppoſe the execution of their deſigns. The ſuccours, that were to be ſent, did not amount to a declaration of war, nor hinder a communication with the Prince, againſt whom they were ſent, provided however it was not prejudicial to the party aſſiſted. And therefore it was not permitted to furniſh the Czar with any thing, that ſerved directly for attack or defence, as powder, artillery, or ammunition; and their ſubjects were likewiſe forbid to ſerve him as ſoldiers or ſailors.

If the ſuccours cauſed an open war, it was to be carried on in concert, no propoſition of peace or truce, or any accommodation and convention whatever, was to be hearkened to but by mutual conſent. If one of the contracting powers was engaged in war, he was diſpenſed with ſending the ſtipulated ſuccours, and had even a right to recall his troops three months after having given notice of the neceſſity he was under of ſo doing. 'But the King of *Great-Britain* (adds the treaty) as a ſtrong mark of his friendſhip, promiſes, that the war, which he is now engaged in with *Spain*, ſhall not prevent his ſending the next ſpring a ſquadron ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the Czar, and induce him to peace, nor from furniſhing the Supplies of money, as long as the war with *Denmark* ſhall laſt.'

Theſe obligations were reciprocal between the two Crowns. *Sweden*, in particular, was obliged not to enter into any engagement with *Spain*, which might be contrary to the views of ſupporting the Emperor againſt that Kingdom. She undertook likewiſe to guaranty and maintain the Succeſſion of *Great-Britain* in the Houſe of of *Hanover*, and not to give any protection, refuge, aid, or counſel, in any manner whatever, to the perſon, who, in the life-time of King *James* II, ſtiled himſelf Prince of *Wales*, and who ſince that King's deceaſe had aſſumed the name of *James* III. King of *Great-Britain*.

Both Crowns had it ſo much at heart to limit the pretenſions and undertakings of the Czar, and

20. and to diveſt him by a peace, or by arms, of part of his conqueſts, that the following words were inſerted in the XVIIth article. 'As it is of the utmoſt concern to the Proteſtant Religion, to the commerce of the Kingdoms of *Great-Britain* and *Sweden*, and even to the repoſe of *Chriſtendom*, that the Czar ſhould not gain the aſcendant in the *Baltic*; if therefore that Prince ſhall refuſe to make peace with *Sweden*, and to reſtore to that Crown the Cities and Provinces neceſſary to eſtabliſh her ſecurity and the liberty of commerce, as they were before the preſent war; his *Britannic* Majeſty engages, not only to furniſh *Sweden* with the ſuccours, which he is obliged to by the preſent treaty, but likewiſe to uſe all his endeavours and intereſt with his other Allies, that, by their aſſiſtance, they may enable *Sweden* to repel the Czar, and force him to agree to a peace upon ſuch conditions, as may ſecure that Kingdom from inſults, and eſtabliſh the liberty of commerce in the *Baltic*.'

The ſame day, by the mediation of *France* and *England*, the peace was likewiſe ſigned between *Sweden* and *Pruſſia*. This treaty was the work of King *George*, who had laid the foundations of it in the preliminary treaty of the 25th of *Auguſt*, the laſt year. *Sweden*, by the advice and inſtances of the Mediators, gave up to the King of *Pruſſia* the City of *Stetin*, the diſtrict between the rivers of *Oder* and *Pehnne*, with the Iſles of *Wollin* and *Uſedom*, to poſſeſs and enjoy them for ever, with all their rights, and in the ſame manner, as the whole had been ceded and transferred by the Emperor and Empire to the Crown of *Sweden*, by the tenth article of the peace of *Weſtphalia*, in the year 1648, except the right of ſitting and voting in the Diet of the Empire, and in thoſe of the Circle.

The King of *Pruſſia* obliged himſelf, on his part, to preſerve to the inhabitants their liberties, rights, and privileges, as they now enjoyed them, as likewiſe the free exerciſe of their Religion, according to the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*. He likewiſe undertook to pay the debts, and to diſcharge the obligations due from the Crown of *Sweden*, to the Inhabitants and Communities of theſe Countries. He alſo promiſed not to aſſiſt or ſuccour, in any manner, nor under any pretenſe, the Czar, in his war againſt *Sweden*, to join with the King of *Great-Britain*, to engage the King of *Denmark* to make peace, and to reſtore that part of *Pomerania* he had ſeized.

Laſtly, the King of *Pruſſia* engaged to pay two millions of Rix-dollars of *Leipſic* money of 1690. This was almoſt purchaſing what was ceded to him; but that Prince abounded in ready money, and he could not better employ it, than in aggrandizing himſelf. Beſides, *Sweden*, exhauſted by a war, which had laſted twenty years, and was not yet ended, was very glad *Pruſſia* would purchaſe what ſhe was not in a condition to retake.

Thus King *George*, in concert with the Regent of *France*, diſpoſed of the affairs of *Europe* at pleaſure, and obliged the foreign Princes to ſubmit to his determinations. *Spain*, after having made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to oppoſe him, was obliged to ſubmit to the ſtrict execution of the treaty of *London* of 1718: The Emperor was put in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*; the Duke of *Savoy* had *Sardinia*; *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* remained in the hands of *Great-Britain*; the inveſtiture of the States of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia* was not given; the Emperor continued to take the title of King of *Spain*, and to act as ſuch; the only favour, allowed that Crown, was the reſtoration of two or three places, taken by *France*; but the Emperor ſtill delayed the execution of his treaty with *Spain*, of which the Mediators took little notice. 1720.

The Czar's memorial.

The Czar was the only Prince, who would not comply: Inſtead of ſubmitting he continued the war a year or two longer, and made peace without any Mediator. Whatever reproaches might be caſt upon him, he loudly complained of the Elector of *Hanover* and King of *Great-Britain*, alledging, that King *George* in both qualities had failed in his engagements. His Reſident at *London* preſented a long memorial, in which he repreſented, that the particular engagements, which the King had entered into the laſt ſummer with the Queen of *Sweden*, and his Negotiations with the Kings of *Poland*, *Pruſſia*, and *Denmark*, in order to detach them from their Alliance with his Czariſh Majeſty, were inconſiſtent with the obligations, he had entered into as Elector of *Brunſwick*, never to treat with *Sweden* without the participation of the Czar, to uſe all poſſible means to procure him the ceſſion of *Ingria*, *Carelia*, *Eſthonia*, and *Revel*, and not to oppoſe in any manner the other pretenſions, he might form; obligations (added the memorial) contracted likewiſe as King of *Great-Britain*. Afterwards, by way of reproach, it was remarked, that the acquiſition of the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden* was owing to the earneſt ſollicitations of the Czar with the King of *Denmark*; that his Czariſh Majeſty had moreover offered a treaty of defenſive Alliance (like that of 1716) to maintain the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Great-Britain* in the Proteſtant line: That the reſt of the Czar's conduct had been anſwerable to theſe his proceedings: That, notwithſtanding theſe advances ſo often repeated, and ever neglected, not to ſay deſpiſed, no endeavours had been omitted to ſtir up enemies againſt the Czar, and to render him odious to the *Engliſh*, by making them believe, he intended to place the Pretender upon the Throne: That every thing had been done to embroil him with the Court of *Vienna*: That no explanation or accommodation was ever liſtened to; and all his propoſals for a reconciliation remained without any anſwer: That a ſtrong ſquadron had been ſent to the *Baltic*: That, warned by what had happened on other occaſions, he had deſired to be informed of the deſign of that ſquadron. That his deſire had been haughtily received: That the ſquadron, at the end of the campaign, had joined the *Swediſh* fleet: And, to compleat all theſe grievances, letters had been wrote to him in very imperious terms, and ſuch as ought not to be uſed to a Sovereign.

'Your Majeſty, *ſaid the Memorial*, who knows ſo well what is due to Sovereigns, when they are to be treated with, may judge by all that has paſſed on this occaſion, whether the manner, in which your Miniſters proceeded in offering the Czar your mediation, was agreeable to the friendſhip, which has ſubſiſted at all times between the Crowns of *Ruſſia* and *Great-Britain*; and whether a mediation offered with circumſtances ſo little equitable can be conſidered as impartial. To tell a Sovereign, in an imperious and threatening manner (as your Miniſters did) that he muſt put an end to the war, in order to obtain a reaſonable peace; and to propoſe to him

1720. him the mediation of a power, at the ſame time that he is told, that power is in league with his enemy, this is not endeavouring to induce him to peace, but rather ſeeking pretences for a rupture.'

The memorial concluded with demanding a poſitive anſwer, in order to know what was to be expected on the part of his *Britiſh* Majeſty.

This memorial, though ſeemingly expreſſed in a plain manner, was very artfully worded. Accordingly it was anſwered very carefully by the Miniſtry of *Hanover*, and of *Great-Britain*.

The anſwer to it. The *Hanoverian* Miniſter ſaid, it was the Czar, who had violated the treaty of 1715, by coming with an army to ſettle in the Empire, and by ſeizing the Provinces contiguous to *Hanover*. That the leaſt, that could be done in thoſe circumſtances, was to ſhew, theſe proceedings were not approved of: That the inſtances, which had been made for the withdrawing this army, were indiſpenſable, conſidering the rank the Elector of *Hanover* bore in the Empire: That, however, this was the ground of the Czar's reſentments, of which he had given many proofs by his correſpondence with the enemies of King *George*, and by his endeavours to deprive him of his friends. The particulars were then given of the Czar's intrigues with Baron *Gortz*, with the Pretender's Emiſſaries, and with the Court of *Madrid*, and eſpecially of the projects formed with the King of *Sweden* to carry the war into the Empire, and to aſſiſt that Crown to recover the Dominions in *Germany*, which had been taken from him. That, beſides theſe deſigns, an Invaſion of *Scotland* had alſo been concerted, and the Czar was upbraided with having continually endeavoured to deceive and amuſe his Allies.

It is therefore evident (*concludes the anſwer*) if the Czar has been prevented by a treaty with *Sweden*, he gave juſt cauſe for it, by his proceedings, as he had long been treating for a ſeparate peace, and was upon the point of reducing *Sweden*, and carrying the war into the bowels of the Empire.'

Earl *Stanhope* anſwered the complaints, which related to the King of *Great-Britain*. He repreſented the extravagant conditions, upon which the Czar had offered to enter into a ſtrict Alliance with *Great-Britain*. 'He required, ſaid the Earl, that his conqueſts upon *Sweden* ſhould be guaranteed to him; that he ſhould be aſſiſted with an *Engliſh* fleet, and that the fleet ſhould be under his command, which would have made all accommodation with *Sweden* wholly impoſſible, and incenſed thoſe powers, who were concerned in the preſervation of that Crown, and whoſe friendſhip was ſo neceſſary to accompliſh the projects formed for the tranquillity of *Europe*.'

The Earl then obſerves, that the Czar's complaints were intended only to cauſe his own deſigns to be overlooked: 'For if it be true (ſays the Earl) that the Czar, intimate Ally of the King of *Denmark*, had meditated no leſs than to make himſelf maſter of the *Sound*, and of *Copenhagen* (inſtead of making the deſcent on *Schonen*, with which the public had been amuſed for ſome months) it is natural to endeavour to put the change upon the public in that particular, and to wipe off the impreſſions of ſuch notions, by recriminations deſtitute of all manner of ground: And, if the Czar had really ſuch deſigns in view, it is probable, that nothing kept him from putting them in execution, but the juſt apprehenſion that the ſame ſhould be oppoſed by his Majeſty's fleet; which would infallibly have happened in ſuch a caſe. And may not the Czar's reſentment of the miſcarriage of ſo great a project, through the apprehenſion of the *Britiſh* fleet, be the cauſe of his great eſtrangement from his Majeſty ſince that time; from whence one may date the beginning of the animoſity he has ſhewn againſt his Majeſty on ſo many occaſions.

This was plainly perceived ſome time after, when, by the letters of Baron *Gortz* and Count *Gyllemburg*, it was diſcovered, that the Czar was ſo offended with his Majeſty, that he entertained ſerious thoughts of making a ſeparate peace with the King of *Sweden*, and aſſiſting the Pretender. And indeed, whatever aſſurances have been given to the contrary, the Czar's conduct ſeems to have been intirely agreeable to that plan. The Negotiations of the *Ruſſian* Miniſter with the Pretender's Agents are well known (1). All the world has ſeen the great number of *Engliſh* Rebels, to whom the Czar has given all manner of protection and encouragement. It is known, that the Conferences at *Aland*, which were begun without his Majeſty's participation, were the reſult of an interview at *Loo* with *Baron Gortz*, in *Auguſt* 1717. That Miniſter's papers have ſhewn, that the Invaſion of *Scotland* was to have immediately followed the conqueſt of *Norway*; it is therefore no wonder, the Czar was not ſollicitous either to prevent that conqueſt, or to aſſiſt the King of *Denmark* on ſo preſſing an occaſion. In fine, information has been had of the propoſitions the Czar has made, more than once, to the Court of *Spain*, to engage them in an offenſive Alliance againſt *England*, in favour of the Pretender.

It was ſhewn likewiſe, that the Czar had perſiſted in his deſigns ſince the death of the King of *Sweden*: That he had endeavoured to engage Queen *Ulrica* in the ſchemes of her Predeceſſor: And, not ſucceeding by his inſinuations, he had attempted to conſtrain her by force, and by almoſt unparalleled inſults. 'But, notwithſtanding all this, his Majeſty (continues the Earl) perſiſts in the ſame ſentiments of moderation towards the Czar, and renews the offer of his mediation. Nothing is more conformable to the intereſt of that Prince, ſince it is intended to procure him a peace, which will ſecure him a conſiderable part of his conqueſts. It is hoped, that ſo wiſe a Prince as the Czar will not only be inclined, for the general good of peace, to moderate

(1) People (ſays the Memorial) are not ignorant of the Negotiations of one *Jerneghan*, and of Sir *Hugh Paterſon*, brother-in-law to the late Lord *Marr*, with the *Ruſſian* Miniſter, during the Czar's ſtay in *Holland*. Intelligence has been had of the ſame Miniſter's intrigues, both with the late Duke of *Ormond*, during the ſtay he made *incognito* at *Mittau*, and with Sir *Henry Sterling* and the ſaid *Jerneghan* at *Petersburg*, as well as of the correſpondence eſtabliſhed, by means of this laſt perſon, between the Czar and the Court of *Spain*.

(1) The

derate his pretenſions, but likewiſe acknowledge, that it is more conſiſtent with prudence to obtain by good treaties, and the conſent of other great powers, ſuch conſiderable territories as may be yielded to him by the Crown of *Sweden*, than to expoſe the fruits of his ſucceſſes to the events of a war, which he will be obliged to ſupport alone. *Sweden* neither ought nor can give up to him *Revel*. If the Czar, after ſuch offers, perſiſts in his unwillingneſs to reſtore *Revel*, he will only alarm all the other powers, and unite the moſt of them againſt him.

The ſincere deſire the King has to reſtore a general peace, and his zeal to be reconciled with the Czar for that purpoſe, incline his Majeſty to give him, on this occaſion, the advice of a friend, and to exhort him ſeriouſly to conſider it.

But if, contrary to all expectation, the King's good intentions ſhould prove fruitleſs by the Czar's refuſal; and if his Majeſty, by virtue of his engagements with *Sweden* (which he is fully reſolved to maintain) ſhould be obliged to take meaſures diſagreeable to *Ruſſia*, he will, however, have the conſolation of having neglected nothing to prevent the fatal conſequences, which may reſult from it.

Theſe memorials and anſwers produced no reconciliation between the two Princes. The anſwers, however, made an impreſſion upon the Nation in favour of the King. And, indeed, it muſt be confeſſed, that it was found policy to join with *Sweden* againſt the Czar, and by that means make amends for uniting with that Prince to ſtrip a Crown, which Religion and Commerce ought always to endear to *Great-Britain*.

During the Seſſion of Parliament, the reconciliation of the Royal Family was effected chiefly by the endeavours of the Duke of *Devonſhire* and Mr. *Walpole*. They had ſeveral Conferences, for that purpoſe, with the Miniſters, with ſuch ſucceſs, that, on the 23d of *April*, the Lord *Lumley*, Gentleman of the Prince of *Wales*'s Bed-Chamber, waited on the King, to know his pleaſure, when the Prince ſhould attend him. He was anſwered, immediately; and Mr. Secretary *Craggs* having accompanied the Lord *Lumley* to *Leiceſter-Fields*, to acquaint the Prince with it, he immediately went to *St. James's Houſe*, and was half an hour in private Conference with the King. Having made his ſubmiſſion in the manner agreed on, he went to ſee his eldeſt Daughter, the Princeſs *Anne*, who, five days before, was taken ill of the ſmall-pox. The Prince, at his return to *Leiceſter-Houſe*, was, by the King's command, attended by a party of the Yeomen of the Guard, and of the Horſe-guards, and the Foot-guards began alſo to mount the guard at his houſe. In the evening, the Princeſs of *Wales* had an interview with the King; and, the next morning, the Duke of *Devonſhire*, Earl *Cowper*, the Lord *Townſhend*, Mr. *Walpole*, Mr. *Methuen*, and Mr. *Pulteney* were admitted to kiſs the King's hand; and the Duke of *Devonſhire* carried the Sword of State before the King to the Royal Chapel, the Prince of *Wales* accompanying them thither; and, at their return, the Officers and Retainers to the two Courts congratulated each other upon this reconciliation. The next day, the Great Officers and Miniſters of State, and of the Houſehold, and other perſons of diſtinction, waited on the Prince of *Wales*, who, in the evening, went with his whole Court to the apartments at *St. James*'s, and had a long Conference with the King. Moſt of the foreign Miniſters had alſo, on this occaſion, a private audience of the Prince of *Wales*. 1720.

Upon the riſing of the Parliament, the King held a great Council, in which he declared his deſign of viſiting his Dominions in *Germany*, and named the Lords Juſtices during his abſence. They were the ſame with thoſe of the laſt year; to whom were added the Lord *Townſhend* (who was declared likewiſe Lord Preſident of the Council) and the Duke of *Devonſhire*. The King, in the ſame Council, conferred alſo ſeveral honours and preferments: The Earl of *Dorſet* was created Duke of *Dorſet*; the Earl of *Bridgewater*, Duke of *Bridgewater*; the Lord Viſcount *Caſtleton*, Earl *Caſtleton* in the County of *York*; *Hugh Boſcawen*, Baron *Boſcawen*, and Viſcount *Falmouth* in the County of *Cornwall*; *John Wallop*, Baron *Wallop* of *Wallop*, and Viſcount *Lymington* in the County of *Southampton* (1).

The King goes to Hanover.

On the 15th of *June*, the King imbarked at *Greenwich* on board the *Carolina* Yatcht, and landed, the next morning, at *Helvoet-Sluice*, from whence he proceeded to *Hanover*. At his arrival in *Germany*, he found the peace concluded between *Sweden* and *Denmark*. This peace was of great importance; for the Czar was left alone, and had reaſon to fear (as he had been threatened) that all his Allies, who had been drawn off from him one after another, would unite againſt him, to reduce him within his antient bounds.

Negotiations with Denmark.

The treaty was ſigned at *Frederickſtadt*, on the 22d of *June*. The Preamble did great honour to King *George*; ſetting forth, that it was reſolved to put an end to the cruel war, which had laſted ten years, by the preſſing inſtances of the King of *Great-Britain*, who has taken all imagi-

(1) The reſt of the honours and preferments were: *Matthew Ducie Morton*, Baron *Ducie de Morton*, in the County of *Stafford*; *John Barrington* of *Becket*, in the County of *Berks*, Baron *Barrington* of *Newcaſtle*, and Viſcount *Barrington* of *Ardglaſs*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*; *Thomas Gage*, Baron *Caſtelbarr*, and Viſcount *Gage* of *Caſtle-Iſland*, in the Kingdom of *Ireland*; *William Vane*, Baron *Vane* of *Dungannon* in the County of *Tyrone*, and Viſcount *Vane*; Sir *Marcus Beresford*, Baron *Beresford* of *Beresford* in the County of *Cavan*, and Viſcount *Tyrone* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*; *John Blunt* of the City of *London*, Sir *William Chapman*, and *Thomas Coleby* of *Kenſington* were created Baronets. The *Duke* of *Kingſton* was appointed Lord Privy-Seal; the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; Mr. *Robert Walpole*, Paymaſter General of the King's forces; Mr. *Methuen*, Comptroller of the Houſhold; the Duke of *Queensberry* and the Earl of *Harold*, Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber; the Earl of *Sunderland*, *John Aiſlabie*, *George Baillie*, Sir *Charles Turner*, and *Richard Edgecombe*, Commiſſioners of the Treaſury; the Earl of *Weſtmorland*, *John Chetwynd*, Sir *Charles Cook*, *Paul Docminique*, *Martin Bladen*, and *John Aſhe*, Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantations; Sir *Wilfred Lawſon*, Groom of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber; Sir *David Dalrymple*, Auditor of the *Exchequer* in *Scotland*; *Edward Elliot*, Commiſſioner of the Exciſe; *Henry Cartwright*, Commiſſioner of the Victualling-Office; *Charles Withers*, Surveyor General of his Majeſty's Woods; Colonel *Charles Churchill*, Governor of *Chelſea-Hoſpital*; the Lord *Glenorchy*, Ambaſſador to the King of *Denmark*; and Mr. *Moleſworth*, Envoy to the Court of *Turin*.

1720. imaginable pains to reconcile the parties, and has engaged them to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, the more eaſily to come at a peace, for which his Majeſty has offered them his mediation, which they have accepted. By this treaty, every thing, that had paſſed during the war, was to be buried in eternal oblivion; liberty of commerce was intirely reſtored; both ſides renounced, in the ſtrongeſt manner, all Treaties, Agreements, and Alliances made with other powers, as far as they ſhould be contrary to the preſent treaty of peace, and, for the future, neither party ſhould enter into any Treaty or Alliance, which might be prejudicial or inconvenient to the other.

As the Czar and his pretenſions were chiefly aimed at in theſe Negotiations, it was required of the King of *Denmark*, that he ſhould, in the moſt expreſs terms, oblige himſelf not to aſſiſt the Czar, during the war, under any pretence whatever, either with advice or forces: 'And becauſe (added the Treaty) it is the intereſt, not only of the King and Crown of *Denmark*, but alſo of other Nations, that this war ſhould end in ſuch a manner, that the liberty of commerce ſhould be reſtored in the *Baltic*, his *Daniſh* Majeſty promiſes not to ſuffer any *Muſcovite* ſhips in any of his ports in the ſea of *Denmark* or *Norway*; nor will permit them to bring in thither prizes of any Nation whatever; and if it ſhall happen, that theſe prizes ſhould enter into his ports, he will reſtore them to the Owners.'

The King of *Denmark* was put in poſſeſſion of *Sleſwick*, and reſolved to keep it. It was neceſſary likewiſe, in order to engage him to peace, that the King of *Great-Britain* ſhould guaranty to him the peaceable poſſeſſion of it, which had been done the 30th of *October* the laſt year. On the other hand, *Sweden*, indiſpenſably engaged as ſhe was with the Duke of *Holſtein*, could not, with any decency, give up that Duchy to the King of *Denmark*. But the following expedient was made uſe of to ſurmount theſe difficulties: 'Foraſmuch (ſays the Treaty) as the Duke of *Sleſwick-Holſtein* has been concerned in the war of the *North*; and as the ſtrict Alliance, between that Prince and the Crown of *Sweden*, might be an obſtacle to peace with regard to the Duchy of *Sleſwick*; his *Swediſh* Majeſty declares for Himſelf and the Crown of *Sweden*, and promiſes not to oppoſe, either directly or indirectly, what may have been ſtipulated concerning that Duchy, in favour of the King of *Denmark*, by the mediating powers, which have co-operated in the preſent treaty; and *Sweden* will not give any aſſiſtance to the Duke of *Holſtein* againſt *Denmark*, which may be prejudicial to this ſtipulation.'

The King of *Pruſſia*, in making peace with *Sweden*, had been enjoined by the Mediators to purchaſe the Countries, he had taken from that Crown. The King of *Denmark*, on the contrary, was obliged to ſell his conqueſts to *Sweden*, or, what amounted to the ſame, to give them up for an equivalent.

Thus the King of *Denmark* conſented to reſtore Upper *Pomerania*, the Iſle of *Rugen*, the towns and fortreſſes of *Marſtrand* and *Stralſundt*, and all the other Iſlands and Dependences without any exception, which had been taken from *Sweden*, in the ſtate they were in at the publication of the ſuſpenſion of arms, with the artillery and magazines, which were there, when *Denmark* ſeized them. He likewiſe gave 172
up the City of *Wiſmar*, with its territory and dependences.

In return for theſe reſtitutions, *Sweden* conſented, that, for the future, and from the day of the ratification of the treaty, there ſhould be no longer any difference of Nation in the *Sound* and the two *Belts*; ſo that the Kingdom of *Sweden* renounced the exemption from toll in thoſe parts, and conſented, that her ſubjects ſhould pay them to *Denmark* for their ſhips and cargoes, upon the ſame foot, as the ſubjects of *Great-Britain* and the *United-Provinces* paid them.

Moreover, *Sweden*, to give a ſtill more ſenſible proof of her deſire for peace, bound herſelf to pay to the King of *Denmark* ſix hundred thouſand Rix-dollars at one payment. This ſum was to be put into the hands of the Mediators, not to be delivered till after the ſtipulated ceſſions were executed by the Court of *Denmark*. It was added, in expreſs terms, that all the pretenſions of *Denmark* upon *Sweden* ſhould be extinct, by the obligation to the payment of toll in the *Sound* and *Belts*, and by the payment of the ſix hundred thouſand Rix-dollars. The other articles contained various regulations, all proper to ſtrengthen the peace, and prevent, as far as poſſible, all occaſions of complaint.

The Mediators took great pains to prevail with the King of *Denmark* to grant *Sweden* ſuch moderate terms. Beſides the antient and natural antipathy between the two Nations, which was to be ſurmounted, the conqueſts, which had coſt him ſo much, and were ſo very convenient for him, were to be renounced. Undoubtedly, the apprehenſion of ſeeing the forces of all the Allies of King *George* united againſt him made a greater impreſſion upon him, than the hopes of aſſiſtance from the Czar, who would not hear either of peace or any mediation from the King of *Great-Britain*.

Admiral *Norris* had ſailed in *April* with a ſquadron ſtrong enough to give weight to the King's mediation. When he arrived at *Copenhagen*, he wrote to Prince *Dolgorouki*, the Czar's Ambaſſador at the Court of *Denmark*, to notify to him, 'That the King, his Maſter, had ordered him to come into thoſe ſeas with a ſquadron of his ſhips, to procure a juſt and reaſonable peace between the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*; and that his Majeſty having at heart the welfare of his ſubjects, as alſo the concerns of ſuch Nations, as live in amity with him, ardently wiſhes, that this affair may be accompliſhed in a Chriſtian, effectual, and ſpeedy manner: That, for this end, he was commanded to notify to the Miniſters, Generals, and Admirals of the Czar, the repeated offers of his *Britannic* Majeſty's mediation of peace between the two Crowns; and that his Czarian Majeſty, duly conſidering the preſent ſtate of affairs, would liſten to reaſonable conditions for an accommodation; and leſt, for want of full powers, this affair ſhould be obſtructed, the ſame were ſent to his Envoy at *Stockholm*, and likewiſe to himſelf as his Admiral, to the end, jointly or ſeparately, they may act in the quality of his Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between the two Crowns, by way of mediation.' Prince *Dolgorouki* returned for anſwer, 'That the Czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity, of which he had given clear proofs during

20. during the war; but, becauſe *Sweden* had never expreſſed the like ſentiments, the continuation of the war could be imputed only to that Crown. That, as for the expreſſions in the Admiral's letter about the means of a peace, he could return no anſwer to that; and, in caſe his *Britannic* Majeſty had any propoſals to make to the Czar, he hoped the Admiral would excuſe him from doing it, ſince it could be done a more compendious way.'

Upon this anſwer the *Engliſh* fleet joined that of *Sweden*, but however as auxiliaries only. The *Ruſſian* fleet had prevented them, and landed near *Uma* five thouſand men, who met with no reſiſtance; they ſet fire to that town, and to all the villages in the neighbourhood. As the inhabitants did not expect ſuch an attack, all their effects were ſeized by the *Muſcovites*, who without any loſs returned to their ſhips. The combined fleets did not arrive till the enemy had reached the port of *Revel*, where it was not judged proper to attack them, but rather to make a diverſion in *Finland*. Nothing material was done, and ſome *Swediſh* ſhips, having imprudently engaged a ſuperior force without being timely ſupported, were very near being deſtroyed.

The Czar was not ſo eaſy to be reduced as *Spain* had been. *Poland*, the only Country contiguous to his Dominions, did not think fit to attack him: And it was a great point gained, that King *Auguſtus*, notwithſtanding his obligations to the Czar, had conſented to a ſeparate peace with *Sweden*.

Though King *George* could not at this time ſucceed in making peace between *Ruſſia* and *Sweden*, he had however at the end of the campaign ſome hopes of it. *Ulrica*, who had been placed on the Throne of *Sweden* in the room of her brother *Charles* XII, and had married the head of the family of *Heſſe*, was extremely deſirous he ſhould be joined with her in the Adminiſtration of the regal power. To this end ſhe writ with her own hand a letter to each of the four orders of the *States*, repreſenting how neceſſary in the preſent difficult juncture, and how conducive to the public welfare, would be the aſſiſtance of his Royal Highneſs in the Adminiſtration of the Government, and therefore hoped the *States* would gratify her in conferring on him the regal dignity.

As the propoſal of placing the Prince of *Heſſe* on the Throne, jointly with the Queen, met with great oppoſition from the Nobles, ſhe writ a ſecond letter to the *States*, offering to reſign her ſhare of the regal power, and to be content that it ſhould be executed by her Royal conſort alone. Upon this the *States* unanimouſly elected him King (1).

The advancement of *Frederick* to the Throne of *Sweden* gave him occaſion to ſend one of his principal Officers to notify it to the Czar, who in return ſent one of his Generals to congratulate the new King. Upon this were grounded the hopes of a reconciliation. But the *Ruſſian* Envoy was commiſſioned only to demand ſome paſſports, and propoſe an exchange of priſoners, and a ſuſpenſion of arms during the winter. He added however, and doubtleſs with a view to King *George*, that the Czar was not ſo averſe to peace as might be thought, and only wanted reaſonable terms to be made him, for which there was no need of a Mediator. 1720.

Theſe things, relating to the affairs of *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*, had for the moſt part paſſed before the King's arrival in his *German* Dominions. All the foreign Miniſters followed him to *Hanover*, where he did not want buſineſs or matter to exerciſe his talents for Negotiation, which after all are the true talents of a Sovereign. Miniſters indeed generally ſupply what may be wanting in a Prince; but the caſe was otherwiſe with King *George*. He looked into every thing himſelf: His Miniſters did nothing without him, whilſt he did many things without them.

The treaties of peace to which ſeveral *States* had been led, and in ſome meaſure compelled, were for the moſt part tranſacted in haſte. It was impoſſible to ſettle the particular intereſts of the contracting Powers and their Allies. Theſe treaties, properly ſpeaking, were only a ceſſation from hoſtilities, and an ingagement to more exact and regular Negotiations. To fix and aſcertain ſo many complicated intereſts, and prevent the flames of war from kindling afreſh, King *George* and the Regent of *France* joined their endeavours to eſtabliſh two Congreſſes, one at *Brunſwick* for the affairs of the *North*, and the other at *Cambray* for the reſt of *Europe*.

Progreſs of the South-Sea affairs.

Whilſt the King was employed abroad in hearing and ſettling the grievances and intereſts of the Nations and their Sovereigns, particularly thoſe of the Proteſtants of *Germany*, the Regency were no leſs employed at home in curbing the exceſſive deſire of gain, which the progreſs of the *South-Sea* Company had raiſed, and in cureing the deſpair which attended its fall. As theſe are the moſt conſiderable events of this reign, and ſuch as will never be forgot by *Great-Britain*, they deſerve to be related at large.

Account of Mr. Law and the Miſſiſſippi Company.

The *South-Sea* ſcheme ſeems to be taken from that of the *Miſſiſſippi* Company in *France*, formed by Mr. *Law* the laſt year. Mr. *Law* was born at *Edinburgh*, and had propoſed to the Parliament of *Scotland*, in 1705, a ſcheme for ſupplying the Nation with money, which, though favoured by the Duke of *Argyle*, then High-Commiſſioner, and ſeveral Members of Parliament, was however rejected. Upon this he applied himſelf

(1) The act of election, which was read to the King, was to this effect: That the King is elected according to the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, not out of any duty, but by the free-will of all the Senators and the States, who do declare the Kingdom hereditary in the male-iſſue his Majeſty ſhall have by the Queen, and who, upon the deceaſe of their Father, ſhall take upon themſelves the Adminiſtration, without any farther election; but, in caſe both their Majeſties ſhall die without male-iſſue, that all the States ſhall proceed to a new election, without any previous ſummons, thirty days after the deceaſe of the Survivor. That they think themſelves well aſſured his Majeſty will never ſuffer the Sovereignty (or abſolute Power) which always proved ſo pernicious to the Kingdom, to be introduced again; but that he, as well as the heirs of his body, will govern the Kingdom according to the Laws and Conſtitutions, maintain it in the Chriſtian Evangelical Religion, and let the ſubjects have the unprejudiced enjoyment of all their privileges, according to the aſſurance given in writing by his Majeſty; in which caſe they will always behave themſelves as faithful and true liege ſubjects to his Majeſty. *Hiſt. Reg.*

(1) The

1720. himſelf to the Lord-Treaſurer *Harley*, and tranſmitted to him another propoſal for the increaſe of trade and credit, but meeting with no incouragement, and not being able to get his pardon, for having killed Beau *Wilſon* in a duel, he was compelled to live abroad, where, after undergoing great variety of perſecutions from his enemies, he ſettled in *France*. During his ſtay in *England*, he had informed himſelf fully of the management of the Bank and *Eaſt-India* Company, and, in order to ſettle the fluctuating manner of things in *France*, he propoſed to the Regent to lay the foundation of credit by erecting a Bank. The Regent approved of the ſcheme, the Bank was eſtabliſhed: The King began the ſubſcription, the Regent followed, with innumerable others. This project met with ſuch ſucceſs, that, in three ſubſcriptions, more than all the money in *France* was ſaid to be ſubſcribed to it: For, by the end of the year 1719, bills were given out for 640 millions of livres, which exceeds the value of the bills circulated by all the Banks in *Europe*. There was added a circulation of 360 millions, and the whole amounted to 1000 millions of livres, making above 38 millions of pounds ſterling at the *Exchange* then current (1).

Bank erected in France.

A Bank being thus erected, and credit eſtabliſhed, Mr. *Law* formed the project of the *Miſſiſſippi* or *India* Company, who were to have the ſole privilege of the trade to *Louiſiana*, or the Country of *Miſſiſſippi*, ſo called from a river of that name, which runs through it from North to South. Purſuant to this ſcheme, a ſubſcription of ſtock was opened, and all were admitted to ſubſcribe. The ſum firſt propoſed to be raiſed was only 60 millions of livres, to be ſubſcribed in State-bills. Theſe State-bills or public ſecurities were then very low, being from 57 to 63 *per cent.* diſcount; but, as they were received at *par* without any loſs in the Company's ſtock, the firſt ſubſcription of 60 millions was ſoon filled. The capital ſtock was then enlarged to 100 millions, and the *Actions* or *Shares* roſe to 120. After this, a new creation of *Actions* was made for 25 millions more, which were delivered out at 110, and ſoon roſe to 200. As people appeared very eager to lay out their money this way, an arret of the Council of State was publiſhed, for circulating Bank-bills to the value of 25 millions, in the *Miſſiſſippi* Company, upon which the *Actions*, about *Midſummer* 1719, run up 560. The Company, finding their credit ſo well eſtabliſhed, propoſed to lend the King 50 millions, for which there was a new creation of *Actions* for 25 millions, upon the foot of 200 *per Action*. About the end of *Auguſt*, the Company propoſed to the King another loan of 1200 millions, at three *per cent.* As the *Actions* were now advanced to 1200, the Company, in order to raiſe the loan, opened their books for 500 millions, by the ſale of 50 millions of *Actions*, at the rate of a 1000 *per Action*. The ſubſcriptions were filled in a few hours; and, in leſs than three weeks, two ſubſcriptions more, for the like ſum of 500 millions each, were opened with the ſame ſucceſs. The firſt payment of theſe three ſubſcriptions roſe ſo conſiderably, as to be ſold at 300 *per cent.* profit. From that time the *Actions* roſe to 2050 (2).

The *Miſſiſſippi* ſtock was in its greateſt proſperity during the months of *November* and *December* 1719; and, in the *January* following, Mr. *Law*, who was become the greateſt ſubject in *Europe*, was made Comptroller-General of the Finances of *France*. From that time the ſtock began to decline, and, by the end of *May*, all things fell into confuſion at *Paris*, occaſioned by an *arret* to reduce Bank notes and *Actions* of the Company. Mr. *Law* reſigned his place, and had two *Swiſs* Officers given him for his guard. By this project the State indeed gained immenſely, 1500 millions of the King's debts being tranſpoſed from him to the people, who were content to diſcharge the public, and owe the money to one another. Conſequently, when the fall came (except a few great fortunes that were made) there was almoſt a general ruin through all *France*.

This revolution of the *Miſſiſſippi* ſtock at *Paris* was not regarded in *England*, where the like infatuation univerſally prevailed, and was followed by the like conſequences.

When the bill paſſed in favour of the *South-Sea* Company, it was expected, the ſtock would have greatly advanced, but the contrary happened; for, the day after, it fell from 310 to 290. In order to raiſe it, a rumour was ſpread, that Earl *Stanhope* had received overtures in *France* to exchange *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* for ſome places in *Peru*, for the ſecurity and enlargement of the *Engliſh* trade in the *South-Sea*; which had its effect in *Exchange-Alley*. For, on the 12th of *April*, five days after the Royal aſſent was given to the bill, the Directors opened their books for a ſubſcription of a million, at the rate of 300 *l.* for every 100 *l.* capital. Such was the concourſe of perſons of all ranks, that this firſt ſubſcription was found to amount to above two millions of original ſtock. It was to be paid at five payments of 60 *l.* each, for one ſhare of 100 *l.* In a few days the ſtock advanced to 340, and the ſubſcriptions were ſold for double the price of the firſt payment. To raiſe the ſtock ſtill higher, on the 21ſt of *April* it was declared in a General Court, That the *Midſummer* dividend ſhould be ten *per cent.* and all ſubſcriptions ſhould be entitled to the ſame. Thoſe reſolutions anſwering the end deſigned, the Directors, to improve the infatuation of the monied men, opened their books for a ſecond ſubſcription of one million, at 400 *l. per cent.* In a few hours, no leſs than a million and half was ſubſcribed at that rate; and ſo great

Projects of the South-Sea Company.

was

(1) The *French* crown, of five livres and two fifths, was worth 4 *s.* and 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ *Engliſh* money.

(2) Thus the capital ſtock conſiſted of theſe ſeven ſubſcriptions:

60 millions of the firſt ſubſcription.
40 of the ſecond.
25 of the third.
25 of the fourth.
50 of the fifth.
50 of the ſixth.
50 of the ſeventh.

300 millions.

The total of the *Actions*, which, when they ſold at 2050, the total amounted to above 6000 millions of livres, or 228 millions ſterling.

(1) How

20. was the confidence which was placed in the Directors, that many depoſited in their hands their annuities, without knowing what price the Company would allow for them.

On the 19th of *May*, the Directors thought fit to ſettle the terms and prices for the long and ſhort annuities, which had been ſubſcribed; and, the ſtock being that day 375 *l. per cent*, it was reſolved to allow, for every 100 *l. per annum* of the long annuities, 700 *l.* in the capital ſtock (which at 375 *l. per cent.* amounted to 2625 *l.*) and 575 *l.* in bonds and money: So the total for each 100 *l. per annum* amounted to 3200 *l.* or thirty-two years purchaſe. For every 90 *l. per annum* of the ſhort annuities, they agreed to allow 350 *l.* in the capital ſtock, which, at 375 *l. per cent*, amounted to 1312 *l.* 10 *s.* and in bonds and money 217 *l.* 10 *s* which together made 1530 *l.* or ſeventeen years purchaſe.

Theſe offers occaſioned at firſt great murmurings among the Annuitants, who, having expected ten years, found they were to have but eight years and a quarter's purchaſe. Upon which ſome withdrew their orders, and others reſolved not to ſubſcribe. But, the *South-Sea* Managers having found means to raiſe their ſtock to 500 *l. per cent*, moſt of the Annuitants appeared eaſy; ſo that it was computed, that, by the 29th of *May*, almoſt two thirds of the annuities were ſubſcribed.

The arts of the Stock-Jobbers drew a great concourſe of perſons of all ranks into *Exchange-Alley*, by whoſe unexampled eagerneſs of laying out their money in a fund, that promiſed ſo plentiful a return of gain, that ſtock, which about the latter end of *May*, was at about 550, roſe on a ſudden ſo prodigiouſly, that on *Thurſday*, the 2d of *June*, it came up to 890. Many cautious perſons being willing to take this opportunity to ſecure their great profits, there appeared the next day ſo many Sellers in the Alley, that, by two or three o'clock in the afternoon, the ſtock fell to 640; at which the chief Directors of the *South-Sea* Company being alarmed, ſet their agents to work, by whoſe artful management the ſtock was the ſame evening advanced to 750; about which price, with ſome ſmall fluctuation, it continued till the cloſing of the Company's books on the 22d of *June*. In the mean time, the *South-Sea* ſtock ſuffered a conſiderable ſhock. For many perſons, who were to follow the King to *Hanover*, and others, who found a difficulty of making their ſecond payment to the firſt ſubſcription, were both equally deſirous to turn their ſtock into money; ſo that, for ſome days, the number of Sellers exceeded that of Buyers. Wherefore the Managers of the Company formed two expedients: The firſt was their lending out money, or notes, to the Proprietors of their capital ſtock, to the ſum of 400 *l.* upon 100 *l.* original ſtock (which ſhewed it to be worth above that ſum) at the rate of 4 *l. per cent. per ann.* The ſecond was their giving public notice, 'That all perſons poſſeſſed of any of the Company's bonds, which fell due on the 25th of *June*, might then have their money for the ſame of the Company's Caſhier: And that the Bonds would be taken in on the ſecond payment for the 2,250,000 *l. South-Sea* ſtock, ſold by ſubſcription after the rate of 300 *l.* for each 100 *l.* original ſtock.' By theſe means money being plenty, and the Stock-Jobbers in good humour, the *South-Sea* Company opened their books for a third ſubſcription, at the rate of 1000 *l.* for each 100 *l.* capital ſtock, to be paid in ten equal payments, one in hand, and the other nine half-yearly. But, ſome men in power having taken this opportunity to oblige their friends, their liſts were ſo full, that the Directors inlarged it to four millions capital ſtock, which at that price amounted to forty millions ſterling. And, what is more ſtrange, theſe laſt ſubſcriptions were, before the end of *June*, ſold at above 200 *l. per cent.* advance, and, after the cloſing of the transfer-books, the original ſtock roſe to above 1000 *l. per cent.* At the ſame time the firſt ſubſcriptions were at 560, and the ſecond at 610 *per cent.* advance, the Bank at 260, and *Eaſt-India* at 440. 1720.

The Bubbles.

The whole Nation was become Stock-Jobbers. The *South-Sea* was like an infectious diſtemper, which ſpread itſelf in an aſtoniſhing manner. Every evening produced new projects, which were juſtly called *Bubbles*, and new Companies appeared every day. Theſe were countenanced by the greateſt of the Nobility. The Prince of *Wales* was Governor of the *Welſh Copper*; the Duke of *Chandois*, of *York-Buildings*; the Duke of *Bridgewater* formed a Company for building houſes in *London* and *Weſtminſter*. There were near a hundred different kinds of projects or *bubbles*; and it was computed, that above a million and a half was won and loſt by theſe unwarrantable practices, by which many unwary perſons were defrauded and impoveriſhed, and a few crafty men enriched, to the great detriment of domeſtic trade. The King had, the ſame day the Parliament roſe, publiſhed a proclamation, declaring all theſe unlawful projects ſhould be deemed as common nuſances, and proſecuted as ſuch; with the penalty of 500 *l.* for any Broker to buy or ſell any ſhares in them. Notwithſtanding this proclamation, ſeveral of the illegal projects were ſtill carried on; upon which the Lords Juſtices, on the 12th of *July*, to put a ſtop to all farther proceedings, ordered all the petitions, that had been preſented for patents and charters, to be diſmiſſed.

Proclamation againſt them, June 11.

The ſeveral ſums, intended to be raiſed by theſe projects, amounted to no leſs than three hundred millions ſterling, a ſum ſo immenſe, that it exceeds the value of all the lands in *England*, at the rate of twenty years purchaſe. However, the eagerneſs of getting riches, by quick and eaſy methods, had, at that time, ſo intoxicated the minds of moſt people of all degrees, that the moſt extravagant bubbles found many Subſcribers: Some of whom ſold their firſt ſubſcriptions at a great profit, whereby the laſt Buyers were conſiderable loſers (1).

The transfer-books of the *South-Sea* Company were ſhut up the whole month of *July*. During that time, there was no great variation, except only that the price of the capital ſtock decreaſed gradually,

(1) How great the general infatuation or thirſt of gain was, appears from the following inſtance: A propoſal was offered, 'For carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is.' The Projector formed a ſcheme for half a million, by which every Subſcriber, paying down two guineas for ſubſcribing,

1720. gradually, from above 1000 to 930, in proportion as the third ſubſcription at a 1000 roſe to 330 advance or clear profit. In the mean time, the Directors, at a meeting on the 8th of *July*, reſolved to open their books for taking in ſubſcriptions of the lottery tickets, and other ſhort annuities, to the amount of ſix millions ſterling: But, though they did not then think fit to declare at what rate they deſigned to take thoſe effects, yet the Proprietors entirely truſted to their integrity, and readily ſubſcribed the ſame on the 14th and 15th of that month. After which the books were ſhut up. From that time to the end of *July*, the ſtock fell gradually from about 1000 to 900, including the *Midſummer* dividend. In the mean time, it being confidently reported, that the capital ſtock was to be inlarged by a fourth ſubſcription in money, ſome perſons in eminent ſtations deſired the principal Managers to put off the ſubſcription, till the Proprietors of the remaining part of the long annuities had ſubſcribed, ſince the taking in of thoſe public debts, in order to make them redeemable, was the main view, upon which the Miniſtry and the Parliament thought fit to encourage the *South Sea* project. Some pretend, that the men in power made this ſtep, not only to free themſelves from the importunity of many, who ſued to be ſet down in their liſts, for a ſhare in the next ſubſcription; but alſo, in order to reſerve part of the to be increaſed capital ſtock, till a new ſet of Directors were choſen, who ſhould have a ſhare in the profits of future ſubſcriptions, in caſe the humour of buying up the ſame at an advanced price ſhould laſt ſo long. However that be, in a Committee of the Directors the 27th of *July*, it being conſidered, that ſeveral perſons, admitted as Subſcribers to the third ſubſcription in money, had not yet made their firſt payment, it was reſolved, that none but the Proprietors of their capital and increaſed ſtock ſhould be admitted into the next ſubſcription in money, at the rate of 20 *per cent*; ſo that a Proprietor of 1000 *l.* capital ſtock ſhould be intitled to ſubſcribe 200 *l.* In this reſolution, they, who hitherto had carried on this great project with equal ſkill and ſucceſs, had undoubtedly two things in view; firſt, to allay the murmurings of many of the old Proprietors, who complained, that the Directors and Great Men at Court had ingroſſed for themſelves and their dependants moſt of the profits of the three firſt ſubſcriptions. And, ſecondly, That, in caſe the eagerneſs of Buyers ſhould abate, which was to be apprehended from the daily ſinking of the price of *South-Sea* ſtock, the Company might be aſſured, that the new Subſcribers would make the ſeveral payments, to which they ſhould ſubmit themſelves, and for which their capital ſtock would be a ſufficient ſecurity. On the other hand, many of the old Proprietors were ſo far from looking upon this reſolution as a favour, that, on the contrary, they did not ſtick to ſay, 'That the Directors, having had the cream for themſelves, would now give the Proprietors the ſowre milk.' This complaint ſeemed to be the better grounded, becauſe it was well known, that thoſe, who had got moſt by the *South Sea*, daily endeavoured to ſell out, and ſecure their vaſt profits; and, in particular, that the principal Projector of this ſcheme had bought conſiderable eſtates in *Norfolk* and other Counties.

Purſuant to what had been deſired, it was reſolved on the 3d of *Auguſt*, at a Court of Directors, to receive ſubſcriptions of all the remaining *long* and *ſhort* annuities, lottery tickets, and other public ſecurities, both redeemable and irredeemable. For which purpoſe the books were opened the next day at the *South-Sea* Houſe, and continued ſo till the 11th of *Auguſt*. The day after the Directors publiſhed the terms they intended to allow to the Proprietors. For every 100 *l.* a year of the long annuities, they offered 400 *l.* in the capital ſtock, which at 800 *l. per cent.* (the price then of ſtock, excluſive of the *Midſummer* dividend) amounted to 3200, and in bonds or money 400 *l.* making in all 3600 *l.* or 36 years purchaſe. For every 90 *l.* a year of the ſhort annuities they allowed 200 *l.* ſtock, which at 800 *l. per cent.* amounted to 1600 *l.* or 17 years purchaſe, and 7 ninths. The redeemable annuities and debts (as well thoſe at 4 *per cent.* as thoſe at 5 *per cent.*) were to be taken in at 105 *per cent.* and allowed for the ſame in capital ſtock at the rate of 800 *l. per cent.* excluſive of the *Midſummer* dividend.

Many of the Annuitants were not ſatisfied with theſe offers, which, they ſaid, put ſo great a diſparity (no leſs than near half by half) between them and the former Subſcribers; for, by the reſolution of the Directors of the 19th of *May*, there was allowed, for every 100 *l.* a year of the long annuities, 700 *l.* in the capital ſtock, beſides 10 *l. per cent.* for the *Midſummer* dividend, and, in bonds or money, 575 *l.* all which (computing the ſtock at 800 *l. per cent.* as it was given to the preſent Subſcribers of the like annuities) amounted to 6735 *l.* whereas, by theſe laſt reſolutions, there was allowed, for the ſame annuity, only 3600 *l.* For this reaſon ſome of the laſt Subſcribers went to the *South-Sea* Houſe, in order to withdraw their effects; but they were told by the Clerks, that there was no order from the Directors for delivering them back; ſo the affair reſted, for ſome time, undetermined.

The uneaſineſs of the Annuitants put a freſh damp upon the *South-Sea* ſtock; but what affected it more was the boldneſs of many perſons concerned in the illegal projects, who, in open defiance to the late Acts of Parliament, to the King's Proclamation, and to the Orders and Prohibitions of the Lords Juſtices, carried them on. Some of theſe Companies, authoriſed either by Charters or Acts of Parliament, did conſiderable prejudice to the *South-Sea*, by endeavouring to procure ſubſcriptions. Upon this, the principal Directors of the *South-Sea* applied to thoſe at the Helm, and obtained an order againſt them from the Lords Juſtices, which was firſt publiſhed in the *London Gazette* of *Auguſt* the 20th, and which greatly affected the ſtocks of the *York-Buildings Company*, *the Luſtring Company*, *the Engliſh*

ſcribing, was to have 100 *l.* a year for every 100 *l.* ſo ſubſcribed. But how this was to be done did not appear in the propoſals, where it was alſo ſaid, that in a month the particulars of the project ſhould be laid open, and the money ſubſcribed was then to be paid in. As extravagant as this ſcheme was, the Projector in a forenoon received 1000 ſubſcriptions, with which, amounting to 2000 guineas, he went off in the afternoon.

Engliſh Copper, and the Welſh Copper and Lead, and of other illegal projects. This very much alarmed the perſons concerned in theſe Companies, ſome of whom ſuſtained conſiderable loſſes, and all of them ſaw their extravagant hopes and expectations entirely vaniſh. Upon the murmurings occaſioned by their diſappointment, the Lords Juſtices ordered the Directors of theſe Companies to attend them at a General Council, the 23d of *Auguſt*, where they condeſcended to tell them the reaſons, that had obliged them to order a proſecution againſt them. The Directors, both of the *Royal Exchange*, and of the *London Aſſurance*, attended likewiſe, and were cautioned to keep ſtrictly to the limitation of their Charters, that no complaint might lie againſt them.

The Companies ordered to be proſecuted having recovered their fright, and conſulted able Lawyers, ſeemed reſolved to ſtand trial, and aſſert their rights of managing their own affairs as they pleaſed. The *Welſh Copper Miners* were yet more bold and refractory, for that very day (*Auguſt* 23.) they opened their books, and made transfers of their ſtock.

Before the Lords Juſtices had cauſed their order to be publiſhed, they ſent a compliment to the Prince of *Wales*, to acquaint him, that, the Company of *Engliſh Copper*, of which he had been pleaſed to be choſen Governor, being illegal, they were obliged to involve it in the order; upon which the Prince ſent a meſſage to the Company, deſiring them to chooſe another Governor.

All this while the *South-Sea* ſtock continued ſinking; ſo that on the 17th of *Auguſt*, it fell to 830, including the *Midſummer* dividend; which having given the Directors no ſmall uneaſineſs, ſome of their agents were immediately detached into *Exchange-Alley*, to buy a conſiderable quantity of ſtock, which thereupon roſe to 880. But, the humour of ſelling out continuing the two following days, the ſtocks fell again to about 820, at which price the tranſfer-books were opened on the 22d of *Auguſt*. That day, and the next morning, there was a great croud at the *South-Sea* Houſe; and the Directors obſerving, that great quantities of ſtock had been bought at a thouſand, and even at higher rates, for the opening of the books, and that many perſons would be obliged to ſell out, in order to pay the difference, which could not fail ſinking the ſtock yet lower; they came to a ſudden and unexpected reſolution to ſhut the tranſfer-books; and the next day to open other books, for taking in a money ſubſcription of one million, to the capital ſtock, at the rate of 1000 *l.* for every 100 *l.* capital ſtock, to be paid in five payments, 20 *l. per cent.* in hand, and the reſt in four equal payments. Accordingly the ſubſcription books were opened the 24th of *Auguſt*; and there was ſuch a croud of Subſcribers, and amongſt them not a few of the prime Nobility, that, in leſs than three hours, more than the intended ſum was ſubſcribed; and that very afternoon this fourth ſubſcription was ſold in *Exchange-Alley* at 30 or 40 *per cent.* advance. The next day the principal Directors, having conſulted together about their future management, came to ſeveral reſolutions, of which, that very evening, they informed the Public by the following advertiſement:

1720.

South-Sea Houſe, Auguſt the 25th, 1720.

'The Court of Directors of the *South-Sea* Company give notice, that the tranſfer-books of the Company will be ſhut from the 31ſt day of *Auguſt* to the 21ſt of *September*, in order to the admitting as well the Proprietors of the original capital ſtock, and of the ſtock for the laſt *Midſummer* dividend, as the Proprietors of the ſtock for all the long annuities, 9 *per cents*, and tickets of lottery 1710, and of the ſeveral redeemable debts, which have been ſubſcribed or depoſited, or authorized to be ſubſcribed into the capital ſtock, and alſo the Proprietors of the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth money ſubſcriptions of the Company into a ſubſcription of 20 *per cent.* of the capital ſtock, upon the terms agreed upon by the Court of Directors. The Company will lend the firſt payment for the intended ſubſcription to all the Proprietors of the original and dividend ſtock, and of the ſubſcription in the long annuities, 9 *per cents*, and tickets of lottery 1710, and in the redeemable debts; and of the firſt and ſecond money ſubſcriptions, without transferring their ſtock, or depoſiting the ſubſcription receipts; which ſubſcription books will be opened on the 12th of *September*; and ſuch of the Proprietors, as do not ſubſcribe within that time, will be excluded the benefit of the ſubſcription.'

The next day (*Auguſt* the 26th) the tranſfer-books were opened again; but, the *South-Sea* ſtock, inſtead of advancing, being by this time fallen under 800, the Directors, who had now large ſums of money in their hands, thought fit to lend to their Proprietors 4000 *l.* upon every 1000 *l.* ſtock for ſix months, at the rate of 4 *per cent.* which enabled ſome of thoſe, who had bought ſtock at a higher price than the preſent, to ſatisfy their creditors. What ſtill embarraſſed the Directors was the caſe of the *Annuitants*, and others, who had lately ſubſcribed their public ſecurities, and who thought it a great hardſhip to have the ſtock given them at 800 *l. per cent.* when it was now little above 700, excluſive of the *Midſummer* dividend. In order to ſilence theſe and the like murmurings, after a long conſultation, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, the Directors came to a reſolution, 'That 30 *per cent.* in money ſhould be the half-year's dividend due at *Chriſtmas* next; and from thence for twelve years, not leſs than 50 *per cent.* in money ſhould be the yearly dividend on their ſtock.' What effect this reſolution had, was ſoon after manifeſt; for, though it raiſed the ſtock to about 800 for the opening of the books, yet it ſoon ſunk again, and in about three weeks fell gradually below 400.

The Directors, having reſolved the future dividends, thought it time to procure the ſanction of the whole Corporation; for which purpoſe they appointed (*Sept.* 8.) a General Court to be held at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, declaring, That this Aſſembly would be one of the half-yearly General Courts appointed by the Charter; and to chuſe a Committee of ſeven, to inſpect the by-laws.

On the appointed day, the friends of the Directors took care to repair betimes to *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, which, by nine o'clock in the morning, was filled; and many Proprietors and Annuitants, who endeavoured to get in, could not

1720. not gain admittance. The Directors having taken their ſeats between eleven and twelve of the Clock, Sir *John Fellows*, Sub-Governor, acquainted the Aſſembly with the occaſion of their meeting; read to them the ſeveral reſolutions of the Court of Directors; and gave them an account of their proceedings; of the taking in both the redeemable and unredeemable funds, and of the ſubſcriptions in money. This done, Mr. *Craggs* ſenior made a ſhort ſpeech, wherein he commended the conduct of the Directors; and urged, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the bringing this ſcheme to perfection than union among themſelves; and concluded with a motion, for thanking the Court of Directors for their prudent and ſkilful management, and for deſiring them to proceed in ſuch methods, as they ſhould think moſt proper for the intereſt and advantage of the Corporation.

Mr. *Craggs* was ſeconded by Mr. *Hungerford*, who ſaid, 'That he had ſeen the riſe and fall, the decay and reſurrection of many Communities of this nature; but that, in his opinion, none ever performed ſuch wonderful things in ſo ſhort a time, as the *South-Sea* Managers had brought about: That they had done more than the Crown, the Pulpit, and the Magiſtrate could do: For they had reconciled all parties in one common intereſt, and thereby laid aſleep, if not wholly extinguiſhed, our domeſtic jars and animoſities: That by the riſe of their ſtocks the Monied-men had vaſtly increaſed their fortunes; the Country Gentlemen had ſeen the value of their lands doubled and trebled in their hands; and they had, at the ſame time, done good to the Church, not a few of the Reverend Clergy having got great ſums by this project: That, in ſhort, they had inriched the whole Nation; and he hoped they had not forgot themſelves.' One or two Members of the Aſſembly having offered to ſpeak in favour of the Annuitants, and to cenſure the conduct of the Directors, they were preſently hiſſed to ſilence; and Mr. *Hungerford*, reſuming his ſpeech, continued juſtifying and applauding the Directors, and concluded with ſupporting Mr. *Craggs*'s motion. The Duke of *Portland* ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and ſaid, 'That he did not know what reaſons any body had to be diſſatisfied;' and gave in a draught of the motion for returning thanks to the Directors; which being read by the Clerk, it was unanimouſly approved. It was likewiſe agreed, that, according to the reſolution of the Directors, 'the next *Chriſtmas* dividend on the ſtock and ſubſcriptions in money ſhould be 30 *per cent*; and that a dividend of not leſs than 50 *per cent. per annum* be made from *Chriſtmas* next, in half-yearly payments, for not leſs than twelve years, upon the whole ſtock and ſubſcriptions.' They likewiſe agreed with the Court of Directors to omit the 20 *per cent.* ſubſcription in money, which had been intended for the Proprietors of the original ſtock and former ſubſcriptions. After which a motion was made, 'That the laſt Subſcribers, both of the redeemable and unredeemable funds, ſhould have the alternative, either to withdraw their orders, or to accept the terms offered them by the Court of Directors.' But, the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative, three or four voices excepted. Then, upon the Earl of *Orkney*'s motion, the General Court was adjourned. 17

But, though the Directors carried their main point in the General Court, yet the negative put upon the motion, in the behalf of the laſt Subſcribers, highly increaſed the public diſcontent, and raiſed ſuch a diſtruſt of the honeſty of the Managers, that the ſame day (*Sept.* 8.) the ſtock fell to 640, and, on the morrow, to 550. Upon this, the Directors reſolved to open the transfer-books the *Monday* following, which having thrown ſome damp upon the ſtock-jobbing in the Alley, the *South-Sea* roſe that day (*Sept.* 9.) to 640. On the other hand, ſeveral of the laſt Subſcribers of annuities went with a public Notary to the *South-Sea-Houſe*, to demand their orders; and, upon the refuſal of the Officers to deliver them, the Proprietors made their proteſts in due form, and reſolved to ſeek their remedy at law. In the mean time, they loudly complained of the unfair manner, in which they were drawn in to ſubſcribe their annuities; for, it ſeems, at the top of every page of the ſubſcription-book, there was a ſhort letter of Attorney, whereby the Subſcribers impowered three perſons, therein named, to accept ſuch terms, as the Company ſhould think fit to give them for their effects; which they alledged to be a mere trick, not one in a hundred of the Subſcribers having read the inſnaring preamble.

On the 10th of *September*, the Directors cauſed the following advertiſement to be publiſhed, 'The Court of Directors give notice, that the dividends for *Chriſtmas* next, and afterwards, voted by the General Court on the 8th of *September*, which ſhall become due on the four money ſubſcriptions already taken for ſale of the ſtock of the Company, will be allowed in part of the payments, which ſhall become due on the ſubſcriptions; and that the 10 *per cent.* ſtock for the laſt *Midſummer* dividend, on the firſt, ſecond, and third of the money ſubſcriptions, will be intitled to the like dividends, and be allowed in further part of the payment on thoſe ſubſcriptions. And whereas the transfer-books of the Company were advertiſed to be ſhut from the 31ſt of *Auguſt* laſt to the 21ſt of *September*, in order to the making the ſubſcriptions of 20 *per cent.* intended for the Proprietors; and the General Court having ſince agreed, that this ſubſcription be omitted, the Court of Directors give notice, that the transfer-books will be opened on the 12th inſtant, and will continue open as uſual.'

Some of the Managers vainly expected, that this advertiſement would have contributed to the keeping up the ſtock; but, as it continued ſinking, they were obliged to have recourſe to more effectual methods. They made ſome ſecret advances towards an union with the *Eaſt-India* Company; but, a ſecret Committee of that Company, appointed to conſider of their offers, not having thought proper to accept them, they were forced to court the aſſiſtance of their rival, the Bank of *England*. At the earneſt deſire, and by the zealous interpoſition of Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, ſeveral Conferences were held between a ſelect number of the Directors of thoſe two Corporations; which raiſed ſo great an expectation, that on the 12th of *September*, in the morning, upon a report, that they had come to an agreement for circulating ſix millions of the *South-*

South-Sea Company's bonds, the ſtock roſe immediately to 670; but in the afternoon, as ſoon as that report was known to be groundleſs, the ſtock fell again to 580; the next day to 570, and ſo gradually to 400; which increaſed the murmurings and complaints of the laſt Subſcribers, and expoſed ſeveral of the Directors to public inſults. 1720.

Mr. *Walpole* (who was Paymaſter of the Army, and lived the greateſt part of that ſummer in the Country, to avoid giving offence to thoſe that had, with the Directors, the management of the *South-Sea* affairs) being then thought to have great credit and influence with the Bank, was ſent for out of the Country, and importuned to uſe his intereſt to induce the Bank to agree to a propoſal made by the *South-Sea* Company, for circulating a number of their bonds.

It is to be obſerved that nothing of this kind aroſe from the Bank, or was at their motion: And, as far as it appears, nothing but an apprehenſion of the people's reſentment, with which they were loudly threatened, could have prevailed with the Bank to have treated at all with the *South-Sea* Company, and involve themſelves in their calamities. But the clamour was irreſiſtible, and the Bank, out of neceſſity, hearkened to the propoſals of the *South-Sea* Company; for from them every ſtep and motion proceeded.

The firſt expedient was for the Bank to circulate bonds of the *South-Sea* Company to a certain value for a time to be agreed upon, and a propoſal to that effect was, on the 16th of *September*, ſent to the Bank by the Sub and Deputy Governors of the *South-Sea* Company.

This not being reliſhed immediately, it was propoſed, that there ſhould be a meeting of a Committee conſiſting of five of each Company at the Poſt-Maſter's houſe, where were likewiſe preſent, Lord Preſident, Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, the Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and Mr. *Craggs*, Poſt-Maſter-General (1). The meeting was on the 19th of *September*, three days after the propoſal.

This Conference laſted many hours with great reluctance on the part of the Bank, but was preſſed with ſo much eagerneſs and authority on the other ſide, that the Bank was prevailed upon to yield.

It was thought proper before they parted, that ſomething ſhould be reduced into writing, as a minute of the ſubſtance of what had been under conſideration, and to ſerve as a foundation of a future agreement or contract between the two Companies.

There was ſome little diſpute who ſhould draw the minute, but it being the general deſire of the Company, that Mr. *Walpole* ſhould do it, in the preſence of the whole meeting, he put down in writing what has ever ſince been called, *The Bank Contract*, and which was in the following words: 'That the Bank of *England* ſhall undertake to circulate three millions of *South-Sea* bonds for one year, at a premium to be agreed upon by the two Companies; a ſubſcription to be taken, for enabling the Bank to carry on the circulation, —— *per cent.* to be paid down by every Subſcriber, and —— *per cent.* upon every call at a fortnight's notice; the contract with the Subſcribers to be made in the nature and form with former Contracts for circulating *Exchequer* bills, and the charges of circulation to be borne by the *South-Sea* Company. That, in conſideration of this undertaking, the *South-Sea* Company ſhall pay the 3,700,000 *l.* to be paid to the Bank by notice of Parliament, in *South-Sea* ſtock, at a price to be agreed on between the two Companies.

This paper (which was all that Mr. *Walpole* ever wrote relating to the affair; for at the other meetings he was never once preſent) had no title or preamble, ſignifying what it imported: The premium for circulating, and what was to be paid down for the circulation, was left *blank*, and the moſt material part of the whole, at what price the Bank was to take the *South-Sea* ſtock for 3,700,000 *l.* was referred to a ſubſequent agreement. So it could not with any propriety be called a *contract*, but rather a rough draught of an agreement void of all form or any manner of obligation.

The next day after this meeting (*Sept.* 20.) there was a General Court of the *South-Sea* Company at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*, where Sir *John Fellows*, the Sub-Governor, acquainted them, 'That, ſince their laſt meeting, their ſtock having taken an unexpected turn to the diſadvantage of the Company, the Directors had been conſulting what might be moſt for the benefit of the Corporation; and conſidering the great credit the Bank of *England* had juſtly gained, both at home and abroad, they had thought it for their intereſt to treat with that Company, for the circulating their bonds, and to grant them ſtock at a moderate price, in lieu of the 3,700,000 *l.* which the *South-Sea* Company was to pay them at *Lady-Day*, and *Michaelmas*, 1721. And that from the reſult of the meeting they had the night before with ſome Gentlemen of the Bank, and ſome perſons of the firſt rank, they doubted not but ſuch an agreement might ſoon be perfected.' Hereupon Mr. *Dawſon* moved, 'That the Directors be impowered to agree with the Bank of *England*, or any other perſons, to circulate the Company's bonds, or make any other agreement with the Bank, which they ſhould judge proper:' And he was ſeconded by Sir *John Eyles*. Hereupon Mr. *Hungerford* moved for amending the latter part of the queſtion, by making expreſs mention of that other agreement. But Mr. *Pulteney* ſpoke for the queſtion, and thought it beſt to uſe a latitude of expreſſion, and ſo leave the Directors at liberty to act as they ſhould think proper for the intereſt of the Company. He added, 'That it was a matter of ſurprize to ſee what a panic had ſeized upon the minds of the people, at a time when the Nation was in profound peace, and had

(1) The five Directors of the *South-Sea* were:

Sir *John Fellows*, Sub-Governor,
Charles Joye, Deputy-Governor,
Sir *Theodore Janſen*,
Mr. *Gore*,
Mr. *Cheſter*.

The five Bank Directors were:

Mr. *Hanger*, Governor,
Sir *John Ward*,
Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*,
Sir *Peter Delmé*,
Sir *Nathaniel Gould*.

1720. had nothing to fear, either at home or from abroad. That, indeed, a rumour had been univerſally ſpread, as if the armament of the *Spaniards* was deſigned either againſt *Port-Mahon* or *Gibraltar*; but that he took that report to be altogether falſe and groundleſs, and only intended to ſcandalize that Potentate, and to terrify the people here; for he himſelf had ſeen and peruſed a copy of a letter, written by the expreſs command of the King of *Spain* by his Secretary of State, to the *Britiſh* Miniſter at *Madrid*, abſolutely denying, in the ſtrongeſt terms, any deſigns of the *Spaniſh* forces againſt any of his *Britannic* Majeſty's Dominions. That he was as much concerned in the Company as moſt people; but that, notwithſtanding this general and terrible alarm, he had not diſpoſed of any part of his ſtock; for he would think it a ſcandal to be rich, if the Nation were ruined. That, however, he hoped the caſe would be quite otherwiſe; and he doubted not but the Company would ſoon be reſtored to its former flouriſhing condition, ſince it was like to be ſupported by the Bank of *England*, a Corporation, who by wiſe, though ſlow and cautious meaſures, had eſtabliſhed its credit, not only at home, but even among foreigners.' Upon this the queſtion was unanimouſly agreed to. Sir *John Fellows* then farther acquainted the Aſſembly, 'That, the Proprietors of the ſeveral annuities lately ſubſcribed, as well as thoſe intereſted in the two laſt money-ſubſcriptions, being very much diſſatisfied, fearing thereby to be great loſers, the Directors had thought it proper, that the terms ſhould be lowered to make them eaſy.' Whereupon Sir *Matthew Decker* moved, 'That power be given to the Directors, to relieve the Annuitants, who came in upon the laſt ſubſcription; as likewiſe the Proprietors of the third and fourth money-ſubſcriptions.' He was ſeconded by Mr. *Craggs* ſenior, who, among other things, ſaid, 'That nothing could be more reaſonable and juſt, than to give ſatisfaction to people, who had truſted their fortunes and eſtates with the Company, and that it would be a notorious robbery to take any advantage of their confidence in the honour and integrity of the Directors.' This gave occaſion to Mr. *Budgel* to reflect, in a ſpeech, on the prodigious leap from a ſubſcription of 400 *l.* to one of a 1000 *l.* which left ſuch a gap in the building, as would at laſt bring it to the ground. He then obſerved, that the fall of the ſtock was owing to the malicious rumour, that two or three of the very Directors had baſely betrayed the truſt repoſed in them. When he had done ſpeaking, Mr. *Cheſter*, one of the Directors, ſpoke in vindication of his Brethren, and ſaid, 'That he knew of no proceedings among them, but what were intended for the good of the whole Company: That, for his own part, he had not ſold any of his ſtock, nor reſerved to himſelf any more of the ſubſcriptions, than what was allowed to each of the Directors; and that his fortune would have been as large, if he had not been a Director: That, as to the great gap between the ſecond and third ſubſcription in money, which was objected as a wrong ſtep in the management of the Company's affairs, he could aſſure them, that it was none of the Directors fault, ſince they deſigned to have made the third ſubſcription at five or ſix hundred; but, the humour and eagerneſs of the people having run up the *South-Sea* ſtock to ſeven or eight hundred, they could not in prudence open a ſubſcription at leſs than a thouſand.' The Aſſembly ſeemed to be very well pleaſed with Mr. *Cheſter*'s ſpeech; but many wondered, that none of his Brethren took that opportunity to clear themſelves, as he had done. Upon the whole matter, the Court unanimouſly agreed to the queſtion for relieving the laſt Subſcribers, and then adjourned. 1720.

Two days after, *Sept.* 22, there was a General Court of the Bank of *England*, when the Governor acquainted them, that this was one of their quarterly and half-yearly meetings, and that their Directors had come to a reſolution to declare the laſt half-yearly dividend at four *per cent*; to which the Court having unanimouſly agreed, the Governor proceeded, ſaying, 'He preſumed, none could be ignorant there had of late been divers Meetings and Conferences between the Directors of this Company and the Directors of the *South-Sea*, under the influence and interpoſition of ſome perſons of the higheſt figure and ſtation: That they had made no agreement yet with the *South-Sea*; but that the Directors had thought fit to come to a reſolution upon the matter. Then the reſolution was read; and, without any perſon's ſpeaking to it, was immediately formed into a queſtion to this effect: 'That, for the better ſupport of the public credit, the Directors of the Bank of *England* be impowered to agree with the Directors of the *South-Sea*, to circulate their bonds to what ſum, and upon what terms, and for what time, they ſhall think proper; and to make what other agreements with the *South-Sea*, they ſhall judge to be for the intereſt of this Corporation.' Which queſtion was inſtantly agreed to with great unanimity. Then the Governor acquainted them, that he believed books would be ready for a ſubſcription to be taken in the next day, for the purpoſe aforeſaid, and that it would be on the uſual terms, 15 *per cent.* depoſit, 3 *per cent.* premium, and 5 *per cent.* intereſt; and then the Court adjourned.

The Directors of the two Companies being thus empowered, a Committee of both met on the 23d of *September*, and a propoſal was made by one of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, 'That the 3,700,000 *l.* which the *South-Sea* Company was to repay to the Bank at *Lady-Day*, and *Michaelmas*, 1721) ſhould be ſubſcribed by the Bank into the ſtock of the *South-Sea* Company, for which the Bank was to have ſuch ſhares as the funds would produce, the ſtock being valued at 400 *l. per cent.*'

This propoſal was the next day reported at a Court of Directors of the Bank; and, being agreed to, was the ſame day communicated, by a Director of the Bank, to the Court of Directors of the *South-Sea* Company.

This, in ſhort, is the Hiſtory of the famous *Bank Contract* which has made ſo much noiſe. The ſubſtance of all which is, that, in the day of diſtreſs, the Bank was thought the only reſource to ſupport the ſinking ſtate of the *South-Sea* Company. Every one that was thought capable of giving any aſſiſtance was called in: At the firſt Conference Mr. *Walpole* aſſiſted, and, the Bank was perſuaded to undertake what was propoſed to them: The firſt part of the propoſition, and, indeed, the original propoſal for circulating the bonds upon which the firſt Conference was held, was dropped by the *South-Sea*

Company; and the laſt article of taking *South-Sea* ſtock at 400 *l. per cent.* was carried on, and accepted by a Committee of the Bank: And this example, it was hoped, by the Managers of the *South-Sea* affairs, would fix the price of *South-Sea* ſtock at that rate: But they were ſoon convinced, by the daily fall of the ſtock, that this expedient would not anſwer: And the Bank quickly found, they had been prevailed upon to conſent to what they were not able to perform, as will preſently be ſeen. 1720.

When the books were opened at the Bank for taking in a ſubſcription for the ſupport of public credit, the concourſe of people, who readily brought in their money, was at firſt ſo very great, that it was judged, the whole ſubſcription (which was intended for three millions) would have been filled that very day: But it happened, that the fall of the *South-Sea* ſtock, and the diſcredit of that Company's bonds, occaſioned a run upon the moſt eminent Goldſmiths and Bankers, ſome of whom having lent out great ſums upon *South-Sea* ſtock, and other public ſecurities, were obliged to ſhut up their ſhops, and abſcond. The Sword-Blade Company (who hitherto had been the chief Caſh-keepers of the *South-Sea* Company) being almoſt drained of their ready money, were forced to ſtop payment, and ſet up at their Office written bills, giving notice, 'That they would pay any of their notes in *South-Sea* ſtock at four hundred *per cent.* or pay part in caſh on the *Monday* following, and give five *per cent.* intereſt on the reſt till paid; and that they would take their own notes in payment for the monies they had lent.' This, being looked upon as a kind of Bankruptcy, increaſed the public calamity, and occaſioned a great run upon the Bank, who were obliged to pay out money faſter than they received it upon the ſubſcription. But the feſtival of *Michaelmas*, on which the Bank was ſhut of courſe, gave it ſome breathing-time.

In the mean time, *South-Sea* ſtock continued ſinking till *Michaelmas* day, when it was about 150, at which price it was on the 2d of *February*, the day after the Houſe of Commons accepted the propoſals of the *South-Sea* Company; whoſe low credit appeared yet more plainly in that their bonds, payable on *Michaelmas*, 1721, were now at above 25 *per cent.* diſcount.

Purſuant to a former reſolution for relieving the laſt Subſcribers, a General Court was held the 30th of *September*, wherein, after the agreement with the Bank was ratified, it was reſolved that the Proprietors of the redeemable debts taken in on the laſt ſubſcriptions ſhould be allowed, for their ſeveral intereſts in the funds, the ſame terms, in all reſpects, as the Bank; and that the laſt ſubſcription of the long annuities ſhould be valued at 32 years purchaſe; and of the ſhort at 17 years purchaſe; to be paid for in ſtock at 400 *per cent.* and be intitled to the laſt *Midſummer* dividend: And that all the Annuitants ſhould be allowed the intereſt of their annuities to the 29th of *September*. It was alſo agreed, that the third ſubſcription, which was taken at 1000 *per cent.* ſhould be reduced to 400 *per cent.* and the ſubſcription receipts given out accordingly. That the 100 *per cent.* already paid ſhould be taken in part of the payment; and that the remaining 300 *per cent.* ſhould be paid in nine payments, whereof the three next payments to be at 40 *per cent.* each, and the other ſix payments at 30 *per cent.* at ſix months diſtance from each other; the firſt payment of 40 *per cent.* to be the 2d of *July*, 1721. It was alſo agreed, that the fourth ſubſcription, which was taken at 1000 *per cent.* whereof 200 *per cent.* was paid down, ſhould be alſo reduced to 400 *per cent.* and that the remaining 200 *per cent.* ſhould be paid in eight equal payments of 25 *per cent.* each, the firſt of which was to be the 26th of *September*, 1721, and the remaining payments, at ſix months diſtance from each other. That intereſt ſhould be allowed to the Company from *Michaelmas*, 1720, after the rate of 5 *per cent. per ann.* to the reſpective times of payment of the ſaid third and fourth ſubſcriptions: And that the 10 *per cent.* dividend at *Midſummer* ſhould be alſo allowed on the third and fourth ſubſcriptions. That the Proprietors of the receipts of all the money ſubſcriptions ſhould be allowed, in part of their payments, the ſeveral dividends, that ſhould be made on the ſtock of the Company, till their payments were compleated. That 5 *per cent.* intereſt be allowed on all the Company's bonds from the 29th inſtant till they ſhould become due; and that any of the Company's bonds ſhould be taken as money in the fourth payment of the firſt ſubſcription, which would become due on the 14th of *October* (1).

Theſe reſolutions gave no ſatisfaction to the Annuitants, nor put the leaſt ſtop to the fall of the *South-Sea* ſtock. The Bank finding they were not able to ſtem the tide, without expoſing the properties of their own Principals and Adventurers to be carried away and loſt in the common deluge, they wiſely kept themſelves out of the general inundation, and did not care to be drowned, with thoſe, they could not ſave. They reſolved to drop an agreement, which they were under no obligation to perform (had it been poſſible)

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(1) It may not be improper to inſert here an account of the *long* and *ſhort* annuities *ſubſcribed* or *unſubſcribed*:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
LONG ANNUITIES, *per ann.* —	666,821	3	3
Firſt Subſcription ——	427,340	18	9
Second Subſcription ——	125,392	17	6
Unſubſcribed —— ——	114,087	12	0
SHORT ANNUITIES, *per ann.* —	81,000		
Firſt Subſcription —— —	48,132		
Second Subſcription —— —	18,750		
Unſubſcribed —— ——	14,118		
LOTTERY ANNUITIES, 1710. —	46,260	6	1
Firſt Subſcription —— —	15,918	4	0
Second Subſcription —— —	14,906	6	0
Unſubſcribed —— ——	15,365	16	1
REDEEMABLES ——	16,546,482	7	1
Subſcribed —— —	14,391,781	8	0
Unſubſcribed —— —	2,152,694	7	1

1720. ſible) and to which the *South-Sea* Company had no power to compel them. On the 10th of *November*, the Governor of the Bank reported from the Committee appointed to treat with the *South-Sea* Company, that the tranſactions between the Bank and that Company had been laid before Council, on behalf of the Bank; and that, the *South-Sea* Company preſſing for an anſwer of what had been done therein, the Governor of the Bank had acquainted the Deputy-Governor of the *South-Sea* Company, that the Committee did not think fit, for the preſent, to proceed further in that affair, and had delivered to him in writing the following anſwer:

'When the propoſition was offered by the Lords, at the meeting of the Committees of both Companies, as a ſuitable expedient for the ſupport of public credit, the Court of Directors of the Bank ſhewed their readineſs to join in any meaſures, that might tend to the ſervice of the public.

'But, ſome difficulties appearing to the Committee of the Bank, they have conſulted with their Council, and they are adviſed, that, conſidering the nature of this tranſaction, it will not be ſafe for them to proceed upon the propoſition without conſent of Parliament.

'However, they think it reaſonable, that, in the mean time, the Committee of the *South-Sea* ſhould give the Committee of the Bank ſome account of their eſtate, for the ſatisfaction of their Principals.'

About a week after, the following paper was ſent to the Bank from the Lords of the Treaſury: 'My Lords deſire, that the difficulties which have ariſen (and upon which, they ſay, they have conſulted their own Council) concerning the late agreement between them and the *South-Sea* Company, may be put into writing, and delivered to their Lordſhips, as ſoon as poſſible, that their Lordſhips may receive the opinion of the King's Council.'

To this the following anſwer was given: 'The Court of Directors of the Bank have, with the utmoſt deference, conſidered the meſſage in writing, which your Lordſhips were pleaſed to ſend them, and they humbly apprehend, they cannot better explain themſelves, than they have already done, in the manner they have given to the *South-Sea* Company, a copy whereof was delivered to your Lordſhips, which contains the ſubſtance of what they conſulted with their Council thereupon.'

Thus ended the tranſactions between the two Companies, which (as it has been ſuggeſted) were carried on by the Authors and Promoters of them, with a deſign to take advantage of the firſt rumour of this ſuppoſed agreement, and draw in unwary perſons, who, deſirous to retrieve their loſſes, were induced to buy ſtock at the price, the Bank had agreed to take it. Thoſe who had countenanced and run into every part of the *South-Sea* ſcheme, and were conſequently deeply involved, were juſtly ſuſpected of having contrived and taken advantage of the contract; by which means great numbers of deluded people were undone.

Thus, in the ſpace of eight months, were ſeen the riſe, progreſs, and fall of that mighty fabric, which, being wound up by myſterious ſprings to a wonderful height, had fixed the eyes and expectations of all *Europe*, but whoſe foundation being fraud, illuſion, credulity and infatuation, fell to the ground, as ſoon as the artful management of the Projectors was diſcovered. The ebb of this ſwoln fluctuating credit returned with greater violence than it flowed, and carried every thing before it with that precipitation, that the application of the Miniſters of State, and the Directors of the great Companies, jointly and ſeparately to ſtop it, were ineffectual. Expreſs after expreſs was ſent to *Hanover*, to give the King information of the ſtate of affairs, which was ſo urgent, that the King ſet out for *England* ſooner than he intended, and arrived at *London* the 11th of *November*.

The *South-Sea* ſtock, which was 200 at the King's arrival, fell again upon the prorogation of the Parliament, from the 25th of *November* to the 8th of *December*, to 135; but, on a report that the Miniſtry had agreed with the principal Directors of the *South-Sea*, the Bank, and *Eaſt-India* Company, upon a project, which would very much conduce to the reſtoration of the public credit, it roſe again to 210. But whatever the Miniſters concerted, for that end, was fruſtrated by the Managers of the *South-Sea* Company, who publiſhed an advertiſement in the *London Gazette*, 'That the bonds of the *South-Sea* Company would be taken in repayment of the money on all loans made by the Company. That the bonds would be likewiſe taken in all future payments on the ſubſcription receipts: And that all perſons, who were willing to make their ſubſcription capital ſtock, might do the ſame, by making the remaining payments in the bonds of the Company. This advertiſement was generally looked upon as very extraordinary, ſince it was unreaſonable to expect, either the borrowers of 400 *l.* on 100 *l.* capital ſtock abſolutely transferred, or ſubſcribers at 400 *l.* ſhould make repayments and remaining payments at a time, when *South-Sea* ſtock was under 200.

The ſquadron, which had been ſent to the *Baltic* under the Command of Sir *John Norris*, returned to *England*, and arrived at *Orford* on the 20th of *November*, all but the *Monk*; a fifty gun ſhip, which ſtruck on the *Colſton Sand* near *Yarmouth*, and was loſt; but moſt of her crew was ſaved by boats from *Colſton*.

The Parliament being met, purſuant to their laſt prorogation, on the 8th of *December*, the King went to the Houſe of Peers, and, by the mouth of the Lord Chancellor, made the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"SINCE we laſt parted, the face of our affairs abroad is become more favourable. The peace in the *South* only wants the form of a Congreſs; and that of the *North* is brought much nearer to a concluſion. I ſhall, at a proper time, order the ſeveral treaties I have made, to be laid before you; by which you will perceive the ſucceſs of our endeavours to eſtabliſh a peace throughout *Europe*, and to ſecure and ſupport the Proteſtant Religion. At the ſame time I can never ſufficiently expreſs my concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which has ſo much affected the public credit at home.

Gentlemen

720.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I do moſt earneſtly recommend it to you, " that you conſider of the moſt effectual and " ſpeedy methods to reſtore the national credit, " and fix it upon a laſting foundation. You " will, I doubt not, be aſſiſted in ſo commend- " able and neceſſary a work by every man, that " loves his Country, and eſpecially by the ſeve- " ral great Societies of this Kingdom. I hope " you will, on this occaſion, remember, that all " your prudence, your temper, and reſolution " are neceſſary to find out and apply the proper " remedies to our misfortunes; which will, if " you ſucceed, ſerve to increaſe that reputation " you have ſo juſtly acquired, particularly if you " ſhall be able, notwithſtanding theſe difficul- " ties, to diſcharge a part of the public debt. " I have ordered the ſeveral eſtimates to be laid " before you of the expence of the enſuing " year; and muſt deſire you to diſpatch the " Supplies neceſſary for them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I am glad to obſerve to you, that our trade " does appear to have been more extended this " year than in the preceding one. We have " the moſt flouriſhing Navy of any Nation what- " ſoever to protect it. And I hope you will " turn your thoughts to the beſt methods for " the ſecuring and enlarging of our Commerce. " You may depend on my hearty concurrence to " all ſuch proviſions, as ſhall appear to you " neceſſary for the good of my people."

Addreſs of Lords.

The Lords, without any debate, unanimouſly agreed to congratulate the King in an addreſs, for the near proſpect of a general peace, and to thank him for his endeavours to ſecure and maintain the Proteſtant Religion. To this were added aſſurances of their utmoſt aſſiſtance towards attaining thoſe great ends, and of their zealous concurrence in all meaſures for reſtoring public credit, and enlarging the commerce of theſe Kingdoms.

Debate on the addreſs in the Commons.

The Commons, who were more concerned than the Peers in the fall of the *South-Sea* Company, and in the ſubſequent calamities, were not ſo peaceable. Mr. *Pulteney* made a motion for an addreſs, ' to thank the King for the near proſpect of peace, and for his tender concern for the misfortunes of his people, occaſioned by the unhappy turn of affairs; and to aſſure him, that the Houſe would proceed with all poſſible care, prudence, and temper, to inquire into the cauſes of theſe misfortunes, and apply the proper remedies for reſtoring and fixing public credit upon ſolid and laſting foundations.' This motion being ſeconded by Mr. *Pelham* and ſome others, Mr. *Shippen* propoſed, after the words *for reſtoring public credit*, to add, *as far as it is conſiſtent with the honour of Parliaments, the intereſt of the Nation, and the principles of Juſtice.* Mr. *Shippen* gave his reaſons for this addition, urging, ' That, in order effectually to remedy the preſent misfortunes, it was abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the honour and faith of parliamentary engagements, and to ſhew the higheſt reſentment againſt thoſe, who, abuſing the truſt repoſed in them, had given ſo fatal a wound to public credit, and inriched themſelves by the plunder of the Nation. That, in his opinion, the Managers of the *South-Sea* project were not the moſt criminal, ſince there were thoſe above them, whoſe duty it was to overlook and direct their proceedings, and who ought to have given a ſeaſonable check to that extremity of folly, by which the *South-Sea* ſtock and the ſubſcriptions were advanced to an extravagant rate: Adding, that, had thoſe at the helm interpoſed in the affair of the *South-Sea*, as they did in the caſe of the two aſſurances and other projects, they would have prevented that diſmal calamity, which has ſince befallen the Nation.' The Lord *Moleſworth*, who ſpoke with great vehemence on the ſame ſide, examined the King's ſpeech, and made remarks upon it: He ſaid, ' He was glad they were told, *That the peace in the* South *only wanted the form of a Congreſs*, which gave him hopes, that the difficulties ſtarted by *Spain*, in relation to *Gibraltar*, were at laſt ſurmounted, and that we were like to preſerve that important conqueſt of the preceding war, together with *Port-Mahon*, which would make us ſome amends for the great expence of blood and treaſure we had lately been at, to conquer *Sicily* for the Houſe of *Auſtria*.' When he came to ſpeak of the *South-Sea* calamity, he ſaid, ' That, before they conſidered of proper remedies, they ought to inquire into the cauſe and nature of the diſtemper: That it is with the body politic, as with the body natural; and therefore they ought to imitate ſkilful Surgeons, who, in order to cure a wound, begin with probing it; and, when they find it neceſſary, make inciſions before they apply healing plaiſters; and that they, who followed a contrary method, are but mere emperics, who by uſing palliatives make the ſore feſter, and endanger the life of the patient. He owned it had by ſome been ſuggeſted, that there was no law to puniſh the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, who were juſtly looked upon as the immediate authors of the preſent misfortunes: But that, in his opinion, they ought, on this occaſion, to follow the example of the antient *Romans*, who having no law againſt parricide, becauſe their legiſlators ſuppoſed no ſon could be ſo unnaturally wicked, as to imbrue his hands in his father's blood, made one to puniſh ſo heinous a crime, as ſoon as it happened to be committed; and adjudged the guilty wretch to be thrown alive, ſewn up in a ſack, into the *Tyber*. That, as he looked upon the contrivers and executors of the villainous *South-Sea* ſcheme as the parricides of their Country, he ſhould be ſatisfied to ſee them undergo the ſame puniſhment.'

Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* ſpoke on the ſame ſide; and obſerved, ' That as he doubted not, but among the *South-Sea* Directors ſome might be innocent, and others criminal, ſo he was of opinion, there were thoſe, who were not Directors, no leſs, if not more criminal, than the Directors themſelves, and who therefore deſerved an equal, if not a ſeverer puniſhment: Adding, that upon extraordinary emergencies, where the laws are deficient, the legiſlative authority may, and ought to exert itſelf, and he hoped a *Britiſh* Parliament would never want a vindictive power to puniſh National crimes.' Mr. *Grey Nevill*, Mr. *Pitt*, and ſome others ſpoke alſo for the clauſe offered by Mr. *Shippen*. But it was repreſented by Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, Mr. *Yorke* the Solliciter-General, and Mr. *Walpole*, That ſuch a reſtriction did but ill ſuit with an addreſs of thanks,

1720. which, in their opinion, ought to run in the usual form, and answer in general terms the several heads of the speech from the Throne. That, as to the main drift of the clause, they thought it inconsistent with the rules of prudence, to begin this Session with irritating inquiries: That, if the City of *London* were on fire, they did not doubt but all wise men would be for extinguishing the flames, and preventing the spreading of the conflagration, before they inquired into the incendiaries. That in like manner, public credit having received a most dangerous wound, and being still in a bleeding condition, they ought to apply a speedy remedy to it; and that afterwards they might inquire into the cause of the present calamity.' Mr. *Walpole*, in particular, declared, 'That, for his own part, he had never approved the *South-Sea* scheme, and was sensible it had done a great deal of mischief. But, since it could not be undone, he thought it the duty of all good men to give their helping hand towards retrieving it: And, that with this view, he had already bestowed some thoughts on a proposal to restore public credit, which, in a proper time, he would submit to the wisdom of the House.' The majority acquiesced in these last reasons; so that, the question being put for inserting Mr. *Shippen*'s clause, it passed in the negative by two hundred and sixty-one against one hundred and three. However, the next day a motion being made by Mr. *Milner* for inserting the words, *And for punishing the authors of them (our present misfortunes)* the same was carried without dividing.

By these first proceedings, it was easy to see that this Session would not be so favourable to the Ministry as the former ones had been, and that the Whigs would hardly be distinguished from the Tories by their votes: These partialities were suspended, and, as it were, annihilated by various other passions, which produced numberless intrigues. Many of the Commons were sincerely touched with the public calamities, or moved by their own private losses: Others, dissatisfied with the Ministry and Court, were pleased to have an opportunity of covering their revenge, with the specious pretence of justice and the public good: Some had in view, by their loud and bitter complaints, to make themselves considerable to the Court, or draw the attention of the opposite party: Others, engaged in the secret practices of the *South Sea* Company, had a mind, by an affected severity, to prevent their being suspected: A few there were, who politicly concealed, under the appearance of zeal and indignation, their devotion to some of the principal Managers, and sought to be in the Committees of inquiry into those odious affairs, in order to screen the Authors thereof.

Proceedings of the Commons in the South-Sea affair.

However different these views might be, all seemed at first to agree. On the 12th of *December*, the Commons ordered, that the Directors of the *South-Sea* should forthwith lay before them an account of all their proceedings; of all the orders they had received from the Treasury; of what money and *Exchequer* bills they had received since the 25th of *December*, 1719; of what public debts had been subscribed or discharged, and of what sums of money had been borrowed on account of the Company, since the same time. Nor did the Commons rest here. A few days after, Sir *Joseph Jekyll* moved, That a select Committee should be appointed, to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the *South-Sea* act; but, upon Mr. *Walpole*'s representing, that such a method would take up a great deal of time, and that the public credit being in a bleeding condition, a remedy ought to be applied to the wound with not insisted on. After this, Mr. *Walpole* acquainted the House, That (as he had hinted a few days before) he had spent some time upon a scheme for restoring public credit; but that the execution of it depending upon a position, which had been laid as a fundamental, he thought it proper, before he opened the scheme, to be informed, whether he might rely on that main foundation, *Whether the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the* South-Sea Company, *should remain in the present state?* This question being stated, occasioned a warm debate, particularly in relation to the validity of the second subscription of the redeemable and irredeemable public debts. Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, and some others, urged in favour of the Subscribers, 'That most of them having been drawn in to set their names to a sort of letter of Attorney, which was never read to them; and not having had afterwards the option of the terms offered, as the former Subscribers had, the subscription was surreptitious, and therefore not binding.' But they were answered by Mr. *Walpole*, Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor-General, and some others, 'That, the letter of Attorney, by virtue of which the contract of the second subscription was made, having been placed at the top of every page of the book, all the Subscribers might have read it, as many of them did; and so might have chosen, whether they would set their names to it, or not. But that, it seems, some persons thought the subscription valid while they got, and not binding when they were like to lose by it. However, if any thing were defective in the subscription, they thought it adviseable to leave it to the determination either of a General Court of the *South-Sea*, or of the Common Law.' These reasons being approved by most of the landed Gentlemen, after a debate of several hours, it was at last resolved by two hundred and fifty-nine against one hundred and seventeen, 'That all the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the *South-Sea* Company, by virtue of an act made the last Session of Parliament, remain in the present state, unless altered for the ease and relief of the Proprietors, by a General Court of the *South-Sea* Company, or set aside by due course of Law.'

There are few instances which prove so strongly as this, that there is no cause so bad as to want an advocate in Assemblies, where a man may freely speak his opinion, without any other danger but that of being rejected. This pretended Contract, which was deemed valid, had not been read, nor could have been read, without being universally disapproved. Was it probable, that such multitudes should leave their most valuable interests to the discretion of two or three Attornies? They were not, indeed, forbid to subscribe, but they believed they had done it, with a liberty to consent to or reject the conditions that should be offered. Was not this sufficient to declare the subscription void, and to restore the Proprietors to their former state?

In the Poſſeſſion of the Right Hon.r William Lord Talbot. *Impenſis I. & P. Knapton Londini. 1740.* *J. Houbraken ſculps. Amst. 1739.*

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ſtate? However, the Commons did not think ſo, for the reſolution of the Committee was confirmed, the next day, by the Houſe (1).

The day after this reſolution was agreed to, Mr. *Walpole* laid before the Commons his ſcheme to reſtore public credit, the ſubſtance of which was, to ingraft nine millions of *South-Sea* ſtock into the Bank of *England*, and the like ſum into the *Eaſt-India* Company, upon certain conditions (2). Mr. *Hutchinſon* and other Members made ſome exceptions to the ſcheme; but, none offering a better, it was ordered, 'That propoſals ſhould be received from the Bank of *England*, the *South-Sea* Company, and the *Eaſt-India* Company, towards reſtoring public credit.'

Though the plainneſs of Mr. *Walpole*'s ſcheme recommended it above all others, yet it met with ſome oppoſition in the general Courts of the three great Companies, who met to give powers to their Directors to bring the matter to perfection: But at laſt the Directors were impowered to make a propoſal to the Houſe of Commons.

Accordingly propoſals agreeable to the new ſcheme were afterwards preſented to the Houſe of Commons by the ſeveral Companies, and it was reſolved (*Jan.* 5.) 'That an ingroſſment of nine millions of the capital ſtock of the *South-Sea* Company into the Capitals of the *Bank* and *Eaſt-India* Company, as propoſed by theſe Companies, will contribute very much to the reſtoring public credit.' A bill upon this reſolution was after ſome debate ordered to be brought in, which paſſed the Houſe, and was ſent up to the Lords, and afterwards received the Royal aſſent.

Purſuant to the order of the Houſe, the Sub and Deputy Governors of the *South-Sea* Company having preſented to the Commons their books and papers, Mr. *Shippen* made a long ſpeech, repreſenting, 'That beſides the papers, which had already been laid before them, it was neceſſary to have others, in order to diſcover the frauds and deceitful management of the *South-Sea* Directors and their Accomplices. That, in his opinion, the moſt villainous contrivance, whereby they inſnared unwary people, was their taking in money ſubſcriptions at 1000 *per cent.* and their declaring a dividend of 30 *l. per cent.* at *Chriſtmas*, and of not leſs than 50 *l. per cent. per ann.* for twelve years after; which had impoſed upon the underſtanding of all ſuch, as depended upon the wiſdom and integrity of the Directors, and occaſioned the ruin of many thouſands of families.' He therefore moved, That the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company ſhould lay before the Houſe the calculations or inducements, on which they took in the third and fourth money ſubſcriptions, and grounded the reſolutions of making ſuch dividends. This motion, not being oppoſed, was agreed to; as was likewiſe a ſecond motion for laying before the Houſe a liſt of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, with the names of the Treaſurer, Secretary, and Accountant, and alſo the original books of the minutes of the Committee of Treaſury of the Company, ſince the 25th of *December*, 1719, with a copy of the by-laws. After which the Commons adjourned to the 4th of *January*, as the Lords did to the 9th of the ſame month. 1720.

The Houſe of Commons divided in their opinions.

By theſe proceedings of the Parliament it is evident, the Commons were divided in their opinions, one party being for applying a remedy to the calamity occaſioned by the miſmanagement of the *South-Sea* ſcheme: And the other party, for inquiring into the cauſes of the preſent misfortunes, and for puniſhing the Authors as the moſt effectual and only means to redreſs them. The firſt party, which was favoured by the Court, prevailed for a time; but, when the Commons met after the Holidays, it appeared that the other party had gained conſiderable ſtrength, and that the artful introduction of other affairs, inſtead of diverting, only ſerved to inflame their reſentment againſt the Authors of the late proceedings.

Their farther proceedings. 1720-21.

On the 4th of *January*, Mr. *Trevor*, Secretary of war, ſeconded by the Lord *Carpenter*, moved for a bill to prevent mutiny and deſertion: But Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* expreſſed his ſurprize, 'that a bill ſhould be moved for ſo early, which ſeldom uſed to be brought in but towards the end of a Seſſion: That ſuch a hurry ſeemed to be intended to ſtop the proſecution of the Authors of the preſent misfortunes. That they very well knew, *their days were numbered*, and that, as ſoon as they had diſpatched the money bills, and the bill now moved for, they ſhould immediately be diſpatched home. That therefore he was for ſtaying thoſe bills, until they had done juſtice to the Nation, who called aloud for

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(1) In the next day's debate, Mr. *Walpole*, who ſpoke for the reſolution, ſet forth the views, with which the *South-Sea* act was made, *viz.* 'To conſult the landed and trading intereſt of the Nation, by leſſening its incumbrances and public debts, and putting them in a method of being paid off in a few years; which could not have been done, unleſs a way had been found to make the *annuities for long terms* redeemable; which had been happily effected by the *South-Sea* ſcheme, without a breach of parliamentary faith: And, if they ſhould now unravel what had been done, they ſhould not only ruin the *South-Sea* Company, but, inſtead of alleviating, aggravate the preſent misfortunes.' In anſwer to this, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* urged, 'That, in order to remedy the preſent diſtemper, and reſtore public credit, they ought, in the firſt place, to reſolve and aſſert public faith, equity, and juſtice, which the *South-Sea* Managers had notoriouſly violated, with reſpect to the firſt and ſecond Subſcribers of annuities and other public debts: For the former had not the ſtock, to which they were intitled, delivered to them, till ſix months after they had ſubſcribed their effects, and when the ſtock was fallen above half its price, and the latter had not the option either to accept or reject the terms, that were offered them.' Mr. *Walpole* having, among other things, replied, 'That, if any injuſtice was done to the Subſcribers, they were, by the reſolution in queſtion, left at liberty to ſeek their relief by law;' Mr. *Lechmere*, Chancellor of the Duchy, inſiſted, 'That, if the *South-Sea* Company, whom the Parliament had appointed Truſtees for the public debts, had not duly executed that truſt, in relation to the Annuitants, the latter could ſeek for relief no where but in Parliament; and that it was a duty incumbent upon the Legiſlature to relieve them.' Serjeant *Pengelly*, Mr. *Hutchinſon*, and ſome other Gentlemen, ſpoke on the ſame ſide; but were anſwered by Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, Sir *William Thompſon*, and Mr. *Hungerford*; and, after ſome other ſpeeches, it was moved to adjourn the debate; but, the queſtion put thereupon being carried in the negative by two hundred and thirty-two voices againſt eighty-eight, the Houſe agreed, without dividing, to the reſolution of the day before.

(2) The ſubſtance of what was opened in the Houſe of

1720-21. for it.' Mr. Secretary *Craggs* ſaid, 'He wondered to ſee any oppoſition made to a bill ſo neceſſary for the ſafety of the Government, eſpecially by a perſon, who had received ſignal favours from the Crown.' Upon this the Lord *Moleſworth* ſtood up, and ſaid, 'Mr. Speaker, is it come to this, that every man, who has a place, muſt do all the drudgery, that is injoined him? This may be true of ſome underlings; but I do not believe it: I am ſure it is falſe of King *George*; he commands his ſervants nothing, but what is according to laws, and for the good of his ſubjects.' Then Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* added, 'That he was as zealous as any man for the ſervice of the King and his Government; but he was of opinion, that the doing juſtice to the Nation, and puniſhing them, who had brought it into the preſent calamitous condition, was the moſt effectual way both to ſerve the King, and at the ſame time to diſcharge their duty to their injured Country: Concluding, however, that he did not oppoſe the bringing in of the bill;' which was agreed to. After this, the Houſe reſolving itſelf into a Grand Committee, Sir *Joſeph* repreſented, That, before they proceeded any farther, they ought to ſecure the perſons and eſtates of thoſe they had reaſon to look upon as the Authors of the public misfortunes; and therefore he moved for a bill to reſtrain the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Treaſurer, Under-Treaſurer, Caſhier, Secretary, and Accountants of the *South-Sea* Company, from going out of this Kingdom for the ſpace of one year, and till the end of the next Seſſion of Parliament; and, for diſcovering their eſtates and effects, and preventing the tranſporting or alienating the ſame.' This motion met with no oppoſition, and Sir *Joſeph*, with the Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and ſome others were ordered 1720-2
to prepare and bring in the bill (1), which having paſſed both Houſes received the Royal aſſent (2).

A ſelect Committee for the South-Sea affair.

As ſoon as this was over, the Houſe debated in what manner they ſhould proceed in the intended inquiry, whether in a Grand or Select Committee. After ſeveral ſpeeches on both ſides, it was reſolved that a Committee ſhould be appointed to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the *South-Sea* act; and that the numbers ſhould be thirteen, and choſen by ballot. Purſuant to this reſolution, *Thomas Broderick*, *Archibald Hutchinſon*, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, *Edward Wortley*, Sir *Thomas Pengelly*, *William Clayton*, *Edward Jeffreys*, Lord *Moleſworth*, *Thomas Strangways*, *William Sloper*, *Nicholas Lechmere*, General *Roſſe*, and *Dixie Windſor* were choſen, to whom the ſeveral books and papers, which had been laid before the Houſe by the *South-Sea* Company, were referred; and they were afterwards voted a *Committee of Secrecy*.

In the debate the Lord *Hinchinbroke* repreſented, that it was to be feared that, before the bill againſt the Directors, *&c.* was gone through both Houſes, the moſt criminal might withdraw out of the Kingdom, and therefore he moved, that they might be immediately taken into cuſtody. But, Mr. *Lechmere*, and others, having ſhewed the inconveniences of ſuch a proceeding, the motion was dropped.

In vain did the Directors preſent a petition to be heard by their Council againſt the bill, which was now brought in, and having paſſed the Commons was ſent up to the Lords.

Proceedings of the Lords upon the South-Sea affair.

By this time the Houſe of Lords were entered upon the *South-Sea* affair. Some of the Lords in the Miniſtry were the firſt, who complained of

of Commons was told to the General Court of the *South-Sea* Directors two days after, by Sir *John Fellows*, to the following effect:

'That the 1ſt money-ſubſcription be continued, allowing longer time for the future payments; and that what has been paid be made ſtock at 400 *l. per cent.*

'That the money, paid upon the 2d, 3d, and 4th money-ſubſcriptions, be alſo made ſtock at 400 *l. per cent.* the Subſcribers to have the *Midſummer* dividend at 10 *l. per cent*, and their future payments to be diſcharged.

'The ſtock then undiſpoſed of will be 11,600,000 *l.* which, to be divided among the Proprietors, will be 45 *l. per cent*, to be diſpoſed of by ſubſcription or otherwiſe, as a General Court ſhall order, which was to this effect:

'That a ſum not exceeding nine millions be ingrafted into the Bank, on terms to be agreed on with that Company.

'The like as to the *Eaſt-India* Company.

'That, for the ſtock ſo to be ingrafted, thoſe Companies to have an annuity of 5 *l. per cent. per annum.*

'That one fourth part of the preſent ſtock of this Company be wrote into the Bank, and one other fourth part into the *Eaſt-India* Company, the Proprietors to be allowed ſtock in each of thoſe Companies, at 120 *l. per cent.*

'That there will be in all ſeven millions and a half of Bank ſtock, and the ſame of *India* ſtock, for the Proprietors of this Company.

'That all the profits of this Company, by their ſubſcriptions or otherwiſe, ſhall be for the ſole benefit of this Company.'

(1) This done, Mr. *Shippen* expreſſed his great ſatisfaction to ſee a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons reſume their antient vigour and ſpirit, and act with ſo great unanimity for the public good. He owned 'the neceſſity of ſecuring the perſons and eſtates of the *South-Sea* Directors and their Officers; but ſaid, that, in his opinion, there were ſome men in great ſtations, whom, in time, he would not be afraid to name, who were no leſs guilty than the Directors.' Mr. Secretary, *Craggs* being ſomewhat exaſperated at this, ſaid, 'That he was ready to give ſatisfaction to any man, who ſhould queſtion him, either in that Houſe, or out of it.' This expreſſion gave no ſmall offence; and thereupon the Lord *Moleſworth* ſaid, 'That he had had the honour to be a Member of that Houſe upwards of thirty years, and never before now knew any man bold enough to challenge the whole Houſe of Commons, and all *England* beſides: That, for his part, though paſt ſixty, he would anſwer whatever he had to ſay within the Houſe, and hoped there were young Members enough, who would not be afraid to look Mr. Secretary in the face out of the Houſe.' Upon this, Mr. Secretary, ſeeing the Houſe in a great ferment, got up, and ſaid, 'That, by *giving ſatisfaction*, he meant clearing his conduct.' Upon which the matter went no farther.

(2) By this bill, the Directors were each to enter into recognizances, in the penalty of 100,000 *l.* with two ſureties in the penalty each of 25,000 *l.* If they neglected to do ſo before the 8th of *February*, they were to be impriſoned; and, in caſe they went out of the Kingdom, were to be adjudged guilty of felony. They were alſo obliged to deliver in upon oath, before the 5th of *March*, exact particulars of all the effects they were poſſeſſed of by themſelves, or in truſt, on the 1ſt of *June* 1720, or any time after, with an account of what they had diſpoſed of ſince that time. They were likewiſe diſabled from conveying any lands or effects, for a year after the 5th of *January* 1720-21.

(1) The

BRITISH MUSEUM

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the miſmanagement of the *South-Sea* Directors, which had occaſioned the preſent diſtreſs; and Earl *Stanhope* ſaid, 'That the eſtates of the criminals, whether Directors or not Directors, ought to be confiſcated, to make good the public loſſes.' The Lord *Carteret* ſpoke to the ſame effect, as did likewiſe the Earl of *Sunderland*, who owned, indeed, that he had been for the *South-Sea* ſcheme, becauſe he thought it calculated for the advantage of the Nation, in order to leſſen the public debt, and, in particular, to take off the heavy incumbrance of long annuities; and no man would imagine, that ſo good a deſign could have been ſo perverted in the execution, as to produce quite contrary effects: But that, in his opinion, no Act of Parliament had ever been ſo much abuſed as the *South-Sea* act; and therefore he would go as far as any body to puniſh the offenders. Several Lords were ſurprized to find themſelves prevented by thoſe, whom they were ready to oppoſe, upon a ſuppoſition, that they entertained more favourable thoughts towards the Directors, againſt whom the others had left them but little to ſay. However, the Duke of *Wharton* obſerved, 'That they ought to have no reſpect of perſons: That, for his part, he would give up the beſt friend he had: That the Nation had been plundered in a moſt flagrant and notorious manner; and therefore they ought to find out the Offenders, and then puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity.' The Lord *North* and *Grey*, the Earl of *Abingdon*, and ſome others, urged alſo the ill effects of the *South-Sea* project, which the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* compared to a peſtilence. Earl *Cowper* ſpoke likewiſe on the ſame ſide, and in particular 'blamed thoſe, who, by the act of Parliament, were appointed to overlook and check the *South-Sea* Directors, and who, in diſcharge of their truſt, ought to have prevented their jumping from a ſubſcription at 400 to 1000, which was the main cauſe of the misfortunes that enſued.' The Earl of *Sunderland*, finding himſelf and the other Lords of the Treaſury thus attacked, ſaid, 'That by the *South-Sea* act they were directed to appoint ſuch perſons, as they ſhould think fit to be Managers and Directors, on the part of the Treaſury, for the due execution of the act: That, as they had reaſon to look upon thoſe perſons, who had the principal ſhare in framing this ſcheme, as the moſt able and proper to execute it, they had accordingly appointed ſome of the *South-Sea* Directors to be Managers and Directors for the Treaſury: Concluding, that in this they had followed former precedents.' Upon this a queſtion was propoſed and ſtated, that the Commiſſion iſſued, out by the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, to three of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, was, according to former precedents, and legal. This occaſioned a great debate; but, after the reading of ſome papers, the Lord *Harcourt*'s opinion for the affirmative prevailed, by a majority of ſixty-three againſt twenty-eight, moſt of whom entered their proteſt againſt that reſolution. Then ſome Lords moved for appointing a ſecret Committee, to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the *South-Sea* act; but this was oppoſed by others, who ſaid, they ought, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to examine the perſons concerned. Which being agreed to, the Sub and Deputy-Governors, Directors, and Officers of the *South-Sea* Company were ordered to attend on the 12th of *January*. 1720-21.

On that day, the Sub and Deputy-Governors, about twenty-four of the Directors, Mr. *Knight* Treaſurer, Mr. *Surman* his Deputy, and ſome other inferior Officers, attended the Houſe, and at the bar were ſworn to make true anſwers to ſuch queſtions, as ſhould be put to them. After this, the Governors and Treaſurer were examined ſeparately, and then the Directors. The examinations being ended, it was reſolved, 'That the Sub-Governor and Directors of the *South-Sea* Company had prevaricated with them, in giving falſe repreſentations of ſeveral matters of fact: That, by lending money on ſtock and ſubſcriptions, they were guilty of a notorious breach of truſt; and that they ought to make good the loſſes, which the Company had ſuſtained by their fraudulent management.' Some Lords were unwilling to involve all the Directors in this cenſure, and would diſtinguiſh the innocent from the guilty; but they were told, that the whole Court of Directors were guilty, either in acting or aſſenting; upon which they acquieſced in declaring them all criminal. The Directors being called in again, the Lord-Chancellor gave them a ſevere reprimand for giving the Houſe ſuch lame accounts, and for having ordered their Clerks to omit ſeveral material things in the copies, that had been laid before the Houſe; commanding them, at the ſame time, to produce either the originals themſelves of ſeveral accounts of their Treaſury, or authentic copies of them.

Soon after this, a bill paſſed the Houſe of Lords, to diſable the preſent Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, to enjoy any office in that Company, or in the *Eaſt-India* Company, or Bank of *England*, and from voting upon elections in the Company. Then the Lords examined ſeveral Brokers, as *Stroude*, *Teſtard*, *Lacour* a *Jew*, and his ſon. By the three laſt great diſcoveries were ſaid to be made. This done, the Houſe adjourned to the 24th of *January*.

In the mean time, Mr. *Knight*, Treaſurer of the *South-Sea* Company, who was intruſted with the principal ſecrets of the *South-Sea* affair, either of his own accord, or (as it was ſuſpected) at the ſuggeſtion of others, thought fit to retire out of the Kingdom (1). He abſented himſelf the 22d of *January* from his houſe, and imbarked the

(1) When Mr. *Knight* attended at the Houſe of Lords, a Peer ſpoke to the Earl of *Sunderland*, that a motion might be made to ſecure him immediately; for it was ſtrongly ſurmized that he would ſoon make off. The Earl agreed in that ſurmize, but ſaid, Earl *Cowper* ſhould be conſulted before any ſuch motion was made, for, without his joining in with it, there was no likelihood of its paſſing; and then *Knight* would be alarmed to no purpoſe. The other Lord applied to Earl *Cowper*, who ſeemed very averſe to the taking any ſuch ſtep, till, upon *Knight*'s further examination, the Houſe ſhould come to a reſolution, particularly with relation to him: Upon which the motion dropped; and it was ſuſpected, that the Earl of *Sunderland*, knowing Earl *Cowper*'s ſentiments, referred that other Peer to him, on purpoſe to prevent the motion's being then made.

1720-21. the next morning in the river, on board a veſſel, which carried him, the ſame day, to *Calais*. A letter, directed to the *South-Sea* Directors, was brought that morning, by a porter, to Mr. *Surman* (1), who delivered it to the Committee of Secrecy, then ſitting at the *South-Sea-Houſe*. They immediately repaired to the Houſe of Commons, and acquainted them with what had happened. Two addreſſes were voted and preſented for a proclamation to apprehend Mr. *Knight*, and for another to ſtop the Ports to prevent him, or any of the Directors, from eſcaping out of the Kingdom. Then General *Roſs* and other Members of the Secret Committee informed the Houſe, 'That they had already diſcovered a train of the deepeſt villany and fraud that hell ever contrived, to ruin a Nation, which, in due time, they would lay before the Houſe; and that, in the mean while, in order to a further diſcovery, they thought it highly neceſſary to ſecure the perſons of ſome of the Directors and principal *South-Sea* Officers, and to ſeize their papers.' Upon which the books and papers of Mr. *Knight*, Mr. *Surman*, Mr. *Turner*, Sir *George Caſwal*, and Mr. *Grigſby*, were ordered to be ſecured, and *Surman* and *Grigſby* to be taken into cuſtody; as were alſo Sir *John Blunt*, Sir *John Lambert*, two of the Directors, and Sir *John Fellows*, Sub-Governor of the *South-Sea* Company. Then, Mr. *Sawbridge* and Sir *Theodore Janſen* being come into the Houſe, a motion was made and carried, 'That they were guilty of a notorious breach of truſt, as Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, and had occaſioned very great loſs to numbers of his Majeſty's ſubjects, and highly prejudiced the public credit:' They were both expelled the Houſe, and taken into cuſtody, with Sir *Robert Chaplin* and *Francis Eyles*, two other Directors, and Members of Parliament. 1720-21.

The ſame evening a Council was held, in which Mr. *Aiſlabie* reſigned his places of Chancellor of the *Exchequer* and Lord of the Treaſury. Orders were alſo given for removing all *South-Sea* Directors from any place they had in the Government (2).

The Lords, on the 24th of *January*, examined Mr. *Joye*, Deputy-Governor of the *South-Sea* Company, who made a very frank confeſſion of ſeveral important matters, and communicated Mr. *Knight*'s letter, which was read. After this, upon Earl *Stanhope*'s motion, five Directors, Sir *William Chapman*, Mr. *Holditch*, Mr. *Hawes*, Mr. *Gibbon*, and Mr. *Cheſter*, were ordered to be taken into cuſtody, with their papers, and thoſe of Mr. *Clark*, the Company's Sollicitor. Of which notice was ſent to the Commons with a meſſage, that theſe perſons and their papers ſhould be produced in ſuch manner as they ſhould direct. This meſſage contributed very much to the preſerving a good underſtanding between the two Houſes.

Two days after, the Directors Mr. *Aſtell* and Sir *Harcourt Maſters* were examined by the Lords, and, among other diſcoveries, named ſeveral perſons both in the Adminiſtration and in the Houſe of Commons, to whom large ſums in

(1) The letter was as follows:

Gentlemen,

'I write this from a true ſenſe of the obligation I am under to make up my accounts with the Company, and to pay them their full demand: And, though ſelf-preſervation has obliged me to withdraw myſelf from the reſentment againſt the Directors and myſelf, yet I am not conſcious to myſelf of having done any one thing that I can reproach myſelf for, ſo far as relates to an honeſt ſincere intention and zeal for the Company; but I can and do charge myſelf with a great many indiſcretions, and am (beſides the concern I muſt be under for leaving my own family, friends, *&c.*) very ſenſibly touched with what you are like to ſuffer on this account; and it will be the more, I am afraid, from your want of unanimity, which I heartily recommend to you for the future, and, I am ſure, wiſh you all well as you wiſh yourſelves.

I write this at a diſtance from home, and under a great deal of concern, ſo cannot be ſo particular, as otherwiſe I would have been. I have herewith ſent Mr. *Surman* the key of my deſks, who knows ſo much of the ſtate of the caſh, as to be able to make it up. There are a good many bills of exchange, and other payments, to write off, and the weekly receipts to write on. There is caſh in the Bank, in the Company's book, which, together with the notes taken on the third and fourth ſubſcriptions, and the Company's bonds, will make up the balance, as I do believe: But, if it fall ſhort, I have 3000 Equivalent ſtock, 1600 Bank ſtock, 2000 *India* and *South-Sea* ſtock, over and above what I owe the Company on the loan, as will be ſufficient to make it up with money owing on ſecurities on my particular account. The Company need not deliver or be anſwerable for the ſubſcription-receipts or ſtock on the third and fourth ſubſcriptions, unleſs theſe notes are paid; ſo the loſs can only be the difference between the ſubſcriptions and money in value; and I think, it would be hard for me to bear the loſs, becauſe the Clerks took by far the greateſt part of them, as thinking them better than none; and moſt of them would have been non-payments, if they had been refuſed: However, I ſubmit this to the Company. I have taken with me but little more than a ſufficiency to maintain myſelf, and the effects left will more than anſwer for all deficiencies. I have bought no land in truſt for me, nor have I ever conveyed or ſettled any part of that I had formerly, or have bought lately; it remains to anſwer any demands on me from the Company or the Legiſlature. I have withdrawn myſelf only to avoid the weight of the enquiry, which I found too heavy for me; and I am ſenſible that it would have been impoſſible for me to have avoided the appearance and charge of prevarication and perjury, not from my own intention to do ſo, but from the largeneſs and extent of the enquiry, and the nature and largeneſs of the tranſactions. I am ſure I am a great deal concerned to add to your preſent difficulties; though I muſt ſay, that I have deſerved better uſage than I have had from the Court the laſt week: But this I ſay without any reſentment, otherwiſe than that it has been an addition to the weight I had before upon me.

I am preſſed for time, ſo can only aſſure you that I am, with all reſpect, in inclination though not in power,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt obedient,

Sunday Evening,
Jan. 22. 1720.

humble Servant,

ROBERT KNIGHT.'

(2) Accordingly, *Francis Hawes*, Receiver-General of the Cuſtoms; Sir *Harcourt Maſters*, Receiver-General of the City of *London*; Mr. *Reynolds*, Commiſſioner of the Victualling Office; Mr. *Holditch*, Treaſurer of the Stamp-Office; and *Arthur Ingram*, Treaſurer of the duty on ſalt, were all removed from their employments.

(1) Three

20-21. in *South-Sea* ſtock had been given, for procuring the paſſing the *South-Sea* act. After this, upon the motion of Earl *Stanhope*, ſeconded by the Lord *Townſhend* and Earl *Cowper*, it was unanimouſly reſolved, 'That the taking in of ſtock, the transferring of ſtock belonging to the *South-Sea* Company, or giving credit for the ſame, without a valuable conſideration actually paid, or ſufficiently ſecured; or the purchaſing ſtock by any Director or Agent of the *South-Sea* Company, for the uſe or benefit of any perſon in the Adminiſtration, or any Member of either Houſe of Parliament, during ſuch time, as the late bill relating to the *South-Sea* Company, was depending laſt year in Parliament, was a notorious and moſt dangerous corruption.' This reſolution was ſoon followed by another, after the examination of Mr. *Waller* (ſon-in-law to Mr. *Aiſlabie*) and Mr. *Aſtell*, relating to a great quantity of *South-Sea* ſtock, transferred to, and negotiated by Mr. *Waller*, who pretended not to have kept minutes of what he had done in *Exchange-Alley*. This being looked upon as prevarication, it was reſolved, 'That the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company having ordered great quantities of their ſtock to be bought for the ſervice of the Company, when ſtock was at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of the ſtock; and, at the ſame time, ſeveral of the Directors, and other Officers belonging to the Company, having, in a clandeſtine manner, ſold their own ſtocks to the Company; ſuch Directors and Officers are guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of truſt; and their ſo doing was one great cauſe of the unhappy turn of affairs, that has ſo much affected public credit (1).

On the 4th of *February*, the Lords deſigned to have examined Sir *John Blunt*, the chief Projector of the *South-Sea* ſcheme, and it was expected, he would make great diſcoveries: But, inſtead of that, he would not ſo much as be ſworn to anſwer to ſuch interrogatories, as ſhould be put to him, alledging, that he had already been examined before the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons, and to ſuch extent of affairs, that, unleſs he had a copy of his examination, he could not remember every particular; and, as no man is obliged to accuſe himſelf, he would not run the hazard of prevaricating. The Lords were ſurprized at this proceeding; but, upon a ſurmiſe, that Sir *John Blunt* might deſign to break the harmony, which had hitherto been preſerved in this affair between the two Houſes, they thought fit not to ſhew immediately their indignation againſt his obſtinacy. In the debate how they ſhould proceed in this unprecedented caſe, ſome reflections were made againſt the Miniſtry by a noble Duke, who obſerved, that the Government of the beſt of Princes was ſometimes made intolerable to their ſubjects by ill Miniſters; and alledged the example of *Sejanus*, who had made a diviſion in the Imperial Family, and rendered the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius* odious to the *Romans*. This reflection was highly reſented by Earl *Stanhope*, who undertook to vindicate the Miniſtry. He ſpoke with ſuch vehemence, that, finding himſelf taken ſuddenly with a violent head-ach, he went home, and was cupped, which eaſed him a little. The next morning he was let blood, and continued pretty well till about ſix o'clock in the evening, when he fell into a drowzineſs, and then into a ſuffocation, in which he inſtantly expired. The King was ſo ſenſibly touched with the news of his death, that he retired for ſeveral hours into his cloſet, to lament the loſs of a faithful and able Miniſter, whoſe ſervice he ſo much wanted at that time. The Lord *Townſhend* was appointed Secretary of State in his room. 1720-21.

Death of Earl Stanhope,

Two days after, Mr. Secretary *Craggs* was taken ill of the ſmall-pox, of which he died the ninth day, on the 16th of *February*. Thus, in the ſpace of eleven days, *England* loſt two Secretaries of State.

and of Mr. Secretary Craggs.

Mr. *Knight*, after his eſcape into *France*, went to *Bruſſels*, from whence (not thinking himſelf ſafe there) he intended to retire to *Liege*. As the King had ſent orders to his Miniſters in foreign Courts, to make application for the ſeizing Mr. *Knight*, in caſe he ſhould ſhelter himſelf in the Dominions of any State in Alliance with him, Mr. *Gaudot*, Secretary to Mr. *Leathes*, the *Britiſh* Reſident at *Bruſſels*, having information, that Mr. *Knight* was going towards *Louvain*, applied to the Marquiſs *de Prié*, Governor of the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, who ordered a Major and ſixteen Dragoons to attend him, and follow his directions. With theſe *Gaudot* ſets out for *Louvain*, where he was informed, that two *Engliſh* Gentlemen had, that morning, taken the road to *Tirlemont*. Upon this *Gaudot*, with the Major and four Dragoons, haſted to *Tirlemont*, and, by means of a Poſtillion ſent before to make inquiry, they put up at the ſame Inn where the Gentlemen had ſtopped. *Gaudot*, entering the Inn, met Mr. *Knight* and his Companion, who inſtantly yielded themſelves priſoners. Soon after Mr. *Knight*'s ſon, who had followed his father from *Bruſſels*, arrived at *Tirlemont*, and was alſo ſeized. They were all carried back to *Bruſſels*, and, by a warrant from the Marquiſs *de Prié*, the Major conducted Mr. *Knight* to the Citadel of *Antwerp*, where he was kept in ſafe cuſtody by an Officer who lay in the room with him, and four ſentinals without the

Proceedings about Mr. Knight.

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(1) Three days after, Mr. *Hawes*, a Director, having been examined with ſome Brokers, the Lords came to the following reſolutions:

1. That the Directors, *&c.* buying the *Midſummer* dividend about the 4th of *January* 1719-20, and paying 5 *s.* down, and 3 *l.* after the receipt of the dividend, was a fraud to the perſons, with whom they contracted.

2. That the giving a premium, for the refuſal of ſtock, at higher prices than they knew the value was, was a fraudulent artifice to raiſe the price of ſtock.

3. That promoting the third ſubſcription at 1000 *per cent*, was to anſwer a particular end, and to cheat the public.

4. That the declaring 30 *l. per cent* dividend for the half year ending at *Chriſtmas*, and 50 *l. per cent. per annum* for no leſs than twelve years after, was a villainous artifice to delude and defraud his Majeſty's good ſubjects.

5. That the declaring the *Midſummer* dividend to be paid in ſtock, when they had money by them to anſwer the ſame, was a notorious fraud, and was one occaſion of the misfortunes that enſued.

1720-21. the houſe, and as many within, and was not allowed the uſe of pen, ink, and paper. His ſon went with him to the Citadel.

Great was the joy at the news of Mr. *Knight*'s being in cuſtody. Addreſſes were preſented by both Houſes to thank the King for giving ſuch effectual directions for ſecuring Mr. *Knight*, and to deſire that orders might be given to his Miniſters at *Vienna* and *Bruſſels*, to make proper applications that Mr. *Knight*, with his papers and effects, might be delivered to ſuch perſons as ſhould be appointed to receive him. Purſuant to theſe addreſſes, the King ſent Colonel *Charles Churchill* to the Court of *Vienna*, to make inſtances for the delivering up Mr. *Knight*; who, on the other hand, made application to the States of *Brabant*, for the protection of their Conſtitution. By an article of the Charter, called *the Joyful Entry* (granted by the Emperor *Charles* V, and ſworn to by all his Succeſſors) no perſon charged with, or apprehended for any crime, can be removed to be tried out of *Brabant*. When therefore Mr. *Leathes* made preſſing inſtances with the Marquiſs *de Prié* to have Mr. *Knight* delivered up, the States of *Brabant* inſiſted upon their privilege, and the Marquiſs would proceed no farther in the affair, without particular inſtructions from *Vienna*; for which purpoſe, Colonel *Churchill* was ſent to that Court. In the beginning of *March*, the Colonel ſent word, that he was juſt arrived at *Vienna*, and would immediately apply to the Imperial Court, for the delivering up Mr. *Knight*, and did not doubt of ſucceſs, unleſs the privileges of the States of *Brabant* interfered. This letter being communicated to the Houſe of Commons, reflections were made (particularly by the Lord *Moleſworth*) upon the frivolous pretence, uſed to fruſtrate the King's endeavours to bring over Mr. *Knight*. But the Houſe came to no reſolution in the affair. About three weeks after, a letter from the Emperor to the King was laid before the Commons, wherein 'the Emperor expreſſes his inclination to comply with his Majeſty's deſires, but, the States of *Brabant* inſiſting on their privileges, it would be neceſſary to make application to them, which he would not fail to ſupport.' In a debate on account of this letter, Mr. *Hutcheſon* repreſented, 'How much, on the one hand, the Public was concerned in having the Authors of the preſent diſtreſs fully diſcovered, and brought to condign puniſhment; and how impracticable it was, on the other, to proceed in that important inquiry, ſo long as the principal Agent of the *South-Sea* Directors, and their Accomplices, was kept out of the way; that, in the mean time, the public calamity increaſing every day, the Nation called aloud for juſtice; and therefore, if the means already uſed for bringing over Mr. *Knight* proved abortive, it were adviſeable to have recourſe to more ſpeedy and effectual methods.' Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* alſo ſhewed, 'That it was incumbent on ſome perſons in the Adminiſtration to have Mr. *Knight* brought over, in order fully to clear their own innocence, otherwiſe, though acquitted, they would ſtill be looked upon as criminal: Urging, moreover, that it was matter of wonder, that ſo frivolous a pretence, as the privileges of the State of *Brabant*, ſhould be uſed, to put a ſtop to ſo important an inquiry, eſpecially conſidering how little thoſe privileges had been regarded in more material points, and what obligations the Houſe of *Auſtria* lay under to the *Britiſh* Nation.' On the other hand, Mr. *Lechmere* repreſented, 'That, in all probability, the Court of *Vienna* had not fully conſidered the importance of the inſtances made to them in his Majeſty's name, and at the deſire of the Commons of *Great-Britain*: But it was to be preſumed, when ſo wiſe a Prince as the Emperor ſhould be apprized, that the welfare and ſafety of *England* depended in ſome meaſure on the delivering up of Mr. *Knight*, he would readily comply with their deſires.' Then Mr. *Lechmere* moved for an addreſs to thank the King for the inſtances he had made, by a letter under his own hand to the Emperor about Mr. *Knight*, to expreſs their diſſatisfaction at the obſtacles raiſed againſt a compliance with his endeavours, and to deſire his moſt preſſing inſtances for the obtaining what was thought of ſuch importance to the juſtice due to his people. This addreſs was agreed to and preſented to the King, who aſſured them, he would continue to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for obtaining what they deſired, and hoped they would prove effectual. But, notwithſtanding all this, before the Emperor had ſent any inſtructions to the Marquiſs *de Prié*, Mr. *Knight* found means to make his eſcape out of the Citadel of *Antwerp*. 1720.

Proceedings of Secret Committees.

The Committee of Secrecy, appointed to look into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the *South-Sea* act, made their firſt report to the Houſe of Commons the 16th of *February*, the day Mr. Secretary *Craggs* died. At the entrance into their inquiry, they obſerved, the matters referred to them were of great variety and extent. Many perſons were intruſted with different parts in the execution of that act, and, in an unwarrantable manner, diſpoſed of the properties of many thouſands of perſons, amounting to many millions. In the progreſs of their inquiry they found it attended with many difficulties.

In ſome of the books, falſe and fictitious entries were made; in others, entries with blanks; in others, entries with razures and alterations; and in others, leaves torn out. They found, ſome books had been deſtroyed, others ſecreted: However, they were enabled to lay ſome matters of importance before the Houſe.

The firſt matter, that occurred to their conſideration, was a ſcene of iniquity and corruption, the diſcovery of which they conceived to be of the higheſt concern to the honour of Parliaments, and the ſecurity of the Government.

It appeared, that, before the paſſing the *South-Sea* act, and before any ſubſcription could be made, a *fictitious ſtock* of no leſs than 574,000 *l.* had been diſpoſed of by the Directors, in order to facilitate the paſſing the bill. This ſtock was ſet down as ſold at ſeveral days, and at ſeveral prices, from 150 *l. per cent.* to 325 *l. per cent.* (amounting in all to 1,259,325 *l.*) and was from thoſe times to be eſteemed as holden of the Company, for the benefit of the pretended Purchaſers, though no mutual agreement was then made for the delivery or acceptance of the ſtock at any certain time, and though no money was paid down, nor any ſecurity given for payment by the ſuppoſed Purchaſers. So, if the price of ſtock had fallen, no loſs could have been

been ſuſtained by them; but, if it ſhould advance, the difference was to be made good to the pretended Purchaſers. As this fictitious ſtock was deſigned for promoting the bill, the Sub and Deputy-Governors, Sir *John Blunt*, Mr. *Gibbon*, Mr. *Cheſter*, Mr. *Holditch*, with the Caſhier Mr. *Knight*, had the diſpoſal of this ſtock, of which the following particulars were taken for ſeveral perſons:

		l.
For the Earl of *Sunderland*, at the requeſt of Mr. *Craggs*, ſenr.	}	50,000
For the Ducheſs of *Kendal*	——	10,000
For the Counteſs of *Platen*	——	10,000
For the Counteſs's two Nieces	——	10,000
For Mr. *Craggs*, ſenr.	——	30,000
For *Charles Stanhope*	——	10,000
For the Sword-blade	——	50,000

The difference of the laſt parcel amounting to 250,000 *l.* was ſuppoſed to be paid to Mr. *Charles Stanhope* by Sir *George Caſwal* and Company; but that Sir *George* ordered the name *Stanhope* to be partly eraſed out of the book, and made *Stangape*. It alſo appeared, that Mr. *Aiſlabie*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, had great quantities of *South-Sea* ſtock given him; but that his affairs were chiefly managed by Mr. *Edmund Waller*, his ſon-in-law, and Mr. *Weymondſel*, a Broker: That Mr. *Aiſlabie*'s laſt account with *Turner*, *Caſwal*, and Company, was 794,451 *l.*: That 68,000 *l.* part thereof, was paid in caſh to Mr. *Waller*, as was alſo 44,600 *l.* more by a bond of *Caſwal* and Company; and 33,000 *l.* by another bond of *Caſwal* and Company, was paid to Mr. *Weddal*: That Mr. *Aiſlabie*, as a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, had 4000 *l.* in the firſt money-ſubſcription; but that as ſoon as it came to bear an advance of about 40 *per cent.* he had 20,000 more: That no warrant was found for making the ſecond money-ſubſcription more than one million; but that afterwards ſome of the leading Directors, by the advice of Mr. *Aiſlabie*, made it 500,000 *l.* more: That the third money-ſubſcription at 1000 *l.* was promoted by Mr. *Aiſlabie*, whoſe liſt amounted to 70,000 *l.* the Earl of *Sunderland*'s liſt to 160,000 *l.* Mr. Secretary *Cragg*'s liſt to 659,000 *l.* and Mr. *Charles Stanhope*'s to 47,000 *l.* That Mr. *Aiſlabie* likewiſe adviſed the lending money on ſtock; and that the Directors ſold part of the pawned ſtock at high prices; but that of 2,800,000 *l.* that ſhould have been transferred by Mr. *Knight* to four of the Directors, there appeared to be but 2,400,000 *l.* ſo that there was 400,000 *l.* ſtock wanting. The Committee obſerved, that, in the account of ſtock ſold, they found the names of ſeveral Members of Parliament, not concerned in the Adminiſtration, whoſe caſes they could not particularly examine, without the direction of the Houſe in what manner to proceed. The Report ended, with an account of the divers practices uſed to raiſe the nominal value of *South-Sea* ſtock, to the extravagant rate to which it was afterwards advanced above the real value (1). This Report was followed by ſix others, and, at the cloſe of the laſt, the Committee ſaid, they were under a neceſſity of ending their inquiry, by reaſon of the abſence of Mr. *Knight*, who appeared to have been principally and in many inſtances ſolely intruſted in the execution of the black and deſtructive *South Sea* ſcheme. 1720-21.

Soon after the firſt Report, the Commons having taken it into conſideration, came to theſe reſolutions:

1. That the late Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, and their Officers, and their Aiders and Abettors, in lending out the Company's money upon

(1) As this part of the report gives a brief hiſtory of all the contrivances for ſupporting the ſcheme, it will not be improper to inſert it at large:

Your Committee find, that, by computation made by their direction, it appears, that the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company might have raiſed the whole ſum ſtipulated for the Public, with a profit of near one million and an half for the benefit of the Proprietors of the old ſtock, without ſetting their ſtock to ſale at any higher price than 150 *l. per cent.*

That after the ſaid Directors had taken in the firſt money-ſubſcription at 300 *l. per cent.* and the ſecond money-ſubſcription at 400 *l. per cent.* and the firſt ſubſcription of the long and ſhort annuities at 375 *l. per cent.* the value of 100 *l. South-Sea* ſtock was but 120 *l.* or thereabouts, ſuppoſing the whole money of the ſaid firſt and ſecond ſubſcriptions (amounting to 12,750,000 *l.*) had been all paid in.

That the ſaid Court of Directors did afterwards proceed to take in a third and a fourth money-ſubſcription at the rate of 1000 *l. per cent.* and a ſecond ſubſcription of the long and ſhort annuities, and a ſubſcription of the redeemable debts at the rate of 800 *l. per cent.* after which the value of 100 *l. South-Sea* ſtock was but 332 *l.* or thereabouts, ſuppoſing the whole money of the ſaid four money ſubſcriptions (amounting to 68,750,000 *l.*) had been all paid in.

That, if all the remaining public debts had been taken in, and all the remaining ſtock of the Company ſold, on the terms which the ſaid Directors pretended to expect, 100 *l. South-Sea* ſtock would have been worth but 547 *l.* or thereabouts, ſuppoſing the money of the ſaid four ſubſcriptions, and the money for the remaining ſtock (which together would have amounted to 205,039,401 *l.*) had been all paid in.

That, on the 30th day of *Auguſt* laſt, the Court of Directors of the *South-Sea* Company came to a reſolution (which on the 8th day of *September* laſt was confirmed by a General Court) to declare a dividend of 30 *l. per cent.* to be made at *Chriſtmas*, 1720, and of not leſs than 50 *l. per cent. per ann.* for not leſs than twelve years to come from that time.

That ſoon after this reſolution (*viz.* at a General Court held the 20th day of *September* laſt) the Sub-Governor acquainted the General Court, that the affairs of the Company, in relation to the price of their ſtock, and ſubſcriptions, had taken an unexpected turn, and thereupon propoſed their giving a power to the Court of Directors to relieve the laſt Subſcribers of the public debts, and the Proprietors of the two laſt money-ſubſcriptions, which was accordingly granted; and, at a Court of Directors held the 29th day of *September* laſt, it was reſolved, That the ſaid Subſcribers ſhould have the ſame terms with the Bank, *viz.* That their ſubſcriptions ſhould be reduced from 1000 *l.* and 800 *l. per cent.* to 400 *l.* and that they ſhould alſo have the benefit of the *Midſummer* dividend of 10 *l. per cent.* which was accordingly confirmed by a General Court held the 30th day of the ſame month; upon which your Committee obſerves, That it appears to them very extraordinary, that the Directors on the 8th Day of *September* (when the ſaid high dividend was declared in a General Court) ſhould have had no foreſight of the turn which ſo ſoon after (*viz.* on the 20th day of the ſame month) happened in their affairs.

1720-21. upon ſtock and ſubſcriptions, without taking ſecurity for repayment thereof, have been guilty of a notorious breach of truſt, and have thereby occaſioned great loſs to the Company, for which they ought to make ſatisfaction out of their own eſtates.

2. That the ſelling or diſpoſing of ſtock or ſubſcriptions, transferred or depoſited as a ſecurity for the repayment of the money ſo lent, was a notorious breach of the truſt repoſed in the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, and their Officers, and a fraud on the Proprietors, in order to inrich themſelves; for which they ought to make ſatisfaction out of their own eſtates.

3. That the taking in or holding of ſtock, by the *South-Sea* Company, for the benefit of any Member of either Houſe of Parliament, or perſon concerned in the Adminiſtration, during the time, that the Company's propoſals, or the bill thereto relating, were depending in Parliament, without any valuable conſideration paid, or ſufficient ſecurity given for the acceptance of, or payment for ſuch ſtock; and the Company's paying or allowing ſuch perſon the difference ariſing by the advanced price of the ſtocks, were corrupt, infamous, and dangerous practices, highly reflecting on the honour and juſtice of Parliaments, and deſtructive of the intereſts of his Majeſty's Government.

4. That any of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company ſelling their own ſtock at high prices to the Company or others, at the ſame time, that they gave orders for buying ſtock upon account of the Company, under pretence of keeping up the nominal value of the ſtock, was a ſcandalous practice, tending to inrich themſelves, to the great loſs and detriment of the Company, and of others his Majeſty's ſubjects, for which they ought to make ſatisfaction out of their own eſtates. 1720.

5. That the declaring a dividend of 30 *per cent.* for *Chriſtmas* laſt, and not leſs than 50 *per cent. per ann.* for not leſs than twelve years after, was an infamous contrivance to give his Majeſty's ſubjects falſe notions of the value of the ſtock, that the Directors might more eaſily diſpoſe of their own ſtock at exorbitant prices.

6. That the ſetting the ſtock of the *South-Sea* Company to ſale by ſubſcriptions, at high prices, above the intrinſic value of the ſame, by the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the Company, was a groſs and notorious fraud; and has been one great cauſe of the ſinking of the public credit, and bringing upon the Nation the diſtreſs it at preſent labours under.

7. That the adviſing the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, to ſet the ſtock of the Company to ſale by ſubſcriptions at high and extravagant prices, or to declare the high and extravagant dividends for *Chriſtmas* laſt, and twelve years after, by any perſons in the Adminiſtration, was a notorious

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That, on the ſaid 8th day of *September*, the Sub-Governor acquainted the General Court, that their Directors had been unanimous in all their proceedings, which, amongſt other things, includes the before-mentioned ſeveral ſubſcriptions by them taken in, except the firſt; and upon the examination of the Directors it doth not appear to your Committee, that any one of them proteſted againſt, or declared any public diſſent from any of the ſaid proceedings; and it appears, that all of them took their ſhares and proportions of the ſubſcriptions, which were allotted for the reſpective Directors to diſpoſe of.

And your Committee have been informed by Sir *Theodore Janſſen*, that there was a meeting at the houſe of Sir *John Fellows*, betwixt ſixteen of the Court of Directors, Mr. Secretary *Craggs* and Mr. *Aiſlabie*, at which time it was propoſed, that a ſubſcription ſhould be taken in at 300 *l. per Cent.* which was approved of by Mr. Secretary *Craggs*, and Mr. *Aiſlabie*; and that, when the ſaid Company broke up, it was agreed, that every perſon ſhould uſe their beſt endeavours to promote it; which is alſo confirmed by the information of Sir *Lambert Blackwell*.

And, at a Court of Directors held the 13th day of *April* laſt, it was reſolved, to take in a ſubſcription for two millions, at the rate of 300 *l. per cent.* but the ſame was afterwards increaſed, without any previous reſolution to that purpoſe, to 2,250,000 *l.* and your Committee obſerve, that the imaginary value of the ſaid ſubſcriptions roſe very faſt; and that thoſe who had the benefit of the ſaid additional ſubſcription, if they ſold, and diſpoſed of the ſame, made very great gains thereby.

That, at a Court of Directors held the 28th day of *April* laſt, it was reſolved to take in a ſecond money-ſubſcription, at the rate of 400 *l. per cent.* for 1,000,000 *l.* but, by the accounts delivered into this Houſe, it appears, that the ſaid ſubſcription was for 1,500,000 *l.* yet it does not appear that there was any previous reſolution of the Court of Directors for the addition of 500,000 *l.* nor was the ſaid addition declared till the 8th of *September* laſt, at which time the Sub-Governor acquainted the General Court therewith; upon which your Committee cannot but obſerve the great diſtance of time between the taking in of the ſecond ſubſcription at 1,000,000 *l.* and the 8th of *September*, when the ſame was reported to the General Court at 1,500,000 *l.* during which interval the imaginary value of that ſubſcription was exceſſively increaſed, whereby the perſons, who had the ſame, had the advantage of that extraordinary riſe.

That, at a Court of Directors held the 15th day of *June* laſt, it was reſolved to take in a third money-ſubſcription at the rate of 1000 *l. per cent.* one tenth part whereof was to be paid down at the time of ſubſcribeing; and, at a Court of Directors held the 23d day of the ſame month, the Sub-Governor acquainted the Court, That the ſaid third money-ſubſcription was compleated, without mentioning to what ſum; but at the before-mentioned General Court, held the 8th day of *September* laſt, he declared the ſame to be for five millions; and Mr. *Knight*, late Caſhier of the *South-Sea* Company, by an article dated the 20th day of *June* laſt, in the caſh-book, fol. 125, charges the ſaid ſum of five millions as received; which account was paſſed, and allowed by the Company's Committee of Treaſury, on, or ſome time after the 4th day of *Auguſt* laſt; and yet, in the account of the third money-ſubſcription delivered in to this Houſe, it is ſtated at 4,400,000 *l.* only the remaining ſum of 600,000 *l.* being entered on the credit ſide of the ſaid caſh-book on the 19th of *December*, 1720, as a ſuppoſed deficiency of the payment on this ſubſcription; although it appears to your Committee upon the evidence of Mr. *Lockyer*, and others, that not only the whole ſum of five millions, but even a conſiderable exceeding thereon was paid in; that a great deal of money was repaid back to reduce the ſubſcription to five millions; and that they had money enough paid in for near eight millions.

That, at a Court of Directors held the 12th day of *Auguſt* laſt, it was reſolved to take in a fourth money-ſubſcription for one million, at the rate of 1000 *l. per cent.* And, at a Court of Directors held the 25th of the ſame month, it was declared, That, upon caſting up the books, it was found the ſaid fourth money-ſubſcription,

notorious breach of the truſt repoſed in them, to the prejudice of his Majeſty's Government, and the intereſt of the Kingdom. 1720-21.

8. That the entry in the caſh-book of the *South-Sea* Company of 574,500 *l.* ſtock, pretended to be ſold for 1,213,575 *l.* between the 4th of *February*, 1719, and the 12th of *April* following, was contrived with a deſign to conceal the names of perſons, for whoſe benefit ſtock was taken in by the Company.

9. That every perſon, for whom ſtock was taken in or held, ſuch ſtock being part of the 574,500 *l.* pretended to be ſold by the *South-Sea* Company, from the 4th of *February*, 1719, to the 12th of *April*, without money paid, or ſufficient ſecurity given for the acceptance of, and payment for ſuch ſtock, be obliged to pay to the Company all ſuch ſums of money, as have been received by way of difference, or otherwiſe, for ſuch ſtock.

10. That the addition of 250,000 *l.* to the firſt money-ſubſcription, after it had been declared to have been opened for two millions, and the addition of 500,000 *l.* to the ſecond money-ſubſcription, after it had been declared to be opened for one million, were fraudulently contrived to give corrupt advantages to particular perſons, and were injurious to public credit.

Upon theſe reſolutions, a bill was brought in, for the relief of the unhappy Sufferers in the *South-Sea* Company. 1720-21.

Mr. *Stanhope*, one of the Secretaries of the Treaſury, having been charged, in the Report of the Secret Committee, for having large quantities of ſtock and ſubſcriptions held for him, preſſed the Houſe, that a ſhort day might be appointed to examine the matter, that he might have an opportunity to clear himſelf. A day being appointed, ſeveral of the Directors and others were ordered to attend, who were examined concerning the charge againſt him, conſiſting of two articles: 1. That 10,000 *l. South-Sea* ſtock was taken in for his benefit by Mr. *Knight*, without any valuable conſideration; and that the difference, ariſing by the advanced price thereof, had been paid him out of the caſh of the *South Sea* Company. 2. That *Turner* and Company had bought 50,000 *l.* ſtock at a low price of the *South Sea* Company, in the name, and for the benefit of Mr. *Stanhope*, the difference of the advanced price whereof, amounting to 250,000 *l.* had been paid him by Sir *George Caſwal* and Company. To prove theſe articles, the Secret Committee cauſed the examinations of Sir *John Blunt*, Mr. *Holditch*, Mr. *Sawbridge*, Mr. *Henry Blunt*, and others, to be read, and thoſe *Mr.* Stanhope's *caſe.*

ſubſcription, inſtead of one million, was increaſed to 1,250,000 *l.* which was occaſioned by taking the ſaid ſubſcription in ſeveral books; and at the before-mentioned General Court, held the 8th day of *September* laſt, the Sub-Governor declared the fourth money-ſubſcription was compleated to 1,250,000 *l.* And Mr. *Knight* the Caſhier hath, in an article dated the 30th day of *Auguſt* laſt, and entered in the caſh-book, fol. 128, given the Company credit for the firſt payment made on the 4th ſubſcription, *viz.* for 2,500,000 *l.* which account was paſſed, and allowed by the Committee of Treaſury on the 4th day of *October* laſt; and yet, in the account of the ſaid fourth money-ſubſcription delivered into this Houſe, it is ſtated at 1,200,000 *l.* only: That upon the examination of Mr. *Knight*, and ſeveral of the Directors, in relation to the deficiency of the ſaid third and fourth money-ſubſcriptions, their anſwers were very unſatisfactory: And your Committee cannot but obſerve, That as, by the before-mentioned additions to the firſt two money-ſubſcriptions, ſome perſons made great gains, whilſt the price of the ſaid ſubſcriptions continued high; ſo, when the price of the ſubſcriptions fell, many other perſons were favoured, by having their ſubſcriptions withdrawn, which was the cauſe of the deficiency.

That on the ſecond money-ſubſcription each Director was allowed, for himſelf and friends, 26,000 *l.* and that the remainder of the million, at firſt reſolved to be taken in, was at the diſpoſal of the Sub and Deputy-Governors; but, for whoſe benefit the additional ſubſcription of 500,000 *l.* was intended, your Committee have not yet been able to diſcover.

That on the third money-ſubſcription each Director was allowed 54,000 *l.* for himſelf and friends; and that ſeveral large liſts of the names of perſons were ſent to the Sub-Governor, to be admitted into the ſaid third ſubſcription; *viz.* by the Earl of *Sunderland*, firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, a liſt amounting to 167,000 *l.* by *John Aiſlabie*, Eſq; late Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, another of the Lords of the Treaſury, a liſt amounting to 75,300 *l.* by *James Craggs*, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, two liſts, amounting to 695,000 *l.* and by *Charles Stanhope*, Eſq; one of the Secretaries of the Treaſury, a liſt amounting to 49,700 *l.* Which four laſt mentioned liſts amount to 987,000 *l.*

That, upon examination, it appears, that other liſts have been given in, as well on the third as on the ſecond ſubſcription; but, the ſame being loſt or miſlaid, as your Committee have been informed, they are thereby diſabled, at preſent, from making any report thereon.

They find 25,000 *l.* of the ſecond ſubſcription hath been given unto *John Aiſlabie*, Eſq; about eight or ten days after the opening of that ſubſcription, at which time the ſubſcriptions were at an advanced price, of about 40 *l. per cent.* and ſoon after roſe vaſtly higher.

That it doth not appear to your Committee that any of the perſons, who had the honour to ſerve his Majeſty in the Treaſury, or in any other part of the Adminiſtration, uſed any endeavours to prevent the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company from taking in ſubſcriptions at the aforeſaid extravagant prices; but on the contrary it doth appear, that ſome of them, by the liſts they gave in as aforeſaid, did not only encourage and promote the ſaid ſubſcriptions, but did greatly enlarge the ſame.

Your Committee obſerving that Sir *John Fellows*, late Sub-Governor of the *South-Sea* Company, did at a General Court of the ſaid Company, held the 21ſt of *April*, 1720, acquaint that Court, that the deſign of the Government's million of *Exchequer*-bills to be lent to the Company, by virtue of the late Act of Parliament for iſſuing *Exchequer*-bills to be circulated at or near the *Exchequer*, was to enable the Company to lend money upon their ſtock; and finding that by order of the Court of Directors of the ſaid Company the ſame had been ſo lent out, your Committee proceeded to enquire into this affair.

And on the examination of Mr. *Robert Knight*, late Caſhier of the ſaid Company, he declared, that he did not remember that any application was made by the Directors to have thoſe bills iſſued; but that the firſt diſcourſe of this matter was by *John Aiſlabie*, Eſq; then Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, a week before the propoſals of the *South-Sea* Company were offered to this Houſe; that Mr. *Aiſlabie* ſaid, it would be more acceptable to have thoſe bills circulated at the *Exchequer*, than to ſend them to the Bank or elſewhere, and that the Company might afford to circulate them for nothing, they being to be lent to the Company to enable them to execute their ſcheme. That the Examinant believed, the intention of lending the ſaid bills upon ſtock had been communicated to Mr. *Aiſlabie*, and that he (the Examinant) on his attending at the Treaſury to ſollicit the iſſuing of theſe bills, did mention

1720-21. those persons themselves to be examined; but some of them rather weakened than confirmed their former depositions. Sir *John Blunt*, in particular, owned, as to the first article, that Mr. *Knight* had shewn him a letter, which he told him was signed by Mr. *Stanhope*, desiring him to take 10,000 *l.* stock for him; but that he did not know whether that letter was genuine, nor what was become of it: And, as for the 50,000 *l.* stock transferred to the Sword-blade Company in Mr. *Stanhope*'s name, Mr. *Sawbridge* and Mr. *Turner* owned they had made use of Mr. *Stanhope*'s name without his privity or consent. After the examinations, and the animadversions of the Members of the Secret Committee, Mr. *Stanhope* said, 'That, for some years past, he had lodged all the money he was master of in Mr. *Knight*'s hands, and whatever stock Mr. *Knight* had taken in for him, he had paid a valuable consideration for it. And as for the 50,000 *l.* he could not answer for what had been done without his consent.' When the question was put, whether he was concerned in the manner represented by the two articles, he was cleared, though by three voices only, 180 against 177.

A few days after, Sir *George Caswal* having been heard in his place, it was resolved by the Commons, 'That it appeared to the House, that Sir *George Caswal*, one of the Copartners of *Turner* and Company, and a Member of the House, did, on the 14th of *December* 1720, after the House had begun to inquire into the conduct of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, order *Daniel Watkins*, one of the Book-keepers of *Turner* and Company, to erase, in several places of the books, the name of *Stanhope*, and to make the same *Stangape*, which was accordingly done.' After this and some other resolutions concerning him, a bill was ordered to be brought in, to make the estates real and personal of Sir *George Caswal*, *Jacob Sawbridge*, and *Elias Turner* answerable for 250,000 *l.* to the *South-Sea* Company, the advanced price of the forementioned 50,000 *l.* *South-Sea* stock.

The case of the Earl of *Sunderland* was also taken into consideration. By the report of the Secret Committee it appeared, that 50,000 *l.* stock had been taken by Mr. *Knight* for the Earl's use, without any thing paid, or security given for payment for the same. The House seemed to be intent upon the inquiry: A warm dispute arose, and much was said for and against him: But, upon the question, the vote passed in his favour, by a majority of 233 against 132.

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tion that design, and never heard that the Treasury disapproved of it.

That Sir *John Blunt* declared it would be better to employ those bills in the lending upon stock, than in paying of the redeemables, which would take up more time.

Hereupon your Committee examining Sir *John Fellows*, he said, that he and others of the Directors treated with Mr. *Aislabie* and others at the Treasury about the issuing the said *Exchequer*-bills; but that it was first proposed to Mr. *Aislabie*, and the Examinant believed, it was at first mentioned by Sir *John Blunt*, in a Committee of the Directors, and that it was the general opinion of the Directors.

Your Committee examining Sir *John Blunt* upon this transaction, he declared, that he spoke to Mr. *Aislabie* to hasten the issuing of the said bills; and that himself, or some other of the Directors, acquainted Mr. *Aislabie* (as he believes at the Treasury) with the Company's design to lend them upon stock; that it did not at first arise from the Directors, but that it was intimated to them before, or very soon after the Company's proposals were laid before the House, by some of the Treasury, and on recollection, the Examinant said, it was by Mr. *Aislabie*, to enable the Company to carry on their scheme, and thereby to raise the price of their stock, the borrowers being enabled to buy stock.

That, by the book of loans delivered in to this House, it appears that the sum of 9,039,936 *l.* 11 *s.* was lent to several persons on the security of 2,563,117 *l.* 17 *s.* 5 *d.* stock: And that the further sum of 2,219,089 *l.* was lent on the security of 773,600 *l.* subscription-receipts; the money so lent, and still remaining due, amounting in the whole to the sum of 11,259,025 *l.* 11 *s.*

That by several resolutions of the Court of Directors of the 21st of *April*, the 20th of *May*, and the 9th of *June* last, for three several loans, it appears, that the sum, resolved by them to be lent on stock from the 21st of *April* to the 21st of *May*, was limited to 500,000 *l.* in the whole, and that not more than 5000 *l.* should be lent to any one person, and such loan to be only at the rate of 250 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock; that, from the 20th of *May* to the 9th of *June*, the rule of lending was at the rate of 300 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock; and that not more than 3000 *l.* should be lent to any one person; and, from the 9th of *June*, the rule of lending was at 400 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock, and that not more than 4000 *l.* should be lent to any one person.

That, on examination of the book of loans, it appears, that on the first loan the rules of lending were greatly exceeded, *viz.* That there was lent in the whole 943,631 *l.* more than the sum of 500,000 *l.* to which the said loan was confined. That the excess above 250 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock amounts to 316,740 *l* and the excess above 5000 *l.* to one person amounts in the whole to 779,231 *l.* That on the second loan the excess above the rate of 300 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock amounts to 30,750 *l.* and the excess above 3000 *l.* to one person amounts in the whole to 169,025 *l.* And that on the third loan the excess above 400 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock amounts to 59,413 *l.* and the excess above the rate of 4000 *l.* to one person amounts in the whole to 1,447,677 *l.* For the particulars of all which your Committee refer to the book marked N°. IV. in which the same are distinctly expressed, and the resolutions of the General Court, and Court of Directors, in relation to loans, are transcribed.

That your Committee do not find any resolution, either of a General Court, or a Court of Directors, for lending money on subscription-receipts; but, by the examinations which they have taken, it appears, That Mr. *Knight*, the late Cashier of the *South-Sea* Company, and his Under-Cashier and Clerks, by his directions, did lend money on the subscription-receipts, by verbal orders from the Directors of the said Company, and under colour of an order of a General Court, made the 21st of *April*, 1720, to impower the Court of Directors from time to time, as they shall see for the interest of the Company, to lend any sum or sums of the Company's money, on the Company's present and to be increased capital stock; and to do all such matters and things, as they should judge most for the good of the Company.

But your Committee find, that by the second by-law of the said Company, relating to the keeping the cash of the Company, it was ordained, That the cash of the Corporation should from time to time be kept under three several locks, with different wards, the keys of which to be kept, one by the Cashier, and the other two by such of the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor or Directors, as the said Court should from time to time appoint, except such sum or sums as the Court of Directors should think necessary to let remain in the custody of the Cashier; and no money relating to the trade or affairs of the said Company should be disposed of, without an order of the said Court of Directors;

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21. Notwithſtanding this, it was generally thought, the Secret Committee would not have accuſed the Prime Miniſter, if the charge had not been at leaſt probable. The Earl did not loſe the confidence of his Maſter, though he reſigned his poſt of firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, which was given to Mr. *Walpole*, as one of the moſt capable to hold it in ſuch critical circumſtances.

Mr. *Aiſlabie* did not eſcape ſo well as the Earl of *Sunderland*. When that part of the Report of the Secret Committee, which related to Mr. *Aiſlabie*, came to be conſidered, Mr. *Hawes*'s depoſition againſt him, 'That he had cauſed the book of accounts between them to be burnt, and given him a diſcharge for the balance, amounting to 842,000*l.*' appeared ſo ſtrong, that the Commons came to ſeveral reſolutions againſt him, particularly, that he had promoted the deſtructive execution of the *South-Sea* ſcheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the Directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of the public credit; and therefore he was expelled the Houſe, and ordered to be committed to the *Tower*.

Mr. *Craggs* would have been called to an account on the 17th of *March*, but he happened to die the day before of a lethargic fit, leaving behind him an immenſe eſtate to be divided among his three daughters, who were married to three Members of Parliament, Mr. *Treſuſis*, Mr. *Newſham*, and Mr. *Elliot*. About ſix weeks after his death, the Commons having taken Mr. *Craggs*'s affair into conſideration, it was reſolved, that a large quantity of *South-Sea* ſtock had been held by the Company for his uſe, and that he was a notorious accomplice with *Robert Knight*, and ſome of the Directors, in carrying on their ſcandalous practices; and therefore that all the eſtate, he was poſſeſſed of from the 1ſt of *December* 1719, ſhould be applied towards the relief of the unhappy Sufferers in the *South-Sea* Company. 1720-21.

Allowances to the South-Sea Directors out of their eſtates.

The Directors having delivered in the inventories of their eſtates, it was debated what allowance ſhould be given them. Mr. *Lowndes* propoſed an eighth part: But it was objected, ſuch an allowance would be too much for ſome who had the largeſt eſtates, and conſequently had been deepeſt in the guilt; and too little for others who had but ſmall eſtates, and were only paſſively criminal, by not entering their diſſent to the fraudulent management of the reſt. It was at laſt agreed, that the affair of each Director ſhould be particularly conſidered, and more or leſs favour ſhewn, according as they ſhould appear more or leſs guilty. The Commons began with the Sub and Deputy-Governors, and proceeded alphabetically to the reſt. The value of their eſtates, as given in upon oath, amounted

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rectors; and that the intereſt of all other advantages, ariſing and growing upon the caſh of the ſaid Company, ſhould be brought to the account of the ſaid Company. However, it appears that the ſaid loans on ſubſcriptions were generally known, and never objected againſt, by any of the Directors in a General Court, or in any Court of Directors.

That, on the ſaid loans on ſtock, the ſtock was tranſferred to perſons for that purpoſe nominated, in the ſame manner as if the ſame had been abſolutely ſold, without any defeazance on the part of the Company, or of the perſons to whom the ſtock was transferred, for re-tranſferring the ſame, on repayment of the money; nor was any covenant or other ſecurity taken, for repayment from the Borrowers, except the ſtock ſo transferred; nor doth there appear any diſtinction between the ſaid transfers on loans, and the other transfers, which were made of ſtock abſolutely purchaſed, on account of the Company: Upon which your Committee obſerve, that it was in the power of the perſons, to whom the ſaid pawned ſtock was transferred, to diſpoſe thereof at any time, as they thought fit, when the price of ſtock was high, and to replace the ſame when it fell.

And your Committee do find, that, on the 19th day of *October* laſt, the ſaid Mr. *Knight*, to whom the ſaid pawned ſtock was transferred, did, purſuant to an order of the Court of Directors, transfer ſtock to the amount of 2,141,867*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* to Sir *Harcourt Maſters*, Colonel *Hugh Raymond*, *Edward Gibbon*, and *John Gore*, Truſtees, for that purpoſe nominated by the Court of Directors, in whoſe names the ſame now remains; but the ſum is 421,250*l.* ſhort of the aforeſaid ſum of 2,563,117*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* which is mentioned in the ſaid book of loans to have been pledged for the ſecurity of the repayment of the aforeſaid ſum of 9,939,936*l.* 11*s.* from which it is evident, that the ſaid ſum of 421,250*l.* of the ſtock mortgaged or pawned on loans, as aforeſaid, has been ſold, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, by the Truſtees, or Agents of the *South-Sea* Company; and, till replaced, cannot be re-tranſferred to thoſe, by whom the ſame was pawned or mortgaged: Upon which your Committee obſerve how eaſy it was for the Truſtees of the Company to have ſold the ſaid ſtock, when it was at high prices, and to have replaced the ſame again when it fell; for on examination it appears, that there was no diſtinct and ſeparate account kept of the ſaid mortgaged and pawned ſtock, nor was the ſame any ways diſtinguiſhed from the other ſtock of thoſe perſons, to whom it was at firſt transferred.

That, as to the ſaid ſum of 2,219,087*l.* lent on 773,600*l.* ſubſcription-receipts, it appears by the aforeſaid book of loans, that the general rule of lending was at the rate of 300*l.* on 100*l.* ſubſcription-receipts; but, excluding from the ſaid loans on ſubſcriptions the two great loans, the one to the million-bank, and the other to *Turner* and Company, the loans to the other Borrowers will at an average come out above 300*l. per cent.* It appears that on the firſt ſubſcription-receipts, at the time of the ſaid lending, there was paid in only from 90*l.* to 120*l. per cent.* and on the ſecond ſubſcription-receipts generally 40*l.* and on ſome few 80*l. per cent.* but how much more there hath been paid in ſince, or whether all the ſaid ſubſcription-receipts on which money was lent be now remaining in the cuſtody of any perſon for the ſecurity of the Company, your Committee cannot at preſent diſcover, the receipts not having been as yet produced to them.

That it appears that *Turner* and Company were employed by the Directors, to lend out 500,000*l.* on ſubſcription-receipts, and that they accordingly lent 150,000*l.* on ſuch receipts, after the rate of 190*l. per cent.* on the firſt ſubſcription, and 40*l. per cent.* on the ſecond. But, ſuch rates being by the ſaid Directors thought two low, the ſaid *Turner* and Company were ordered to proceed no farther in diſpoſing of the remaining part of the ſaid 500,000*l.* and were told at the ſame time, that by lending at ſuch low rates on ſubſcriptions, they were ruining the ſtock. And it alſo appears, that Mr. *Knight* did iſſue a conſiderable ſum to be diſpoſed of by Brokers, for the refuſal of *South-Sea* ſtock at certain times, at very high prices; and likewiſe, that, on the declenſion of the price of the ſtock, large ſums were iſſued to purchaſe ſtock, on account of the Company, at very high prices; and part of the ſtock then bought appears to have belonged to ſome of the Directors of the ſaid Company. And, although your Committee are not yet prepared to ſet this matter in a full light, they cannot but obſerve, that the ſaid Directors, in all their proceedings in the

1721. ed to about 2,014,000 *l.* of which 334,000 *l.* was left to the Proprietors (1).

Mr. *Aiſlabie*'s affair occaſioned debates proportionable to his great riches, and the multitude of his friends. He was allowed all the eſtate he was poſſeſſed of, on the 20th of *October* 1718. His country-houſe, gardens, and park, with his wife's jewels, and houſhold-goods, were alſo excepted from the forfeiture.

Soon after, an act paſſed for raiſing money upon the eſtates of the Sub and Deputy-Governors, Directors, Caſhier, Deputy-Caſhier, and Accountant of the *South-Sea* Company, and of Mr. *Aiſlabie* and Mr. *Craggs*, towards making good the damages ſuſtained by the Company, and for diſabling ſuch of theſe perſons, as were living, to hold any place, or ſit in Parliament, for the future.

When the motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, for joining Mr. *Aiſlabie* in the ſame bill with the Directors, his friends repreſented the hardſhip of putting a man of his eminence on the ſame level with them, and the danger of ſuch a precedent: But it was to no purpoſe, for the motion was approved. Mr. *Aiſlabie*, when the bill was depending in the Houſe of Lords, petitioned to be heard by his Council. He was himſelf heard at their bar, and made two very long and eloquent ſpeeches in his defence, but they met with more applauſe than ſucceſs, for the bill paſſed as ſent up by the Commons.

After theſe proceedings againſt the Mana- 1721.
gers of the *South-Sea* ſcheme, the Commons, *Reſolutions in favour of the South-Sea Sufferers.*
with the ſame moderation and wiſdom, applied themſelves to repair the miſchiefs, that ſcheme had produced, and at ſeveral times came to the following reſolutions:

I. That, for the re-eſtabliſhing of public credit, relief be given to the *South-Sea* Company, with regard to the payment of the 4,156,306 *l.* and the four years and a half's purchaſe on the annuities and other national debts, the Company giving ſuch conſideration to the Proprietors, as the Houſe ſhall think proper.

II. That, in order to put an end to all diſputes between the Company and the Proprietors of the redeemable funds, and of the ſecond, third and fourth money-ſubſcriptions, who have ſtock allowed them at 400 *l. per cent.* with the *Midſummer* dividend, an addition of 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* be given to the Proprietors by the Company.

III. That the ſeven millions, payable to the Public by the Company, be remitted ſo, as, from the 24th of *June* 1722, two millions of the ſtock be annihilated, and a proportionable part of their annuity or yearly fund, from that time, ceaſe.

IV. That the ſecond ſubſcription of the irredeemables be made equal to the firſt, by an addition of ſtock at 150 *l. per cent.*

V. That all the ſtock belonging to the Company, which, after the propoſed diſtribution, ſhall

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execution of their ſcheme, appear to have had chiefly in view the raiſing and ſupporting the imaginary value of the ſtock, at an extravagant and high price, for the benefit of themſelves, and thoſe who were in the ſecret with them.

That, as to the aforeſaid loans on ſubſcription-receipts, it appears, there were no defeazances executed by thoſe with whom the receipts were depoſited, for a re-delivery of the ſame, on repayment of the money, nor any ſecurity given by the Borrowers, beſides the receipts by them ſo delivered; nor doth any thing elſe appear to diſtinguiſh the receipts ſo pledged from ſuch receipts as were, or might have been, abſolutely ſold to the Company; for all the ſaid receipts were made out in one name, *viz. Joſeph Safford*, and by his indorſement the bearer became intituled to the property thereof: Upon which your Committee obſerve, the ſecurity of the Company, as to the money lent on the ſaid ſubſcription-receipts, is more precarious than the loans on ſtock; for by the transfer-book it might appear by whom ſuch ſtock was transferred; but it hath not yet appeared to your Committee that any books have been kept, or entries made, of the names of the perſons to whom ſuch loans have been made on ſubſcription-receipts: And your Committee do farther obſerve, That it was in the power of the perſons, with whom ſuch ſubſcription-receipts were depoſited, to ſell the ſame at high prices, and to replace them again when the price fell. And upon the whole it doth appear to your Committee, that the ſaid loans on ſtock, and on ſubſcriptions, have been managed with the utmoſt negligence, with reſpect to the intereſt of the Company, and were contrived for the raiſing and keeping up the price of ſtock at an extravagant height.

Before your Committee concludes this report, they think it proper to obſerve, That it has appeared to them throughout their examination, that Mr. *Knight*, Caſhier of the *South-Sea* Company, was principally concerned in their moſt ſecret tranſactions. And your Committee have been informed by Sir *Theodore Janſſen*, ſoon after Mr. *Knight*'s withdrawing himſelf, That upon his preſſing Mr. *Knight*, two or three days before he went away, to make a diſcovery of whatſoever he knew relating to the whole proceedings; Mr. *Knight* anſwered, that, if he ſhould diſcloſe all he knew, it would open ſuch a ſcene as the world would be ſurprized at.

(1) The debates in the Grand Committee about ſettling the allowances were as follows:

They began with Sir *John Fellows*, the Sub-Governor, in whoſe behalf Mr. *Sloper* moved, 'That, ſince it did not appear, that he had been ſo active in the late vile and pernicious practice, as ſome others, he might be allowed 20,000 *l.* out of his eſtate.' Mr. *Hungerford* reduced it to 15,000 *l.* others to 12,000 *l.* and Mr. *Walpole* having at laſt propoſed 10,000 *l.* it was agreed to without any diviſion. Mr. *Joye*, the Deputy-Governor, appearing to have been deeply concerned in the guilt, it was agreed to allow him only 5,000 *l.* The ſame ſum was allowed Mr. *Aſtell:* And the queſtion being put to allow Sir *Lambert Blackwell* 10,000 *l.* ſome propoſing only 5,000 *l.* it was carried for the former by a majority of four voices, one hundred and twelve againſt one hundred and eight. The allowance to Sir *John Blunt* occaſioned a long debate. Mr. *Laurence Carter* moved to allow him one ſhilling only; the Lord *James Cavendiſh*, 1,000 *l.* Mr. *Plummer*, 5,000 *l.* Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, 10,000 *l.* which was ſeconded by General *Roſſe*, the Lord *Moleſworth*, Mr. *Jeffreys*, and Mr. *Windſor:* But Mr. *Sloper*, Mr. *John Smith*, Mr. *Horace Walpole*, and Mr. *Milner*, were of opinion, that he ought to be moſt ſeverely puniſhed. Mr. *Sloper* ſaid, That he was grown to that height of pride and inſolence, that he could not give a civil anſwer to perſons far above him; inſtancing in his behaviour one day at the Treaſury, when, a relation of a great man aſking Sir *John*, in his (Mr. *Sloper*'s) hearing for a ſubſcription, Sir *John*, with a great deal of contempt, bid him *go to his couſin* Walpole, *and deſire him to ſell his ſtock in the Bank, and by that means he might be ſupplied.*' Mr. *Walpole* entered fully into Sir *John Blunt*'s life and character, and ſhewed, that he had been a projector of many years ſtanding, and had been the Author of ſeveral fallacious ſchemes, by which unwary people had been drawn in to their utter ruin, particularly

shall remain undiſpoſed of, ſhall be divided among the Proprietors.

VI. That ſuch perſons as have borrowed money of the Company upon *South-Sea* ſtock, or upon ſubſcription-receipts, ſhall, upon payment of 10 *l. per. cent*, be diſcharged from all future demands.

VII. That all contracts for the ſale or purchaſe of ſubſcriptions or ſtock of the *South-Sea* Company, or any other, which ſhall be unperformed before the 29th of *September* next, be entered in books before the 1ſt of *November* next, or elſe be void.

VIII. That no ſpecial bail be required for any action brought upon any contract, ſince the 1ſt of *December* 1719, for the ſale or purchaſe of any ſubſcription or ſtock.

IX. That no execution be awarded, or any judgment obtained in any ſuch action, till the end of the Seſſion of Parliament, which ſhall be next after the 29th of *September* enſuing.

X. That all contracts for the ſale, or purchaſe of any ſubſcription or ſtock, unperformed before the 29th of *September* next, where the Seller, or the perſon on whoſe behalf ſuch contract was made, was not, at the time of ſuch contract, or within a time to be limited, actually poſſeſſed of or intitled to ſuch ſubſcription or ſtock, ſhall be declared null and void.

With theſe reſolutions, the Commons preſented to the King an addreſs, demonſtrating both the neceſſity and wiſdom of their proceedings, and which deſerves to be inſerted at large:

'We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament aſſembled, being ſenſibly affected with the miſery and calamities, that have befallen great numbers of your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, occaſioned by the heavy loſſes they have ſuſtained, from the fatal execution of the *South-Sea* ſcheme; and taking into our ſerious conſideration the low ſtate of public and private credit, which it ſeems impoſſible to us ſhould ever revive under the preſent uncertain and unſettled poſture of affairs, have come to ſeveral reſolutions, which we humbly beg leave to lay before your Majeſty.

1721.

When we firſt entered upon the conſideration of this extenſive and perplexed affair, we thought it moſt adviſable to leave every man's property to be determined by due courſe of law, and were of opinion, that no relief or abatement could properly be preſcribed or given, but from the *South-Company*. But, the diſcontents of the people daily increaſing, and the uncertain and doubtful events, that threatened very great and valuable properties, creating ſuch infinite anxieties and diſſatisfaction, as had a moſt fatal and general influence upon all public and private credit, the interpoſition of Parliament became unavoidable, and we found ourſelves under a neceſſity of reſuming the conſideration of this nice and intricate matter, and to endeavour to remove, as far as poſſible, the chief and greateſt inconveniencies.

The great difficulty in remedying theſe miſchiefs ſeemed to ariſe from the ſeveral contending intereſts engaged in the *South-Sea* Company, which made it impoſſible to give relief to ſome but at the expence of others: And as all the new Proprietors, as well thoſe concerned in the public funds, as the other Adventurers, were equally impoſed upon by the artifices of the late Directors, and equally drawn in by their own too great credulity and deſire of gain; to have diſcharged any particular ſett had been not only an injuſtice to the reſt, but, by diſſolving the whole ſyſtem, had involved them in utter ruin, which made a diſtribution of loſſes, and ſome abatement to all, abſolutely neceſſary. It was indeed very much to be wiſhed, that ſuch eaſe could have been given to the Proprietors of the public debts, as would have made their property as valuable to them, as they had enjoyed it for many years: But, as they had voluntarily conſented to take ſtock at ſome rate or other, even at

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particularly in a project for the linnen manufacture. To this Mr. *Horace Walpole* added, 'That was not the firſt; for there was a Gentleman, who ſate next to him, meaning Mr. *Jeſſop*, whom Sir *John Blunt* had drawn into a project for bringing water to *London* from a great diſtance, which was to out-do the New River water; by which the Subſcribers loſt all their money, though Sir *John* himſelf got ſome thouſands by it:' This Mr. *Jeſſop* confirmed. However, the Lord *Hinchingbroke* moved for allowing Sir *John Blunt* 10,000 *l.* but the queſtion being put for allowing him 1,000 *l.* it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of one hundred thirty-eight againſt ninety-four.

The next allowance in debate was for Sir *Robert Chaplin*, for whom the Lord *Moleſworth*, Sir *John Eyles*, and other Members ſpoke; and it was agreed, without dividing, to allow him 10,000 *l.* The ſame allowance was given to Sir *William Chapman*, Mr. *Cheſter*, and Mr. *Child*. A motion being made to give Mr. *De la Porte* the like ſum, the Lord *Moleſworth* was for reducing it to 7,000 *l.* but upon the queſtion it was carried for 10,000 *l.* by a majority of one hundred and fifty againſt ſixty-nine. The caſe of Mr. *Francis Eyles* appeared in ſo favourable a light, that he was allowed 20,000 *l.* without dividing. Mr. *Edmondſon*'s eſtate amounting to little more than 5,000 *l.* it was moved to allow him the whole, and leave him out of the bill; but, after ſome debate, it was agreed to allow him only 3,000 *l.* The queſtion being put to allow Mr. *Gibbon* 15,000 or 10,000 *l.* it was carried for the latter without dividing. It appearing, that Sir *William Hammond* and Mr. *Gore* had little or no ſhare in the fraudulent contrivances of the leading Directors, Mr. *Gore* was allowed 20,000 *l.* and Sir *William Hammond* 10,000 *l.* It was propoſed to give Mr. *Hawes*, late Receiver-General of the Cuſtoms, 1,000 *l.* But, Sir *Nathaniel Gould* and ſome other Members having obſerved, that he was very active in the late vile practices, and had occaſioned the ruin of many people, Mr. *Docminique* moved, and it was agreed to allow him only 31 *l.* the odd money of his inventory. Several Members ſpoke in favour of Mr. *Horſey*, particularly the Lord *Hinchingbroke* and Sir *Robert Rich*, who moved for allowing him 10,000 *l.* which was carried without a diviſion. It was then debated, whether to allow Mr. *Holditch* 500 *l.* 1,000 *l.* or 5000 *l.* The voices were equally divided, eighty-ſix and eighty-ſix; upon which Mr. *Clayton*, the Chairman, gave the caſting vote for 5,000 *l.* which met with general approbation. Mr. *Horace Walpole* and Sir *Richard Steele* ſpoke in favour of Sir *Theodore Janſſen*, and were anſwered by General *Roſſe* and the Maſter of the Rolls. But, after a ſmall debate, Mr. *Trenchard* moved for allowing him 50,000 *l.* which was carried by a majority of one hundred and thirty-four voices againſt one hundred and eighteen. Sir *Jacob Jacobſon*'s caſe coming next under conſideration, Mr. *Hungerford* moved for allowing him 11,000 *l.* which was all his eſtate, except 481 *l.*

1721. at the time when they ſaw the ſtock raiſed to the higheſt pitch, the giving ſtock at one and the ſame price to them and all others, that were moſt immediately concerned, make the proviſion as juſt and equitable, as the nature of the thing will admit; it being impracticable, ſo far to reconcile the different intereſts in this general concern, as to make the conditions of thoſe equal, that had engaged themſelves at different rates, and upon unequal terms.

The great and principal miſchiefs aroſe from ſeveral concurring circumſtances; from the hard terms of moſt of the Proprietors, occaſioned by the high prices, at which they had purchaſed ſtock, or the exceſſive rates, at which, as well the Proprietors of Public debts, as the Money-ſubſcribers, had obliged themſelves to take ſtock; from the demand of above ſeven millions, payable to the public, which could only be raiſed out of the properties of thoſe, that were already too great Sufferers, and which rendered the Company incapable of giving them any farther eaſe or relief; from the diſputes and conteſts at law, which were preparing to be carried on, not only between the Company and the Subſcribers of the redeemable funds, but between infinite numbers of private perſons engaged in contracts for the ſale and purchaſe of ſtock and ſubſcriptions; from the impoſſibility of the Money-ſubſcribers making any farther payments; from the great loſs the Company had ſuſtained by the late Directors, having lent out above eleven millions of the Company's money, without any, or without ſufficient ſecurity; and from the very little proſpect of recovering any conſiderable part thereof; without which it was impoſſible for the Company to comply with the demand of the Public, but at the infinite expence and inſupportable loſs of all their Adventurers, which muſt have proved deſtructive to the trade and credit of the Kingdom. 17

Theſe conſiderations induced us to come to the foregoing reſolutions; being, as we conceive, the moſt proper means to enable the Company to give relief to ſuch of their Proprietors, as moſt wanted and deſerved it; to put an end to all diſputes at law; and to fix, ſettle, and aſcertain the ſeveral properties and intereſts of all perſons concerned with the *South-Sea* Company; to deliver infinite numbers of your Majeſty's good ſubjects from the apprehenſion of vexatious law-ſuits and proſecutions, and from the farther demand of ſuch exceſſive ſums of money, as muſt ſink and depreſs all public and private credit.

And as the greateſt miſchiefs, which we now ſo

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481 *l.* and it was agreed to without a negative. Mr. *Ingram*'s caſe being much the ſame, Mr. *Pulteney* moved for allowing him 12,000 *l.* near three parts in four of his eſtate; and, being ſeconded by the Lord *Hinchinbroke*, it was carried without dividing. Sir *John Lambert* was allowed 5,000 *l.* without a diviſion, as was Sir *Harcourt Maſters*; and Mr. *Morley* 1,800 *l.* near his whole eſtate. Mr. *Page* had an allowance of 10,000 *l.* without dividing. Mr. *Heyſham* moved for allowing Colonel *Raymond* 30,000 *l.* and, being ſeconded by Mr. *Tufnel*, the Attorney-General, and Mr. *Hungerford*, no oppoſition was made to that motion. Mr. *Sloper* moved for allowing Mr. *Read* 10,000 *l.* He was ſeconded by Sir *John Ward* and Mr. *Docminicque*; and the motion carried without a debate; as was the allowance of 14,000 *l.* to Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Hungerford* moved for allowing Mr. *Sawbridge* 10,000 *l.* and was oppoſed by Mr. *Lowndes*, the Lord *Moleſworth*, Sir *Adolphus Oughton*, and Mr. *Horace Walpole*. But another Member moving for 5,000 *l.* it was agreed to without a diviſion. Mr. *Tillard* had in like manner an allowance of 15,000 *l.* and Mr. *Turner* 800 *l.* which was near his whole eſtate. The caſe of Mr. *Surman*, the Deputy-Caſhier, occaſioned a debate of about an hour and a half. He had not the beſt character amongſt the offenders; but, acting only as a ſervant, and by the command of Mr. *Knight*, or the Directors, ſeveral Members thought there ſhould be a mitigation in his puniſhment, as there was in his crime. Mr. *Grey Nevill* ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that he might be left out of the bill. Another Member moved to allow him 30,000 *l.* Mr. *Hungerford* would have reduced it to 20,000 *l.* Mr. *Lechmere* to 12,000 *l.* and two other Members to 10,000, and 5,000 *l.* All theſe were oppoſed by Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Serjeant *Pengelly*, and Mr. *Horace Walpole*, who would not have allowed him above 20 or 30 *l.* but at laſt the queſtion being put for allowing him 5,000 *l.* it was agreed to without dividing. Mr. *Arthur Moore* moved for allowing *John Grigsby*, Accountant to the *South-Sea* Company, 10,000 *l.* But another Member ſaid, 'That, ſince that upſtart was once ſo prodigally vain, as to bid his coachman feed his horſes with gold, no doubt but he could feed on it himſelf: And therefore he moved he might be allowed as much gold, as he could eat; and that the reſt of the eſtate might go towards the relief of the Sufferers.' However a motion being made for allowing him 2,000 *l.* it was carried without dividing.

The particulars of the eſtates and allowances were as follows:

	Inventories. *l.*	*s.*	*d.* *q.*	Allowances. *l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Sir *John Fellows*, Sub-Governor	243,096	00	06	10,000	00	0
Mr. *Charles Joye*, Deputy-Governor	40,105	02	00	5,000	00	0
Mr. *Aſtell*	27,750	19	08¾	5,000	00	0
Sir *John Blunt*	183,349	10	08¾	1,000	00	0
Sir *Lambert Blackwell*	83,529	17	11	10,000	00	0
Sir *Robert Chaplin*	45,875	14	05	10,000	00	0
Sir *William Chapman*	39,161	06	08½	10,000	00	0
Mr. *Cheſter*	140,372	15	06	10,000	00	0
Mr. *Child*	52,437	19	01	10,000	00	0
Mr. *Delaport*	17,151	04	06	10,000	00	0
Mr. *Eyles*	34,329	16	07	20,000	00	0
Mr. *Edmondſon*	5,365	00	00	3,000	00	0
Mr. *Gibbon*	106,543	05	06	10,000	00	0
Mr. *Gore*	38,936	15	05	20,000	00	0
Mr. *Hawes*	40,031	00	02½	31	00	2
Sir *William Hammond*	22,707	04	02	10,000	00	0
Mr. *Horſey*	19,962	05	03	10,000	00	0
M. *Holditch*	39,527	10	04	5,000	00	0
Sir *Theodore Janſſen*	243,244	03	11	50,000	00	0
Sir *Jacob Jacobſon*	11,481	04	00	11,000	00	0
Mr. *Ingram*	16,795	00	00	12,000	00	0
Sir *John Lambert*	72,508	01	05	5,000	00	0
Sir *Harcourt Maſters*	11,814	12	03½	5,000	00	0
Mr. *Morley*	1,869	10	03	1,800	00	0
Mr. *Page*	34,817	12	03	10,000	00	0
Mr. *Raymond*	64,373	06	03	30,000	00	0
Mr. *Read*	117,297	16	00	10,000	00	0
Mr. *Reynolds*	18,368	13	02	14,000	00	0
Mr. *Sawbridge*	77,254	01	08	5,000	00	0
Mr. *Tillard*	19,175	14	04	15,000	00	0
Mr. *Turner*	881	17	06	800	00	0
Mr. *Surman*, Deputy-Caſhier	121,321	10	00	5,000	00	0
Mr. *Grigsby*	31,687	06	00	2,000	00	0

Some alterations were afterwards made in theſe allowances. Mr. *Aſtell* had 10,000 *l.* inſtead of 5,000 *l.* Sir *John Blunt* 5,000 *l.* inſtead of 1,000 *l.* Sir *Lambert Blackwell* 15,000 *l.* inſtead of 10,000 *l.* and Mr. *Hawes* 5,000 *l.* inſtead of 31 *l.* A motion was made, to reduce Sir *Theodore Janſſen*'s allowance to 30,000 *l.* but it was rejected.

1721. ſo juſtly complain of, have ariſen from the unwarrantable methods uſed by the late Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, in ſelling and diſpoſing of ſuch part of their increaſed capital ſtock, as belonged to the Company; to remove ſuch a foundation of ſtock-jobbing, and to prevent the like fatal conſequences for the future, we thought it neceſſary to take care, that all the increaſed capital ſtock belonging to the Company, which, after the propoſed diſtribution is made, ſhall remain undiſpoſed of, be divided among all the Proprietors of the Company, in proportion to their ſeveral and reſpective intereſts.

Theſe reſolutions, if paſſed into a law, and duly put in execution, we humbly hope will tend very much to the re-eſtabliſhing of public credit, to the quieting of the minds of your Majeſty's ſubjects, and contribute to the eaſe and relief of great numbers, though not ſufficient to give ſatisfaction to, or repair the loſſes of all that are unhappily involved in the preſent calamity.

But, as the antient uſage and eſtabliſhed rules of Parliament make it impracticable for us to prepare bills for the Royal aſſent, during the preſent Seſſion of Parliament, for ſome of the purpoſes contained in our reſolutions, we have humbly preſumed to lay the ſame before your Majeſty for your Royal conſideration; not doubting but that your Majeſty will, out of your great wiſdom and accuſtomed grace and goodneſs to your people, as ſoon as the public and private bills, now depending in Parliament, ſhall be diſpatched, give us an early opportunity of perfecting this great and neceſſary work.'

The King returned for anſwer, 'That he had ſuch an intire confidence in the Parliament's duty and affection to him, and their zeal for the public ſervice, that he ſhould very readily comply with what they deſired, and would ſoon give them opportunity of doing what they propoſed for ſettling and eſtabliſhing the credit of the Kingdom.'

Prorogation of two days only. The next day being the 29th of *July*, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and, paſſing the bills that were ready, the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament for two days only to the laſt of *July*, when the King came again to the Houſe of Lords, and made the following ſpeech:

The Parliament meets again.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"THE occaſion of my calling you together
"again, ſo ſuddenly, is to give you an op-
"portunity of reſuming the conſideration of the
"ſtate of public credit.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"The progreſs, that you made in this affair
"during the laſt Seſſion, laid ſuch a foundation
"of this neceſſary work, that the world is fully
"appriſed of what is reaſonably to be hoped for
"at this preſent conjuncture.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I muſt recommend to you all poſſible diſ-
"patch, and am perſuaded, that at this ſeaſon
"of the year your deliberation will be confined 1721.
"to what is abſolutely neceſſary upon this ex-
"traordinary occaſion."

An act in favour of the South-Sea Sufferers. Purſuant to this ſhort ſpeech, the Commons came again to their former reſolution, and ordered a bill to be brought in under the title of, 'a bill for making proviſions to reſtore public credit, which ſuffered by the frauds and miſmanagements of the late *South-Sea* Directors and others.'

Remarks on the act. This bill was formed upon the forementioned reſolutions, and it may here be obſerved, that the whole capital ſtock, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to above 37,800,000 *l.* and the ſtock, allotted to all the Proprietors in their ſeveral ſhapes, did not amount to 24,500,000 *l.* The remaining capital ſtock, being about 13,300,000 *l.* belonged to the Company in their corporate capacity, and was the profit ariſing from the execution of the *South-Sea* ſcheme, and out of which the ſeven millions was to be paid to the Public.

When this ſcheme was blown up, and the calamities and ruin attending numberleſs families appeared, the Parliament, in favour of the unhappy Sufferers, by the preſent act directed ſeveral additions to be made to the ſtock of the Proprietors out of the ſtock poſſeſſed by the Company, in their own right, and made a particular diſtribution of ſtock, which amounted to above 2,200,000 *l.* and upon remitting five millions of the ſeven, that was to be paid to the Public, annihilated two millions of their capital, which was inſiſting upon the payment of two millions: Then they enacted, that, after theſe diſtributions, the remaining capital ſtock ſhould be divided among all the Proprietors which came to 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. per cent.* and this took from the Company above 8,900,000 *l.*

There was then due, and owing to the Company, above eleven millions for money lent by them on ſtock unredeemed, and of this the Parliament diſcharged all the Debtors to the Company upon paying 10 *l. per cent.* (which ſome did comply with, and others refuſed) and the loſs to the Company was upon this article above 6,900,000 *l.*

This act gave ſome relief to the Sufferers, and the cries and lamentations of undone multitudes were leſs heard, but the Proprietors of the ſtock loudly complained of the two millions taken from them: Upon which (as will hereafter be related) the Parliament, in 1723, revived the two millions that had been annihilated, and directed it to be diſtributed among the Proprietors, which made an addition of 6 *l.* 5 *s.* to every man's capital.

Petitions and Pamphlets againſt the South-Sea Directors and others. Whilſt the affair of the *South-Sea* was depending in Parliament, petitions from Counties, Cities, and Burroughs were ſent up, crying for juſtice, and pamphlets were daily publiſhed, exaſperating the minds of the people againſt the *South-Sea* Directors and their Abettors. But the loudeſt cries for juſtice were contained in letters directed to the Author of the *London Journal*, and ſuppoſed to have been moſtly penned by Mr. *Gordon*, under the borrowed name of *Cato* (1.)

The

(1) A Committee was appointed to inquire into the Authors, Printers, and Publiſhers of ſeditious libels.

1721. *General Court of the* South-Sea, Sept. 1.

The affairs of the *South-Sea* being thus ſettled, the Company were ſoon in condition to ſatisfy their engagements with the Public. On the 1ſt of *September* a General Court was held, which Sir *John Eyles*, the Sub-Governor, opened with a ſpeech, ſetting forth the regulations of the Parliament, without which the Directors would have been involved in difficulties inſuperable, and confuſions without end. He enlarged upon his Majeſty's care of their intereſts in the late treaties with *Spain*, and upon the advantages that might be gained by the *Aſſiento* contract, to which end the Directors were fitting out the *Royal George*, whoſe cargo amounting to 280,000 *l.* was provided. He acquainted them with the intention of carrying on a trade hitherto not meddled with by the Company, the *Greenland* trade, ſo beneficial to *Holland* and *Hamburgh*. He then told them, that the forfeited eſtates of the late Directors, and the 10 *l. per cent.* on the borrowed ſtock, with ſome other particulars, were abundantly ſufficient for diſcharging the debts of the Company, and maintaining the credit of their bonds: That therefore the Directors had diſcharged part of the bonds due at *Chriſtmas*, and hoped to give a ſpeedy determination to the reſt, that ſo their credit might be eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid foot: That the Court of Directors had alſo reſolved to divide (if thought fit) 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* in ſtock upon the preſent capital. That, as all the remaining ſtock was, by act of Parliament, to be divided equally among the Proprietors, the Directors had, in great meaſure, executed that appointment, amounting, upon a calculation, to 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* upon every 100 *l.* capital. After this, he mentioned the Company's being empowered, by a late act, to ingraft part of their ſtock into the capitals of the Bank and *Eaſt-India*; but, as the act for reſtoring public credit had adjuſted the concerns of the Company upon a new foot, he only barely mentioned the ingraftment.

This ſpeech met with applauſe, not only in the Court, but from the Public; and the matters contained in it were agreed to, except the affair of the ingraftment, which was let reſt. At this Court it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the Directors ſhould take the moſt effectual meaſures to oblige the Bank to ſtand to their contract, for taking ſtock at 400 *l. per cent.* in lieu of the 3,775,000 *l.* the Company was to have paid them; and the contract was ordered to be regiſtered. 1721

During theſe proceedings concerning the affairs of the *South-Sea* Company, the following tranſactions paſſed in the Parliament.

Hell-Fire Club. There was formed (at leaſt, it was pretended ſo) a ſcandalous Society at *London*, with the ſhocking name of the *Hell-Fire-Club*. The Members whereof were guilty of the like extravagancies with the *Mohocks*, formerly mentioned. Several perſons of Quality, particularly the Duke of *Wharton*, were marked out as belonging to this Club. The King, being informed of their wicked proceedings, publiſhed a proclamation (*April* 29) againſt blaſphemous and ſcandalous Clubs, declaring, he was determined to ſhew all marks of diſpleaſure to any, who even lay under the ſuſpicion of ſuch deſtructive practices. He gave orders alſo to the Officers of his Houſhold, to make ſtrict inquiry, whether any of his ſervants were guilty of ſuch horrid impieties. The ſame day this order was given, the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had lately anſwered Mr. *Whiſton*'s tenets about the Trinity (1), took this occaſion to complain, in the Houſe of Lords, of the growth of atheiſm, profaneneſs, and immorality. Upon this, Dr. *Verney*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Brooke*, Dean of *Windſor*, brought in a bill for ſuppreſſing of blaſphemy and profaneneſs. It contained ſeveral articles, which had little relation to the practices complained of, and was chiefly deſigned to ſecure the belief of the thirty-nine articles of the Church of *England*, and reſtrain the liberty granted by the laws of the former Seſſion to the Non-conformiſts. The ſubſtance of it was: *A bill againſt blaſphemy and profaneneſs.*

I. If any one ſpoke or writ againſt the Being of God, the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt, or the Holy Ghoſt, or the Doctrine of the Trinity, as ſet forth in the thirty-nine articles, or the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, or the Divine Inſpiration of the Scriptures, he ſhould, upon conviction,

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They ſent for Mr. *Peele*, Publiſher of the *London Journal*, and for the reputed Author of the letters, but they both kept out of the way. *Miſt*, the Printer and Publiſher of a *Weekly Journal*, was, for reflections caſt on the King for his interpoſitions on behalf of the Proteſtants in the *Palatinate*, ſentenced to ſtand in the Pillory, to pay a fine of fifty pounds, and after three months impriſonment to give ſecurity for his good behaviour ſeven years. His Journal was carried on under the title of *Fog*'s, and two months after (*May* 27) was cenſured again by the Commons as a traiterous libel, tending to alienate the affections of his Majeſty's ſubjects, and excite Rebellion. However, the *Journal* continued many years afterwards.

(1) About the latter end of *March*, a full Convocation of the Univerſity of *Oxford* unanimouſly reſolved, That the ſolemn thanks of the Univerſity ſhould be returned to the Earl of *Nottingham*, for his moſt noble defence of the Chriſtian Faith, contained in his anſwer to Mr. *Whiſton*'s letter to him, *concerning the eternity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghoſt*. It was alſo agreed, that Dr. *Shippen*, the Vice-Chancellor, with their Repreſentatives, Mr. *Bromley* and Dr. *Clarke*, ſhould wait upon the Earl with their thanks. The example of the Univerſity was followed by the Clergy, at the viſitations held for the Dioceſe of *Oxford*, at *Witney*, *Chipping-norton*, and *Henley*. The Archdeacon of *Hereford*, and forty-five of the Clergy, ſigned an addreſs of thanks to the Earl, wherein they hinted, that he had aſſerted the *Convocation* to be a part of the Parliament. The ſame was done likewiſe by the Clergy of *Cheſter* and *Shropſhire*. About the ſame time Mr. *Joſeph Hall*, Mace-bearer to the King, and Juſtice of the Peace, was ſentenced to ſtand in the Pillory, to pay 200 *l.* fine, to lie three months in priſon, and give ſecurity alſo for ſeven years, for his *ſober reply to Mr.* Higgs's *merry argument for the* Tritheiſtical *Doctrine of the* Trinity.

In *May*, the King publiſhed directions to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, for the preſervation of unity in the Church, and the purity of the Chriſtian Faith, particularly in the Doctrine of the Trinity. They were required to ſee 'That no Preacher whatſoever, in his ſermon, or lecture, do preſume to deliver any other doctrine, concerning the great and fundamental truths of our moſt holy Religion, and particularly concerning the bleſſed Trinity, than what are contained in the Holy Scriptures, and are agreeable to the three Creeds, and the thirty-nine articles of Religion.' All perſons denying one of the Perſons in the Trinity to be God, &c. were to be incapable of any office, and to ſuffer impriſonment three years.

viction, be impriſoned many months, unleſs he ſhould, within ſuch a time, publickly renounce his error, in a form preſcribed.

II. If any Preacher in a ſeparate Congregation ſhould deny any of the fundamental articles of the Chriſtian Religion, he ſhould be deprived of the benefit of the act of Toleration.

III. The Archbiſhops in their Provinces, and every Biſhop in his Dioceſe, ſhould be authorized to ſummon any perſon in Holy Orders, to appear before, and ſubſcribe the declaration abovementioned, and, upon refuſal, ſuch perſon ſhould be incapable to hold any Eccleſiaſtical benefice.

IV. The Juſtices at their Quarter-Seſſions are authorized, in like manner, to ſummon any Diſſenting Preacher, and, upon his refuſal to ſubſcribe the declaration of Faith, he ſhould be deprived of the benefit of the act of Toleration.

At the ſecond reading of this bill (*May* 2) all the Lords about *London* being ſummoned to attend, the Archbiſhop moved to have it committed. Upon which the Lord *Onſlow* ſaid: 'He was as much againſt Blaſphemy, and for promoting Religion, as it is profeſſed in the Church of *England*, as any body; but he could not be for any law, that was for Perſecution, of which nature he took this bill to be; and therefore he moved, that it might be thrown out.' He was ſeconded by the Duke of *Wharton*, who ſaid, 'He was not inſenſible of the common talk and opinion of the town concerning himſelf; and therefore he was glad of this opportunity to juſtify himſelf, by declaring, he was far from being a patron of Blaſphemy, or any enemy to Religion; but, on the other hand, he could not be for this bill, becauſe he conceived it to be repugnant to the Holy Scripture.' Then, taking an old family Bible out of his pocket, he quoted and read ſeveral paſſages of the Epiſtles of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*; concluding, That the bill might be thrown out. He was ſupported by the Duke of *Argyle*, and the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Ilay*, the Lord *Townſhend*, and Earl *Cowper*. The Earl of *Peterborough* ſaid, 'Tho' he was for a parliamentary King, yet he did not deſire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary Religion: And, if the houſe were for ſuch a one, he would go to *Rome*, and endeavour to be choſen a Cardinal; for he had rather ſit in the Conclave, than with their Lordſhips upon thoſe terms.' Dr. *Kennet*, Biſhop of *Peterborough*, ſpoke likewiſe on the ſame ſide, and ſaid, 'That neither himſelf, nor, he hoped, any of that Bench, would be executioners of ſuch a law, which ſeemed to tend to the ſetting up of an Inquiſition.' On the other hand, the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lord *Bathurſt*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, and ſome others, ſpoke for the bill; as did likewiſe the Lord *Trevor*. One of theſe having ſaid, 'That he verily believed, the preſent calamity, occaſioned by the *South-Sea* project, was a judgment of God on the blaſphemy and profaneneſs the Nation was guilty of:' The Lord *Onſlow* replied, 'That noble Peer muſt then have been a great ſinner; for he heard, he had loſt conſiderably by the *South-Sea*.' After ſome other ſpeeches, the bill was put off to a long day, by a majority of of 60 voices againſt 31.

The Supplies were, contrary to cuſtom, granted very late, and not with the uſual readineſs. The King, not to increaſe the ill humour, had not mentioned the Subſidy he was obliged, by the laſt year's treaty, to give *Sweden* for her ſupport againſt *Ruſſia*. However, on the 16th of *June*, he thought proper to ſend the following meſſage to the Houſe of Commons: 1721.

'His Majeſty, having taken the firſt opportunity, upon the death of the late King of *Sweden*, to renew the antient Alliances between this Kingdom and *Sweden*, and having ſtipulated by a treaty to pay a Subſidy to that Crown, hath ordered that treaty to be laid before the Houſe of Commons; and hopes from their known zeal and affection for the Proteſtant Religion, and the true intereſt of their Country, that they will enable him to make good the engagements he has entered into upon this occaſion.

His Majeſty being informed, that two ſhips called the *Briſtol Merchant* and *Turky Merchant* (now lying under quarentine) did arrive from *Cyprus*, and other parts of *Turky*, infected with the plague, and have cotton wool and other goods on board, which are dangerous to ſpread the infection; and conceiving it neceſſary for the preſervation of the health of his ſubjects, that theſe ſhips and their ladings be burnt and deſtroyed, and that a reaſonable ſatisfaction be given to the owners, hath, by advice of his Privy-Council, cauſed the value thereof to be computed by his Majeſty's Officers, and ordered thoſe computations to be laid before the Houſe of Commons, that proviſion may be made for ſatisfying the ſame.'

This meſſage occaſioned a long debate. Mr. *Shippen*, Sir *William Wyndham*, Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, the Lord *Moleſworth*, Mr. *Butler*, and ſome others, deſired to know, 'Whether we were to give 72,000 *l.* (for that was the Subſidy) to *Sweden*, beſides the maintaining a great fleet, with ſix thouſand ſeamen in the *Baltic*, which they thought a ſufficient charge to the Nation, without paying ſo great a Subſidy? Urging, that, before this laſt treaty with *Sweden*, there had been a rupture between the two Nations, and hoſtilities, and great depredations committed by the *Swediſh* Privateers on our Merchants; ſo that, before any Subſidy be given to that Crown, accounts ought firſt to be ſtated and ſettled, and it might appear upon the balance, that *Sweden* is indebted to us.' To this it was anſwered by Mr. *Walpole* and his brother, Mr. *Lechmere*, the Lord *Barrington*, and ſome others, 'That the Subſidy allowed to *Sweden* by this laſt treaty, and the ſquadron ſent to their aſſiſtance, was no more than had been ſtipulated by former engagements; but that the ſubſidy was not like to be demanded any more, the preliminaries of the peace between the Czar of *Muſcovy* and the Crown of *Sweden* being in a manner ſettled. Neither did the King deſire any new tax for it, the land and malt tax being ſufficient to anſwer all this year's expence.' Mr. *Walpole* added, 'He was extremely glad, he could at the ſame time acquaint the Houſe, that his Majeſty's endeavours to procure a general peace had been ſo ſucceſsful, that an advantageous treaty with *Spain* was actually agreed on and ſigned.' The Lord *Moleſworth* obſerved, 'That he would go as far as any man to maintain and ſupport the honour and dignity of the Crown of *Great-Britain*; but that, on the other hand, he was not for ſquandering away unneceſſarily the ſmall remainder of the wealth of the Nation. That by our late conduct we were become the Allies of

1721. the whole world, and the bubbles of all our Allies; but, when we have occaſion for our Allies, we are obliged to pay them well:' And to that purpoſe he inſtanced in the *Dutch* troops, that came over to our aſſiſtance in the Rebellion in 1715. He added, 'That, as to our Alliances with *Sweden*, it was a matter of great intricacy and nicety, becauſe the treaties, which *England* has in divers times made with *Sweden*, are partly contradictory.' He then entered into a detail of the treaties of *Roſchield* and *Travendal* made in the Reigns of King *Charles* II. and *William* III. 'That the engagements lately entered into with the Crown of *Sweden* were likewiſe, in ſome meaſure, contrary to the treaties ſubſiſting with *Denmark*; particularly as to the ſecuring to the Duke of *Holſtein* the Duchy of *Sleſwick*; and directly oppoſite to the meaſures formerly concerted with the Czar of *Muſcovy*, in order to engage him to check the fierceneſs and ambition of the late King of *Sweden:* And therefore, in order to engage the Czar to yield what he had gained, it were but juſt, that the King of *Pruſſia* ſhould give up *Stetin*, and the Elector of *Hanover*, *Bremen* and *Verden*. He owned, that the diſtreſſed condition, to which the *Swedes* had been reduced, was really worthy of compaſſion: But that, on the other hand, it muſt be conſidered, they had been, in great meaſure, the Authors of their own misfortunes by their tame ſubmiſſion to a deſpotic tyrannical Prince, and by ſacrificing their whole ſubſtance to enable him to carry on his unjuſt, raſh, and ambitious deſigns; and that any Nation, who followed their example, deſerved the ſame fate. To this purpoſe he took notice of the hard uſage of the ſubjects of *Mecklenburgh* from their Prince, which he inſinuated to have been one of the cauſes of the late rupture with the Czar; but that, after all, *England* ought not to intermeddle with the affairs of the Empire: That the getting naval ſtores for our ſhipping was the main advantage we reaped from our trading in the *Baltic:* And he owned, that hemp was a very neceſſary commodity, particularly at this juncture; but that, if due encouragement were given to ſome of our Plantations in *America*, we might be ſupplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from *Sweden* and *Norway*.' Mr. *Lechmere* diſtinguiſhed himſelf alſo on this occaſion; but the Subſidy was at laſt granted by a majority of 197 againſt 136. A Supply was alſo given to ſatisfy the owners of the ſhips that were to be burnt, on account of their being ſuſpected to be infectious.

A tax on the Civil Liſt revenues.

Notwithſtanding this warm debate about the *Swediſh* Subſidy, the King ſent, about three weeks after, another meſſage to the Commons, relating to the debts of the Civil Liſt:

'His Majeſty finds it neceſſary to acquaint his loyal Houſe of Commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reaſon of debts contracted in his Civil Government; which, being computed at *Lady-Day* laſt, do amount to more than 550,000 *l.*

If the proviſion, made by an act of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament for diſcharging this debt, had not hitherto proved in a very great degree ineffectual, his Majeſty had not been under a neceſſity of applying again to Parliament upon this occaſion. But being reſolved to cauſe a retrenchment to be made of his Civil Liſt expences for the future, and finding, that ſuch a retrenchment cannot well be effected, without diſcharging the preſent arrears, has ordered the accounts thereof to be laid before the Houſe, and hopes he may be impowered to raiſe ready money for that purpoſe on the Civil Liſt revenues, which, to avoid laying any new burden on his people, his Majeſty propoſes ſhall be replaced to the Civil Liſt, and reimburſed by a deduction to be made out of the ſalaries and wages of all officers, and the penſions, and other payments from the Crown.' After the reading of this meſſage, Mr. *Shippen* ſtood up, and made a long ſpeech, wherein he took notice of 'this new and unuſual method of aſking for money, not from the Throne, and at the beginning of a Seſſion, as it had always been the cuſtom in the former Reigns; but now, by a meſſage, towards the end of the Seſſion, when moſt of the Members were gone home. Look round about the Houſe, Gentlemen, ſaid he, and ſee how few Members are preſent, when a buſineſs of this conſequence is to be debated.' But, beſides the unſeaſonableneſs of the time, he obſerved, 'That this meſſage was no leſs extraordinary as to another circumſtance; for, whereas the ways and means of raiſing Supplies were always left to the Commons, here, not only the ſum, but the way of raiſing it, was pointed out to them, which was making the Houſe a perfect Parliament of *Paris*. That, if things were brought to that paſs, it might be eaſy for any King, whenever he thought fit, to make himſelf arbitrary and abſolute Maſter of our liberties and properties; concluding, he was ſure, that the Gentleman, who had adviſed the aſking for ſuch a ſum in that manner, would have been of a quite contrary mind two years ago; but that it was uſual for men's judgments to alter as their intereſts lead them.' Mr. *Shippen* was anſwered by Mr. *Walpole*, who ſhewed the occaſion and the reaſonableneſs of the King's meſſage, the tenderneſs and regard he expreſſed in it for the eaſe of his ſubjects, and the neceſſity of complying with his deſires. He was ſeconded by Mr. *Lowndes*, who ſaid, that ſix-pence in the pound on all the Civil Liſt funds would anſwer the purpoſe. But Mr. *Pulteney*, and Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* were of opinion, that it would not do, and therefore moved for one ſhilling in the pound; adding, that, if this were too much for the preſent occaſion, the overplus might go towards the diſcharge of the public debts. Mr. *Sloper* agreed with them, and upon this laſt conſideration moved for one ſhilling and ſix-pence in the pound; and that the tax might extend to all military Officers, whoſe pay was above ten ſhillings a day. But this motion was dropped, and after ſome other debates it was at laſt agreed, that 500,000 *l.* ſhould be raiſed for the debts of the Civil Liſt, by a deduction of ſix-pence in the pound out of ſalaries, wages, penſions, and other payments from the Crown. For this purpoſe a bill paſſed both Houſes, and received the Royal aſſent. At the ſame time paſſed alſo an act for a general pardon.

The act for reſtoring public credit was paſſed the 10th of *Auguſt*, when the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and concluded the Seſſion with the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Am glad, that the buſineſs of this, and "the former Seſſion, is at length brought "to ſuch a period, that I have now an oppor-

"tunity

21. " tunity of giving you ſome receſs, after the " great pains you have taken in the ſervice of " the Public.

" The common calamity, occaſioned by the " wicked execution of the *South-Sea* ſcheme, was " become ſo very great before your meeting, " that the providing proper remedies for it was " very difficult. But it is a great comfort to me " to obſerve, that public credit now begins to " recover, which gives me the greateſt hopes, " that it will be intirely reſtored, when all the " proviſions, you have made for that end, ſhall " be duly put in execution.

" I have great compaſſion for the ſufferings of " the innocent, and a juſt indignation againſt " the guilty; and have readily given my aſſent " to ſuch bills, as you have preſented to me, " for puniſhing the Authors of our late misfor- " tunes; and for obtaining the reſtitution and " ſatisfaction due to thoſe, who have been in- " jured by them, in ſuch manner, as you judged " proper. I was at the ſame time willing and " deſirous, by my free and general pardon to " give eaſe and quiet to the reſt of my ſubjects, " many of whom may, in ſuch a general infa- " tuation, have been unwarily drawn in to tranſ- " greſs the laws.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I return you my hearty thanks for the Sup- " plies you have granted for the current ſervice " of this year, and particularly for your inabling " me to diſcharge the debts and arrears on the " Civil Liſt, and to make good the engage- " ments I was under for procuring peace in the " *North*, which, in all probability, will now " very ſoon be concluded. Theſe inſtances of " your faithful endeavours to ſupport the ho- " nour and dignity of the Crown at home and " abroad are freſh marks of your zeal and affec- " tion to my Perſon and Government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I take this opportunity of acquainting you, " that we have renewed all our treaties of com- " merce with *Spain*, upon the ſame foot as they " were ſettled before the late war, which muſt " neceſſarily prove an immediate and valuable " advantage to the trade and manufactures of " this Kingdom.

" I earneſtly recommend to you all, in your " ſeveral ſtations, to ſuppreſs profaneneſs and " immorality, and to preſerve the peace and " quiet of the Kingdom.

" You are all ſenſible that the diſcontents oc- " caſioned by the great loſſes, that many of my " ſubjects have ſuſtained, have been induſtriouſly " raiſed and inflamed by malicious and ſeditious " libels: But I make no doubt, but that, by your " prudent conduct in your ſeveral Countries, " all the enemies of my Government, who " flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to " take advantage from our misfortunes, and blow " up the ſufferings of my people into popular 1721. " diſcontent and diſaffection, will be diſappoint- " ed in their wicked deſigns and expecta- " tions."

The zeal of the Parliament deſerved the praiſes beſtowed by the King, for having in great meaſure reſtored the public credit, when under ſuch difficulties, and his thanks, not only for the Supplies for the ſervice of the year, but for the diſcharge of the Civil Liſt debts, and the Subſidy to *Sweden*. The King was ſenſible of the injurious ſuſpicions raiſed on his account with regard to the *South-Sea* Company: The Emperor's refuſal to deliver up Mr. *Knight*, and the favour ſhewn to the Directors and their Abettors, were conſidered as his work, and greatly increaſed the number of the diſaffected. Hence it was that he ſo ſtrongly expreſſed his apprehenſions, that the enemies to his Government would endeavour to blow up the ſufferings of the people into diſcontent, that the Members of Parliament might be the more zealous to diſappoint their deſigns.

After the ſpeech the Parliament was prorogued to the 19th of *October*.

During thoſe proceedings, ſeveral changes had been made in the Miniſtry. Mr. *Walpole* (as has been ſaid) was made firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the *Exchequer* (1). The Lords *Townſhend* and *Carteret* were appointed Secretaries of State. The Earl of *Ilay* was made Privy-Seal of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Bute* a Lord of the Bed-Chamber.

Foreign affairs.

Whilſt the Parliament was employed in ſettling affairs at home, the King had continued his Negotiations abroad, and ended them with ſucceſs.

Peace with Spain.

On the 13th of *June*, *N. S.* the treaty of peace between *Great-Britain* and *Spain* was ſigned at *Madrid*. It contained only ſix articles, by which all the regulations with regard to commerce, agreed upon by the former treaties, were renewed; and both the contracting parties promiſed to execute it with the utmoſt ſincerity, and to renounce all interpretations, which had been made uſe of to reſtrain and to weaken theſe Conventions. They engaged to reſtore mutually all the effects ſeized and confiſcated on both ſides. His *Britannic* Majeſty, in particular, was to reſtore all the ſhips of the *Spaniſh* fleet, which had been taken by that of *England*, in the action near *Sicily*, with the guns, ſails, rigging, *&c.* in the ſame condition, in which they then were, or the value of them, if they were ſold. The deciſion of the other difficulties and pretenſions was referred to the Congreſs of *Cambray*. It was ſtipulated likewiſe, that the publication of this treaty ſhould be deferred till the general peace, which was negotiating at *Cambray*, or ſome other agreement ſhould be made. It was, however, to take place immediately after its being ratified, and the letters of which ratification were to be exchanged in ſix weeks, or ſooner, if poſſible. To theſe was added a ſecret

(1) The other Commiſſioners of the Treaſury were *Baillie*, *Turner*, *Edgecomb*, and *Pelham*. Mr. *Horatio Walpole* was made Secretary of the Treaſury: And *Edward Carteret* and *Galfredus Walpole*, Poſt-Maſters-General. *Benjamin Mildmay*, Brother to the Lord *Fitzwalter*, was made a Commiſſioner of the Exciſe, and *Charles Stanhope*, Treaſurer of the Chamber to the King. *Hugh Forteſcue* was called up to the Houſe of Lords by the title of Baron *Clinton*.

1721. cret article, by which King *George* promiſed not to interfere any longer in the affairs of *Italy*, and the King of *Spain* made an abſolute ceſſion of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*.

The ſame day another treaty was ſigned at *Madrid*, which was little expected: It was a defenſive Alliance between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*; by which they were to defend the Dominions of each other, wherever ſituated, as they were fixed by the treaties of *Utrecht*, *Baden*, and *London*. Each of the Allies was to furniſh him, who ſhould have occaſion for aſſiſtance, or be attacked, with 8000 foot, and 4000 horſe, or an equivalent in money and ſhips.

One deſign of this Alliance was the maintenance and obſervation of the treaty, which was to be made at *Cambray*, in order to terminate the differences between the Emperor and King of *Spain*.

'Their *Britannic*, moſt Chriſtian, and Catholic Majeſties (ſaid the fifth article of this treaty) being entirely ſatisfied with the ſentiments, the Duke of *Parma* has always ſhewn towards them, and being deſirous to give him marks of the ſingular eſteem and affection they have for him, promiſe and engage, by virtue of the preſent treaty, to grant him a particular protection for the preſervation of his territories and rights, and for the ſupport of his dignity; ſo that, if he ſhall be diſturbed, they will join their good offices and endeavours to obtain a juſt ſatisfaction; and, if that be refuſed, they will agree upon meaſures to procure it him by all other methods, which ſhall be in their power.'

The *States-General* were, on the firſt opportunity, to be invited to enter into this treaty; and it was promiſed to maintain the treaty of defenſive Alliance, made at the *Hague*, the 4th of *January* 1717, and that nothing ſhould be done, either directly or indirectly, to the prejudice thereof.

Congreſs of Cambray fruitleſs.

The Congreſs at *Cambray*, to which all the difficult points were referred, was at laſt opened. The Ambaſſadors of *England* and *France* had the title of Mediators, and were to terminate the numberleſs differences between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*; but they could not ſucceed, the demands on both ſides being ſo oppoſite. The Imperial Miniſters talked in ſo high and deciſive a ſtrain, that there was no treating with them: 'All the pretenſions of their Maſter were inconteſtable, and equity itſelf; to oppoſe or conteſt them, was attacking his ſacred Majeſty.' It was thus they expreſſed themſelves, in ſpeaking of the pretenſions of the Duke of *Parma*, who had inſiſted, That the Emperor and Empire had no right to exerciſe any ſuperiority over the Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The Imperial Miniſters declared, 'They were amazed the Duke of *Parma* ſhould have the aſſurance to draw up ſuch a memorial, and engage the Mediators to preſent it to them. It violates (*ſaid they*) the reſpect due to his Imperial Majeſty, by denying, he has any ſovereignty over the Duke. The Mediators ſhould have ſuppreſſed ſuch unreaſonable pretenſions, which they neither could regard, nor had time to diſcuſs. If the Duke had any juſt complaints to propoſe, and would repreſent them with reſpect to the Imperial Court, they would undoubtedly be treated there with equity.'

The Mediators anſwered, that the terms uſed by the Imperial Miniſters were not very becoming between Princes: That the memorial in queſtion could not, without cenſure, have been ſuppreſſed: That the Duke of *Parma* had reaſon to apply to the Congreſs for juſtice, and that he had not met with ſufficient encouragement, in his repreſentations to the Court of *Vienna*, to addreſs himſelf thither again. To this it was added, that the Negotiations had been always delayed, by continual obſtructions from the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor.

With ſuch diſpoſitions, nothing was concluded, and never was Congreſs more fruitleſs. To amuſe and ſurpriſe one another was the chief buſineſs; and, when they broke up, they were farther than ever from agreeing.

After the peace with *Spain*, King *George* had the ſatisfaction to ſee the tranquillity of *Europe* reſtored, by a reconciliation between *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*. Though this was not done by his mediation, yet, it is certain, the aſſiſtance he had given *Sweden*, and the peace he had procured between that Crown and thoſe of *Pruſſia*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*, had determined the Czar to bound his pretenſions, and hearken to an accommodation. As the Czar had no quarrel with *France*, he accepted the mediation of that Crown, but abſolutely refuſed to hear of the mediation of *Great-Britain*.

Sweden was forced to yield up to the Czar almoſt all his conqueſts, after the battle of *Pultowa*; as *Livonia*, *Ingria*, *Eſtonia*, part of *Carelia*, and of the territory of *Wyburg*, *Riga*, *Revel*, *Nerva*, &c; and, in return, the Czar reſtored only part of *Finland*, with two millions of Rix-dollars, promiſing not to concern himſelf with the regulations of their Government.

The Czar included in the treaty the King and Republic of *Poland*, and conſented alſo to the including of the King of *Great-Britain*, in ſuch ſort, that the differences between them ſhould be adjuſted in an amicable manner.

Theſe differences daily increaſed; and, if theſe Princes had been neighbours, a war would certainly have enſued. Their enmity was in great meaſure perſonal. The Czar's was founded upon the conduct of King *George*, who, whilſt only Elector of *Hanover*, had entered into the views of the Northern States againſt *Sweden*, and, after reaping the fruit of that Alliance, had declared, on all occaſions, againſt *Ruſſia*. Hence the Czar always diſtinguiſhed the King of *England* from the Elector of *Hanover*, and ſhewed all poſſible regard for the *Engliſh*, whilſt he endeavoured, by all methods, to annoy their King; and, perhaps he would have ſucceeded, had it not been for the death of *Charles* XII. That Prince and the Czar, how much ſoever they were offended with each other, were more ſo with King *George*, and were going to lay aſide or ſuſpend their reſentments, in order to be revenged. About the time of the King's laſt arrival from *Hanover*, Mr. *Baſtugef*, the Czar's Reſident at *London*, for ſome expreſſions in a memorial, was ordered to depart the Kingdom in a fortnight. The Czar, in revenge of this affront, took occaſion to publiſh a declaration (which was delivered to the *Engliſh* factory at *Peterſburg*, and printed in *Holland*) in order to raiſe diſcontents in *England*. The declaration was as follows:

Peterſburg, Jan. 29, 1720-21.

'It is notorious in what an unjuſt and injurious manner our Reſident was ſent away from the

the Court of *England*; which, having done us a great and ſenſible wrong, ought naturally to have engaged us to uſe repriſals, according to what is practiſed every where elſe. But as we perceive that all this is done without any regard to the intereſt of *England*, and only in favour of the *Hanoverian* intereſt; for which the Miniſters of *Great-Britain* not only neglect the friendſhip of foreign powers, but do not even ſpare their own Country, which more nearly, and more ſenſibly, concern them; we were unwilling that the *Engliſh* Nation, which has no ſhare in that piece of injuſtice, ſhould ſuffer for it; and therefore we grant to them all manner of ſecurity and free liberty to trade in all our Dominions.'

Theſe two Princes, without mentioning their other qualities, had great talents for Negotiation; but King *George* excelled; for, it muſt be owned, no Prince could more wiſely improve any favourable circumſtances to diſconcert his enemy's projects.

Beſides theſe treaties in which King *George* had ſo great an influence, there was one made with the *Moors*, and ſigned the 12th of *Auguſt*. *Spain*, being then at war with the *Moors*, loudly complained of the treaty, but without any effect.

This year died Pope *Clement* XI. His name was *John Francis Albani*, native of *Urbino*. He had ſate in the papal chair above twenty years. When he was Cardinal, he was for his abilities courted by all the powers of *Europe*, and had a great hand in the will of King *Charles* II. of *Spain*. He was revengeful to the laſt degree, inflexible in his reſolutions, and rejected all advice. His greateſt policy was to keep Princes at variance. He expreſſed great kindneſs for the Pretender. When he found he was going to die, he ſent for the Pretender, who being come, he told the Cardinals then in his Bed-chamber, that he wanted to ſpeak with him in private; but, one of them repreſenting, that it would redound moſt to his Holineſs's honour to deliver his laſt thoughts to him in their preſence, the Pope complied, and recommended to them the three following points:

1. To let the Pretender reſide conſtantly in the palace which he had aſſigned him.

2. To continue the penſion granted to him, that he may be always enabled to ſupport the Royal dignity, till he recover his Kingdoms.

3. To oblige the Succeſſor in the holy ſee, to aſſiſt the Pretender in all things againſt the attempts of his enemies.

The Cardinals aſſured the Pope they would take care to perform the 1ſt and 3d articles; but that, as to the 2d, they would be inexcuſable, if they ſhould continue to exhauſt the treaſure of the Church, which was by no means appropriated for the preſervation of one Prince alone, but for the defence of the *Roman* Catholic Religion in general. To this the Pope anſwered, that his Succeſſor might, with a very ſafe conſcience, draw out ſums from the Treaſury for the maintenance of the Pretender, becauſe he had been deprived of his Dominions for the ſake of the Catholic Religion; moreover, the Pretender himſelf made a very moving ſpeech againſt the inhumanity of abandoning one that was ſo helpleſs: But the Cardinals replied, That they would conſider of it, and give their anſwer next day. The Pope, acquieſcing therewith, deſired the Cardinal *d'Althan* to engage the Emperor to eſpouſe the Pretender's intereſt, and not to forſake him in the preſent juncture; but that Cardinal begged to be excuſed, and ſhewed, that it was impoſſible to be done, not only on account of ſolemn treaty, but alſo by reaſon of the ſignal ſervices which *England* did to his Imperial Majeſty, in the late war againſt the *Spaniards*. 1721.

Clement XI. was ſucceeded by *Michael Angelo*, of the family of *Conti*, who took the name of *Innocent* XIII, in memory of Pope *Innocent* III. the moſt worthy of all the Popes choſen from among the Cardinals of that family (1).

The Princeſs of Wales delivered of a Son, Apr. 15.

On the 15th of *April*, the Princeſs of *Wales* was delivered of a Son at *Leiceſter-Houſe*, and, the next day the City of *London* having preſented a congratulatory addreſs, the King in his anſwer, ſaid, 'I cannot omit taking this opportunity of aſſuring you, that I am truly concerned at the calamity brought upon you by the wicked management of the *South-Sea* Company. I have, however, this comfort, that the report of any part of this misfortune cannot with the leaſt juſtice be imputed to me. Nothing will give me more eaſe and ſatisfaction than the ſeeing you delivered from your preſent ſufferings, your trade revived, and public credit re-eſtabliſhed.' This declaration was thought to be neceſſary, by reaſon of the inſinuations raiſed by the diſaffected.

The young Prince was chriſtened the 2d of *May*: The Godfathers were the King of *Pruſſia* and the Duke of *York*, repreſented by the Earl of *Grantham* and the Lord *Lumley*. The Godmother was the Queen of *Pruſſia*, repreſented by the Ducheſs of *Dorſet*. The young Prince was named *William Auguſtus*, who, this very year 1746, defeated the Rebels in *Scotland*.

Chapter of the Garter.

The King held, on the 27th of *March*, a Chapter of the order of the Garter, to fill up the vacancies occaſioned by the death of the Dukes of *Rutland* and *Buckingham* (2). In their room were choſen *Charles Fitzroy*, Duke of *Grafton*, and *Henry Clinton*, Earl of *Lincoln*.

The Parliament had but one Seſſion left, ſince the ſeven years expired at *Lady-Day* next. It was

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(1) The family of *Conti* is one of the four chief families of *Rome*; the other three are thoſe of *Colonna*, *Orſino*, and *Savelli*, which laſt is extinct.

(2) *John Sheffield*, Duke of *Buckingham*, died *February* 24, 1720-21. He had himſelf made the following Epitaph, and ordered it to be engraved on his tomb: But it was not orthodox enough:

Pro Rege ſæpè, pro Republicâ ſemper, dubius non improbus vixi. Incertus nec perturbatus morior. Chriſtum veneror. In Deo confido æterno ac omnipotente. ENS ENTIUM MISERERE MEI.

He was made Knight of the Garter by King *Charles* II, and Lord Chamberlain by his Succeſſor: He was always in the oppoſition againſt King *William*, and made Privy-Seal by Queen *Anne*. Notwithſtanding his dying in a ſtate of uncertainty, as he owned in his Epitaph, he had appeared very zealous for the Church. He left a ſon by a natural daughter of King *James* II, who are ſince both dead, and the family extinct.

This year *Sept.* 15, died *Matthew Prior*, for whom a monument was erected in *Weſtminſter-Abby*.

1721. was propoſed in Council to diſſolve the preſent, and call a new Parliament; but it was repreſented by the majority, that it would be more expedient to hold another Seſſion, as farther meaſures were to be taken towards a perfect reſtoration of the public credit, which another Parliament might not ſo readily come into. It had been inſinuated, that a deſign was formed for the continuance of the Parliament beyond the next Seſſion; and ſo far believed, that ſeveral Members of the Common-Council of *London* demanded, in form, of the Lord-Mayor, that a Council ſhould be ſummoned, in which it was intended to move for an addreſs to the King, to thank him for his great care of the trade and commerce with *Spain*, but principally to expreſs their hopes of his calling *frequent* and *new Parliaments*. The Lord-Mayor, perceiving their intentions, refuſed to comply with their requeſt on various pretences. Upon this, they publiſhed an account of their proceedings, with the heads of their intended addreſs, under the artful title of *An Apology for the Citizens of* London, *for their not addreſſing his Majeſty under the preſent circumſtances of affairs.*

Sept. 25.

Plague in France.

The plague raged this year in the ſouthern parts of *France*, particularly at *Marſeilles*. On this occaſion a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding any perſon to come into *England* from any part of *France*, between the bay of *Biſcay* and *Dunkirk*, without certificates of health. The ſtreets were ordered to be paved and kept clean; and an act of Parliament paſſed the laſt Seſſion for prevention of infection, by building of Peſt-houſes (to which the infected perſons, or healthy of an infected family, were to be removed) and by ordering trenches or lines to be drawn round any city, town, or place infected. Theſe precautions, appearing to ſome to be unreaſonable, cauſed great debates, as will hereafter be ſeen.

The laſt Seſſion of the firſt Parliament of King George.

The Parliament met on the day appointed, *October* 19, and the Seſſion was opened with the following ſpeech from the Throne:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Acquainted you, when we parted laſt, with "our having renewed all our treaties of "commerce with *Spain*; ſince which, peace is "happily reſtored in the North, by the con-"cluſion of the treaty between the Czar and the "King of *Sweden*, and by that, which I have "made with the *Moors*, a great number of my "ſubjects are delivered from ſlavery; and all "ſuch of them, as trade to thoſe parts of the "world, are, for the future, ſecured from falling "under that dreadful calamity.

"In this ſituation of affairs, we ſhould be "extremely wanting to ourſelves, if we neglect-"ed to improve the favourable opportunity, "which this general tranquillity gives us of ex-"tending our commerce, upon which the "riches and grandeur of this Nation chiefly "depend. It is very obvious, that nothing "would more conduce to the obtaining ſo pub-"lic a good, than to make the exportation of "our own manufactures, and the importation "of the commodities, uſed in the manufacturing "of them, as practicable and eaſy as may be. "By this means, the balance of trade may be "preſerved in our favour, our navigation in-"creaſed, and greater numbers of our poor "employed.

"I muſt therefore recommend it to you, "Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, to "conſider how far the duties upon theſe branch-"es may be taken off and replaced, without "any violation of public faith, or laying any "new burthen upon my people. And I pro-"miſe myſelf, that, by a due conſideration of "this matter, the produce of thoſe duties, "compared with the infinite advantages, that "will accrue to the Kingdom by their being "taken off, will be found ſo inconſiderable, as "to leave little room for any difficulties or ob-"jections.

"The ſupplying ourſelves with naval ſtores, "upon terms the moſt eaſy and leaſt pre-"carious, ſeems highly to deſerve the care "and attention of Parliament. Our Plantations "in *America* naturally abound with moſt of the "proper materials for this neceſſary and eſſen-"tial part of our trade and maritime ſtrength: "And if, by due encouragement, we could "be furniſhed from thence with thoſe naval "ſtores, which we are now obliged to purchaſe "and bring from foreign Countries, it would "not only greatly contribute to the riches, in-"fluence, and power of this Nation, but, by "employing our own Colonies in this uſeful and "advantageous ſervice, divert them from ſet-"ting up and carrying on manufactures, which "directly interfere with thoſe of *Great-Bri-*"*tain.*

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"It will be a great pleaſure to me, if, in "raiſing the Supplies of this year, it may be ſo "ordered, that my people may reap ſome im-"mediate benefit from the preſent circumſtances "of affairs abroad. I have ordered eſtimates to "be prepared for the ſervice of the enſuing year, "and likewiſe an account of the debts of the "Navy to be laid before you. You cannot but "be ſenſible of the ill conſequences, that ariſe "from ſuch a large debt remaining unprovided "for; and that, as long as the Navy and Vic-"tualling bills are at a very high diſcount, they "do not only affect all other public credit, but "greatly increaſe the charge and expence of the "current ſervice. It is therefore very much to "be wiſhed, that you could find a method of "diſcharging this part of the national debts, "which of all others is the moſt heavy and "burdenſome; and by that means have it in "your power to eaſe your Country of ſome part "of the taxes, which, from an abſolute neceſ-"ſity, they have been obliged to pay.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The unſpeakable miſery and deſolation, that "has of late raged in ſome parts of *Europe*, can-"not but be a ſufficient warning to us, to uſe "all poſſible precautions to prevent the conta-"gion from being brought in among us; or, "if theſe Kingdoms ſhould be viſited with ſuch "a fatal calamity, to be in a condition, with "the Bleſſing of God, to ſtop its farther pro-"greſs. And as all other proviſions will be al-"together vain and fruitleſs, if the abominable "practice of running goods be not at once to-"tally ſuppreſſed, I moſt earneſtly recommend "to you, to let no other conſideration ſtand in "competition with a due care of preſerving ſo "many thouſand lives.

"The

" The ſeveral affairs, which I have mentioned " to you, being of the higheſt and moſt im- " mediate concern to the whole Kingdom, I " doubt not but you will enter into the conſi- " deration of them with that temper, unani- " mity, and diſpatch, that the neceſſity and im- " portance of them require."

The King, in this ſpeech, propoſes the affairs to be conſidered: Shews the beſt manner of extending commerce, and ſupplying naval ſtores: Expreſſes his concern for the debts of the Navy, and hopes they will be taken care of in the Supplies for the preſent year: Concludes with recommending all poſſible means to prevent the plague, or ſtop the progreſs of its contagion, particularly by providing againſt the practice of ſmuggling.

The addreſſes of thanks were ſuitable to the ſpeech; the King was congratulated upon his ſucceſs for reſtoring the tranquillity of *Europe*, and ſecuring the trade of the Nation by treaties: Aſſurances were given to proceed to the conſideration of the affairs recommended by him, with temper, unanimity, and diſpatch. Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances of unanimity, the debates ran very high this Seſſion, and nothing paſſed without great oppoſition.

One of the firſt debates which happened in the Houſe of Lords was about the famous Mr. *Law*. He came to *England*, on the 20th of *October*, in the fleet under Sir *John Norris* from the *Baltic*. Mr. *Law* after the downfall of the *Miſſiſſipi* ſtock had been forced to leave *France*, to avoid the reſentment of the inraged people, who had more than once attempted his life. Having ſpent ſome time at *Venice*, and paid a viſit to the Pretender at *Rome*, people were not a little ſurpriſed, ſome time after, to hear, that he was gone to *Hanover*, from whence he deſigned ſhortly to come into *England*. He was brought up to *London* by a Lord, with whom he had negotiated for great parcels of *South-Sea* ſtock; was privately admitted at Court; and having taken a houſe in *Conduit-Street*, near *Hanover-Square*, he was, for ſome days, viſited by great numbers of perſons of quality and diſtinction. This gave ſo much umbrage, that, on the 26th of *October*, Earl *Coningsby* repreſented to the Houſe of Lords, how dangerous it might be, on ſeveral accounts, to entertain and countenance ſuch a man as Mr. *Law*; and a day being, at his motion, appointed to conſider of that matter, the Earl ſaid, 'That he, the Earl, could not but entertain ſome jealouſy of a perſon, who had done ſo much miſchief in a neighbouring Kingdom, and who being ſo immenſely rich, as he was reported to be, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with any, who were grown deſperate, by being involved in the calamity occaſioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. That this perſon was the more dangerous, in that he had renounced, not only his natural affection to his Country, and his allegiance to his lawful Sovereign, by being naturalized in *France*, and openly countenancing the Pretender's friends, but, which was worſt of all, he had alſo renounced his God, by turning *Roman* Catholic: Concluding, that they ought to inquire, Whether Sir *John Norris* had orders to bring him over?' The Lord *Carteret* anſwered, 'That Mr. *Law* had, many years ago, the misfortune to kill a Gentleman in a duel; but that, having, at laſt, received the benefit of the King's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceaſed being taken off, he was come over to plead his Majeſty's pardon. That there was no law to keep any *Engliſhman* out of his Country; and as Mr. *Law* was a ſubject of *Great-Britain*, it was not even in the King's power to hinder him from coming over, if he thought fit.' To this the Lord *Trevor* replied, 'That Mr. *Law* was indeed a ſubject of *Great-Britain*, and, therefore, as ſuch, had an undoubted right to come hither; but the circumſtances of a perſon of his character being brought over on board an *Engliſh* Admiral, and at this juncture of time, might deſerve the conſideration of that Houſe.' Earl *Cowper* ſpoke much to the ſame effect: But, however, the affair was dropped, and Mr. *Law*, attended by the Duke of *Argyle* and the Earl of *Ilay*, pleaded his pardon at the *King's-Bench* according to form. 1721.

Debates about the Navy debt.

The Navy debt, which was increaſed to 1,700,000 *l.* and of which the conſideration had been recommended from the Throne, occaſioned great debates in both Houſes. Mr. *Freeman*, in the Houſe of Commons, reflected with ſome warmth upon the perſons concerned in that part of the Adminiſtration, ſaying, 'It was matter of wonder, how ſo great a debt could be incurred, when the Parliament had provided what had been deſired upon that head.' Mr. *Shippen* hinted, 'That ſuch extraordinary expences could not be for the immediate ſervice of *Great-Britain*, but, in all probability, for the preſervation of ſome foreign acquiſitions.' Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* ſaid, 'That he was not againſt providing for any juſt public debt; but that, in his opinion, they could not anſwer it, either to themſelves, or thoſe they had the honour to repreſent, if they gave away the Nation's money blindfold; and therefore he deſired, that the Houſe might be informed, How ſo great a debt had been contracted?' To this Mr. *Walpole* replied, 'Nothing in the world was more reaſonable; and therefore he backed the motion, for having a particular account of that debt laid before the Houſe; but, in the mean time, he might aſſure them, that near 1,100,000 *l.* of it was contracted in the laſt Reign; and, as the perſons now in the Adminiſtration were not anſwerable for that part, neither did they deſire, that above one million of it ſhould be this year provided for.' This was agreed to without dividing.

The ſame affair was more warmly debated in the Houſe of Lords: When a ſurprize was expreſſed, how the Navy debt came to be ſo large, it was anſwered (as in the Houſe of Commons) that near two thirds of the debt had been contracted in the laſt Reign, of which the proofs were ready. Upon this the Earl of *Rocheſter* ſaid, 'That, ſince the debt was incurred, it was but juſtice, that they, who truſted the Government, ſhould be paid; but, on the other hand, it became the wiſdom of that Houſe to endeavour to prevent the like for the future, and to reſtore the Navy on the antient foot, that is, not to exceed the expences provided for by Parliament.' And moved for an addreſs to that purpoſe. This was oppoſed by the Earl of *Ilay*, who urged, that, the public good, and the ſafety of the Nation, being the grand object and rule of Government, ſome latitude muſt of neceſſity be given, and allowance made, to thoſe who are in the Adminiſtration, for extraordina-

1721. ry expences, upon unforeſeen exigencies. And therefore, if the Miniſters, as they had promiſed it, gave the Houſe a ſatisfactory account, how the debt in queſtion came to be contracted, there was, in his opinion, no occaſion for ſuch an addreſs.' The Lord Chancellor *Parker* and others ſpeaking on the ſame ſide, the motion for an addreſs was rejected by 64 voices (among which was the Lord *Harcourt*'s, who had been lately made a Viſcount) againſt 22.

In ſeveral other debates on this affair, it was urged, 'That the Navy debt was increaſed by employing more ſeamen than were provided for by Parliament, particularly by ſending large fleets to the *Baltic* and *Mediteranean*, and keeping the ſailors in pay during the winter: That theſe extraordinary expences were not neceſſary for the ſervice of *Great-Britain*, and therefore it was proper to have all the papers ralating to the Northern tranſactions, particularly the Lord *Carteret*'s private inſtructions, laid before the Houſe, in order to have full ſatisfaction concerning the grounds of theſe expeditions, and to ſee whether the act of ſettlement had been no ways infringed by them, a point of the utmoſt conſequence to the preſent Eſtabliſhment. To this it was anſwered, That the employing more ſeamen for ſeveral years, than were provided for by Parliament, was occaſioned by ſervices which either were purſuant to the previous advice, or had the ſubſequent approbation of one or both Houſes, and were alſo neceſſary for the ſafety of the Kingdom, and tranquillity of *Europe*: That, the nature of theſe ſervices detaining the ſquadrons till the months of *November*, or *December*, the paying off the ſeamen was inconſiſtent with having the ſhips ready to ſail early in the ſpring, and nothing would be ſaved by it. By a great majority it was voted, that the Lord *Carteret*'s private inſtructions ſhould not be addreſſed, and that the ſending a ſquadron to the *Baltic* did no way break into the act of ſettlement.

About the affairs of Spain *and the* North.

The affairs of *Spain* and the *North* were ſo equally concerned in the increaſe of the naval debt, that the inquiry into the one naturally led to the inquiry into the other. The debate was opened by the Duke of *Wharton*, who animadverted upon the conduct of the Miniſters, both as to the war and peace with *Spain*, and moved that the treaty with that Crown might be laid before the Houſe. The Earl of *Sunderland* ſaid, 'He did not doubt but his Majeſty would be always ready to comply with the deſires of that Houſe, and even in this particular, as well as in others; but that, for his part, he would be ſo free as to declare his judgment againſt adviſing his Majeſty to communicate the treaty in queſtion at this juncture, becauſe, to his knowledge, there was in it a ſecret article, which the King of *Spain* had deſired might not be made public, till after the treaty of *Cambray* was over; and, his Majeſty having granted that requeſt, he therefore hoped that Houſe would not deſire his Majeſty to break his promiſe.' Upon this the Duke of *Wharton*'s motion was rejected by a majority of 59 voices againſt 22. In another debate the Earl of *Strafford* ſuggeſted, 'That as the war with *Spain* was undertaken without neceſſity, or a juſt provocation, ſo the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage. That, contrary to the law of Nations, the *Spaniſh* fleet was fallen upon without any declaration of war, and even while a *Britiſh* Miniſter and a Secretary of State were amicably treating at *Madrid*; ſo that the *Spaniards* might think themſelves ſecure from any hoſtilities. And, as the manner of beginning the war did not appear juſtifiable, ſo neither could the war itſelf be eaſily reconciled with ſound politics, ſince it was an interruption to one of the moſt valuable branches of our trade, and at a time, when the Nation groaned under the preſſure of heavy debts, occaſioned by a former long expenſive war: Concluding with a motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to cauſe the inſtructions, that were given to Sir *George Byng* (now Lord *Torrington*) to be laid before the Houſe.' But as the motion for the treaty, ſo this for the inſtructions of Sir *George Byng*, was upon the queſtion rejected by a majority of 67 againſt 24. A proteſt was entered, repreſenting, that a motion for Admirals inſtructions had never been denied; that, without a ſight of the Lord *Torrington*'s inſtructions, the war with *Spain*, in which the action in the *Mediterranean* involved us, did not appear juſtifiable, and was plainly prejudicial to the Nation, as it interrupted our commerce with *Spain*, and occaſioned a ſtrict union between the *French* and *Spaniſh* Crowns, which it was the intereſt of *Great-Britain* to have kept always divided. Nor did it appear that *Great-Britain* reaped any fruits from that war.

After this it was moved, that the Houſe would inquire what were become of the ſhips taken from the *Spaniards*, and how they were diſpoſed of, and an addreſs for that purpoſe was voted.

The debates on the Navy debt being put off for three weeks, a proteſt (*Feb.* 19) was entered againſt it, in which the ſeveral particulars that were deſigned to be proceeded upon were ſpecified, but they were afterwards expunged by an order of the Houſe.

The bill to prevent infection from the plague cauſed likewiſe long and warm debates in the Houſe of Lords. Earl *Cowper* moved, 'That a clauſe might be added to the bill for repealing ſo much of the late quarentine act, as impowers the Government to remove to a Lazaret, or Peſt-Houſe, any perſons whatſoever, infected with the plague, or healthy perſons out of an infected family from their habitations; and alſo ſo much of the act, as gives power for the drawing lines or trenches round any City, Town, or place infected. He repreſented, that theſe powers were altogether unknown to our Conſtitution, inconſiſtent with the lenity of our free Government, ſuch as could never be wiſely or uſefully put in practice; and the more odious, becauſe they ſeemed to be copied from the arbitrary Government of *France*, and could not be executed but by military force.' The Earl alſo oppoſed the forcing perſons to accept of Nurſes and Phyſicians appointed by the Government. Though the repeal of the obnoxious clauſes in the quarentine act, met with much oppoſition, and a petition from the City of *London*, for that purpoſe, had been rejected by the Lords: Yet an act paſſed at laſt for repealing the clauſes for removing perſons to Peſt-Houſes, and drawing lines round any City or Town that was infected.

The mutiny and deſertion bill occaſioned the uſual diſputes about the army. The Lord *Tre-vor* opened the debate with a long ſpeech, wherein he excepted againſt the clauſes for puniſhing ſoldiers with death for deſertion, and

for exempting them from being arreſted for debt. He urged, 'That the exerciſe of martial law in time of peace was unknown, and repugnant to our Conſtitution: That ſuch a law was indeed neceſſary during the late Rebellion; but, there being at preſent no ſuch reaſon, and all being perfectly quiet and eaſy under his Majeſty's mild Government, the puniſhment of offences committed by the ſoldiery ought to be left to the Civil Magiſtrate: And that, on the other hand, it was unreaſonable to grant ſoldiers a protection from their lawful creditors, ſince a great many poor people, who might be drawn in to truſt them, might be ruined.' After a warm debate, the bill paſſed without any alteration or reduction of the forces.

There was at this time great clamour againſt the *French* building and buying ſhips in *England*. Some were built for them at *Briſtol*, and more at *London*. When this matter was conſidered in the Houſe of Lords, it was ſuggeſted, 'That the practice of building ſhips for foreigners might be attended with very ill and dangerous conſequences; for, as ſuch foreigners, though at preſent in amity with us, may yet, one time or other, become our enemies, they will, in ſuch a caſe, make uſe of theſe very ſhips to fight againſt us: Beſides this general conſideration, the preſent great ſcarcity of timber in *England* made ſuch a practice ſo much the more unjuſtifiable, eſpecially if it was conſidered what a great number of ſhips had lately been built for the *French*, ſome of which were ſixty or ſeventy gun-ſhips.' To this it was anſwered, 'That they knew of no law in being to hinder any ſhip-carpenter from working for any one, that would employ him. That the *French*, though now in amity, may indeed be one day our enemies; but yet, if they built not here ſuch ſhips as they have occaſion for, they might get them built in *Holland* or at *Hamburgh*; and they were of opinion, that it was better for us to get their money than our neighbours: That indeed, if we could hinder the *French* from building ſhips at all, it would be prudent to do it; but, ſince they can have them in other places, our prohibiting them to buy them here would rather be detrimental than advantageous to us.' After ſome other ſpeeches, it was agreed to conſult the Judges. Upon which, Chief-Juſtice *Pratt*, in the name of all the Judges preſent (except Baron *Mountague*, who deſired further time to conſider of it, before he gave his opinion) declared, 'That they knew of no law, whereby the King was impowered to hinder any of his ſubjects from building ſhips for any one, that would employ them, whether Natives or Foreigners.' Earl *Cowper* ſaid, if there was no ſuch law, it was high time there ſhould be one, to put a ſtop to ſuch a pernicious practice for the future; and therefore moved, that the Judges be ordered to bring in a bill for that purpoſe. But, after ſome diſputes about certain proviſoes, the conſideration of the bill was put off and never more reſumed.

The Quakers having petitioned the Commons for leave to bring in a bill for taking out of their ſolemn affirmation the words, *In the preſence of Almighty God*, a bill paſſed the Houſe for that purpoſe, and was ſent up to the Lords, where it occaſioned a debate. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* having, among other things, ſaid, 'He did not know why ſuch a diſtinguiſhing indulgence, as was intended by this bill, ſhould be allowed to a ſet of people, who were hardly Chriſtians:' The Earl of *Ilay* anſwered, 'He wondered that Reverend Prelate ſhould call in queſtion, whether the Quakers were Chriſtians, ſince they were ſo, at leaſt by act of Parliament; being included in the Toleration act, under the general denomination of *Proteſtant Diſſenters*. The Biſhop replied, 'It was againſt the ſtanding orders of that Auguſt Aſſembly to make any perſonal reflections; and he thought it a much greater indecency to make a jeſt of any thing, that was ſacred; and that the calling the Quakers Chriſtians, by act of Parliament, was a ſort of ſide-wind reflection upon Chriſtianity itſelf: However, he would let that paſs, and reſerve to another opportunity what he had to offer againſt the bill. Accordingly, he afterwards endeavoured to prove the Quakers were no Chriſtians, and was ſeconded and ſupported by the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord *North* and *Grey*, and the Archbiſhop of *York*. When the bill was committed, a petition from ſome of the *London* Clergy was preſented by the Archbiſhop of *York*, ſetting forth, 'That, the bill might, in its conſequences, nearly affect the property of the ſubject in general, ſo it would, in a more eſpecial manner, indanger the legal maintenance of the Clergy by tythes, inaſmuch as the people called Quakers pretend to deny the payment of tythes upon a principle of conſcience; and therefore might be under ſtrong inducements to eaſe their conſciences in that reſpect, by violating them in another, when their ſimple affirmation, on behalf of friends of the ſame perſuaſion, ſhall paſs in all Courts of Judicature for legal evidence. However, that the injuries, which the Petitioners in their private affairs might poſſibly ſuffer, were, as they ought to be, of ſmall account with them, in compariſon of the miſchiefs, which might redound to ſociety from the indulgence intended, as it ſeemed to imply, that Juſtice may be duly adminiſtered, and Government ſupported, without the intervention of any ſolemn appeal to God as a witneſs of the truth of what is ſaid, by all perſons, in all caſes of great importance to the common welfare; whereas the Petitioners were firmly perſuaded, that an oath was inſtituted by God himſelf, as the ſureſt bond of fidelity among men, and hath been eſteemed, and found to be ſo by the wiſdom and experience of all Nations in all ages. But that what chiefly moved the Petitioners to apply to their Lordſhips, was their ſerious concern, leſt the minds of good men ſhould be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Chriſtianity triumph, when they ſhould ſee ſuch condeſcenſions made by a Chriſtian Legiſlature to a ſet of men, who renounce the divine inſtitutions of Chriſt; particularly that, by which the faithful are initiated into his Religion, and denominated Chriſtians; and who cannot, on this account, according to the uniform judgment and practice of the Catholic Church, be deemed worthy of that ſacred name. The Petitioners moreover repreſented, that, upon the beſt information they could get, the inſtances, wherein any Quaker had refuſed the ſolemn affirmation preſcribed by an act in the 7th and 8th years of *William* III, had, from the paſſing that act to that day, been exceeding rare; ſo that there might be ground to hope, that the continued uſe of the ſaid ſolemn affirmation would, by degrees,

1721-22. *Petition againſt it.*

1721-22. grees, have intirely cured that people of all thoſe unreaſonable prejudices againſt an oath, which the favour deſigned them by the bill might tend to ſtrengthen and confirm. And the Petitioners humbly left it to their Lordſhips wiſe deliberations, whether ſuch an extraordinary indulgence, granted to a people already, as is conceived, too numerous, might not contribute to multiply their ſect, and tempt perſons to profeſs themſelves Quakers, in order to be exempted from the obligation of oaths, and to ſtand upon a foot of privilege, not allowed to the beſt Chriſtians in the Kingdom.'

it is rejected. The receiving and reading of this petition was warmly oppoſed, and, the queſtion being at laſt put, it was rejected. All the Biſhops preſent (except the two Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of *Oxford* *, *Litchfield* and *Coventry* †, and *Rocheſter*) were againſt the petition. The Biſhop of *Salisbury* endeavoured to mitigate the matter, and propoſed, that the Petitioners might have leave to withdraw their petition; but this was oppoſed by the Earl of *Sunderland*, who ſaid, that a Committee ought to be appointed to inquire into the Authors and promoters of it, for he looked upon it to be no better than a libel. The Lord *Townſhend* took notice of the irregular way, in which the petition was preſented, for, if it was a petition of the *London* Clergy, it ought to be offered either by the Biſhop of that Dioceſe, or the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; whereas it was preſented by the Archbiſhop of *York*, who was Metropolitan of another Province. However, a proteſt was entered by ſeveral Lords and Biſhops againſt rejecting the petition. After this, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* moved, that the Quakers affirmation might not be admitted in Courts of Judicature, but among themſelves; and the Archbiſhop of *York* moved for a clauſe, that the Quakers affirmation ſhould not go in any ſuit at law for tythes: But, after ſome farther debate, the bill was gone through, and ſent back to the Commons; but a proteſt was entered againſt it by ſeveral Lords and Biſhops.

* Potter.
† Hough.

An order about proteſts. As nothing had paſſed without being proteſted againſt, the Earl of *Sunderland*, towards the end of the Seſſion, took notice, 'That the privilege of entering proteſts had, of late, been ſo much abuſed, that, in his opinion, ſome reſtraint ought to be put to it by limiting the time for entering proteſts upon aſking leave of the Houſe, which was never denied: And therefore he moved, that ſuch Lords, as ſhall enter their proteſtations with reaſons, ſhall do the ſame before two o'clock the next ſitting day, and ſign them before the Houſe riſes.' This was oppoſed by the Lord *Cowper*, who alledged, 'That, the time being ſo ſhort, and very few Lords coming ſo early, ſuch an order would in effect put an end to all proteſting, which was an antient privilege of that Houſe.' The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* added That, if proteſts were limited to ſo ſhort a time, this was at leaſt the way to have them crude and indigeſted; and he thought it unbecoming the dignity of that Auguſt Aſſembly to have any thing entered upon their journals, which were records for after ages, before it had been duly conſidered, and well digeſted.' However, it was reſolved, that it ſhould be a ſtanding order of the Houſe (inſtead of the order of the 5th of *March*, 1641) That ſuch Lords, as ſhall enter their proteſtations with reaſons, ſhall do the ſame before two o'clock the next ſitting day, and ſign them before the Houſe riſes.

The Commons, after having granted the neceſſary Supplies, brought in a bill for ſecuring the freedom of elections of Members of Parliament: Great debates aroſe about ſeveral clauſes that were offered to be inſerted in the bill; particularly, that no Officer of the Cuſtoms or Exciſe ſhould vote at any election for Parliament Men. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, as taking away from thoſe Officers their birthright, as *Engliſhmen* and *Freeholders*; upon which that clauſe was dropped. Another was propoſed, that no perſon, who did not pay ſcot and lot, ſhould have a vote in a Corporation. This was alſo oppoſed, 'becauſe (as it was urged) it had already been adjudged at Committees of elections, and agreed to by the Houſe in ſeveral caſes, that ſuch perſons, in ſome places, ſhould have no votes; and in other places they ſhould be allowed to vote, provided they did not receive alms from the pariſh.' As this clauſe was not inſiſted upon, the bill paſſed, and was ſent up to the Lords. The Earl of *Sunderland* endeavoured to ſhew the impoſſibility of the ſeveral clauſes of the bill being put in execution, without expoſing the moſt innocent perſons to the guilt of perjury. After ſeveral ſpeeches on both ſides, the bill was rejected by 48 voices againſt 30.

An act paſſed this Seſſion, to enable the *South-Sea* Company to diſpoſe of the effects in their hands by way of lottery or ſubſcription, in order to pay the debts of the Company. By a clauſe in this bill, the *South-Sea* Company were impowered to ſell 200,000 *l.* a year of their capital ſtock for the ſame purpoſe. Another act paſſed, to prolong the times for hearing and determining claims upon the eſtates of the *South-Sea* Directors, and of Mr. *Aiſlabie* and Mr. *Craggs*.

On the 7th of *March*, the buſineſs of the Seſſion being over, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and put an end to the Parliament, with the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" YOU could not have given me a more acceptable inſtance of your zeal and affection, than by diſpatching, with ſo much unanimity, the ſeveral particulars I recommended to you at the beginning of this Seſſion, for the eaſe and advantage of my people.

" The many and great encouragements you have given to our trade and manufactures, and the proviſion you have made for our being ſupplied with naval ſtores from our own Plantations, will, I make no doubt, excite the induſtry of my ſubjects, employ a greater number of the poor, increaſe our navigation, and be a conſiderable addition to the riches and ſtrength of this Nation.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" The raiſing the current Supplies of the year, and the making a proviſion for the diſcharge of ſo conſiderable a part of the debt of the Navy, is a farther proof of your affection to me, and your regard for the public; and your doing it, in a manner ſo little burthenſome to my people, gives me the greateſt ſatisfaction.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I cannot in juſtice part with this Parliament, " without returning you my ſincereſt thanks for " your ſteady and reſolute adherence to my Per- " ſon and Government, and to the intereſt of " the Proteſtant Cauſe both at home and abroad. " The enemies of our happy Conſtitution have " given the ſtrongeſt and moſt honourable teſti- " mony of your behaviour in theſe particulars, " by the implacable malice, which they have, " upon all occaſions, expreſſed againſt you.

" You muſt all be ſenſible, that they are at " this juncture reviving, with the greateſt induſ- " try, the ſame wicked arts of calumny and de- " famation, which have been the conſtant pre- " ludes to public troubles and diſorders: And " ſuch is their infatuation, that they flatter " themſelves, the groſſeſt miſrepreſentations " will turn to their advantage, and give them " an opportunity of recommending themſelves " to the favour and good opinion of my people. " But I have ſo juſt a confidence in the affection " of my ſubjects, and in their regard for their " own welfare, that I am perſuaded they will " not ſuffer themſelves to be thus impoſed up- " on, and betrayed into their own deſtruction.

" For my part, as the preſervation of the " Conſtitution in Church and State ſhall always " be my care, I am firmly determined to con- " tinue to countenance ſuch, as have manifeſted " their zeal for the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and 1721-22. " have the religious and civil rights of all my " ſubjects truly at heart; and I queſtion not " but that behaviour, which has juſtly recom- " mended them to me, will effectually ſecure to " them the good-will of all that are well-affected " to my Government, and will convince the " world, that the expectations of thoſe are very " ill grounded, who hope to prevail with a " Proteſtant free people, to give up their Re- " ligion and Liberties into the hands of ſuch " as are enemies unto both."

After this ſpeech the Parliament was prorogued to the 15th of *March*, but, on the 10th, a Proclamation was publiſhed to diſſolve the Parliament, and, three days after, another for calling a new one.

Soon after the diſſolution of the Parliament, 1722. died *Charles Spencer*, Earl of *Sunderland*, whoſe *Death of the Earl of* Sunderland, abilities as a Miniſter were indiſputable, but who Apr. 19. expoſed himſelf to great odium by the violence of his temper, and the ſhare he was thought to have had in the *South-Sea* ſcheme; and in the latter part of his life it is thought upon good grounds, that he had entered into correſpondencies and deſigns, which would have been fatal to himſelf, or to the public.

His death was followed in leſs than a month *and of the Duke of* Marlborough, by that of his father-in-law the Duke of *Marlborough*, whoſe character has been given in the former part of this hiſtory (1). He was interred June 16. the

(1) It may not be improper to inſert here the monumental inſcription on the pillar in the Park, before the Caſtle of *Blenheim*, which enumerates the Duke of *Marlborough*'s exploits in a plain, elegant, and maſculine ſtyle:

The Caſtle of *Blenheim* was founded by Q. ANN.
In the fourth Year of her Reign;
In the Year of the Chriſtian *Æra* 1705;
A Monument deſigned to perpetuate the Memory of
the ſignal Victory
Obtain'd over the *French* and *Bavarians*,
Near the Village of *Blenheim*,
On the Banks of the *Danube*,
By JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH;
The Hero not only of his Nation, but of his Age;
Whoſe Glory was equal in the Council and in the Field;
Who by Wiſdom, Juſtice, Candour and Addreſs,
Reconciled various, and even oppoſite Intereſts;
Acquired an Influence, which no Rank, no Authority
can give,
Nor any Force but that of ſuperior Virtue;
Became the fixed important Center,
Which united in one common Cauſe
The principal States of *Europe*;
Who by military Knowledge, and irreſiſtible Valour,
In a long Series of uninterrupted Triumphs,
Broke the Power of *France*,
When raiſed the higheſt, when exerted the moſt;
Reſcued the *Empire* from Deſolation;
Aſſerted and confirmed the Liberties of *Europe*.

PHILIP, a Grandſon of the Houſe of *France*, united to the intereſts, directed by the policy, ſupported by the arms of that Crown, was placed on the Throne of *Spain*. King *William* the Third beheld this formidable union of two great, and once rival, Monarchies. At the end of a life ſpent in defending the liberties of *Europe*, he ſaw them in their greateſt danger. He provided for their ſecurity, in the moſt effectual manner. He took the Duke of *Marlborough* into his ſervice.

Ambaſſador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
To the *States-General* of the *United Provinces*.

The Duke contracted ſeveral Alliances before the death of King WILLIAM. He confirmed and improved theſe. He contracted others, after the acceſſion of Queen ANNE; and reunited the Confederacy, which had been diſſolved at the end of a former war, in a ſtricter and firmer league.

Captain General and Commander in Chief
Of the Forces of GREAT BRITAIN.

The Duke led to the field the army of the Allies. He took with ſurprizing rapidity *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*, *Stevenſwaert*, *Liege*. He extended and ſecured the frontiers of the *Dutch*. The enemies, whom he found inſulting at the gates of *Nimweghen*, were driven to ſeek for ſhelter behind their lines. He forced *Bonne*, *Huy*, *Limbourg* in another campaign. He opened the communication of the *Rhine*, as well as the *Maes*. He added all the Country between theſe rivers to his former conqueſts. The arms of *France*, favoured by the defection of the Elector of *Bavaria*, had penetrated into the heart of the *Empire*. This mighty body lay expoſed to immediate ruin. In that memorable criſis, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH led his troops with unexampled celerity, ſecrecy, order, from the *Ocean* to the *Danube*. He ſaw; he attacked; nor ſtopped, but to conquer the enemy. He forced the *Bavarians*, ſuſtained by the *French*, in their ſtrong intrenchments at *Schellenberg*. He paſſed the *Danube*. A ſecond royal army, compoſed of the beſt troops of *France*, was ſent to reinforce the firſt. That of the Confederates was divided. With one part of it the ſiege of *Ingolſtadt* was carried on. With the other the Duke gave battle to the united ſtrength of *France* and *Bavaria*. On the ſecond day of *Auguſt*, 1704, he gained a more glorious victory than the hiſtories of any age can boaſt. The heaps of ſlain were dreadful proofs of his valour. A Marſhal of *France*, whole legions of *French*, his priſoners, proclaimed his mercy. *Bavaria* was ſubdued. *Ratisbon*, *Augsburg*, *Ulm*, *Meminghen*, all the uſurpations of the enemy, were recovered. The liberty of the *Diet*, the peace of the Empire, were reſtored. From the *Danube* the Duke turned his victorious arms toward the *Rhine*, and the *Moſelle*. *Landau*, *Treves*, *Traerbach*

1722. the 9th of *Auguſt*, with great funeral pomp, in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*; and was ſucceeded as Maſter-General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the firſt regiment of Foot-guards by the Earl of *Cadogan*.

The elections for Members of Parliament were

Traerbach were taken. In the courſe of one campaign the very nature of the war was changed. The Invaders of other States were reduced to defend their own. The frontier of *France* was expoſed in its weakeſt part to the efforts of the Allies.

That he might improve his advantage, that he might puſh the ſum of things to a ſpeedy deciſion, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH led his troops early in the following year once more to the *Moſelle*. They, whom he had ſaved a few months before, neglected to ſecond him now. They, who might have been his companions in conqueſt, refuſed to join him. When he ſaw the generous deſigns he had formed fruſtrated by private intereſt, by pique, by jealouſy, he returned with ſpeed to the *Maes*. He returned; and fortune and victory returned with him. *Liege* was relieved; *Huy* re-taken; the *French*, who had preſſed the army of the *States-General* with ſuperior numbers, retired behind intrenchments, which they deemed impregnable. The Duke forced theſe intrenchments, with inconſiderable loſs, on the ſeventh day of *July*, 1705. He defeated a great part of the army, which defended them. The reſt eſcaped by a precipitate retreat. If advantages proportionable to this ſucceſs were not immediately obtained, let the failure be aſcribed to that miſfortune, which attends moſt Confederacies, a diviſion of opinions, where one alone ſhould judge; a diviſion of powers, where one alone ſhould command. The diſappointment itſelf did honour to the Duke. It became the wonder of mankind how he could do ſo much under thoſe reſtraints, which had hindered him from doing more.

Powers more abſolute were given him afterwards. The encreaſe of his powers multiplied his victories. At the opening of the next campaign, when all his army was not yet aſſembled, when it was hardly known that he had taken the field, the noiſe of his triumphs was heard over *Europe*. On the 12th of *May*, 1706, he attacked the *French* at *Ramillies*. In the ſpace of two hours, the whole army was put to flight. The vigour and conduct, with which he improved this ſucceſs, were equal to thoſe, with which he gained it. *Louvain*, *Bruſſels*, *Malines*, *Liere*, *Ghent*, *Oudenard*, *Antwerp*, *Damme*, *Bruges*, *Courtray* ſurrendered. *Oſtend*, *Menin*, *Dendermond*, *Aeth* were taken. *Brabant* and *Flanders* were recovered. Places which had reſiſted the greateſt Generals for months, for years; Provinces, diſputed for ages, were the conqueſts of a ſummer. Nor was the Duke content to triumph alone. Solicitous for the general intereſt, his care extended to the remoteſt ſcenes of the war. He choſe to leſſen his own army, that he might enable the Leaders of other armies to conquer. To this it muſt be aſcribed that *Turin* was relieved, the Duke of *Savoy* re-inſtated, the *French* driven with confuſion out of *Italy*.

Theſe victories gave the Confederates an opportunity of carrying the war, on every ſide, into the Dominions of *France*. But ſhe continued to enjoy a kind of peaceful Neutrality in *Germany*. From *Italy* ſhe was once alarmed, and had no more to fear. The entire reduction of this power, whoſe ambition had cauſed, whoſe ſtrength ſupported the war, ſeemed reſerved for him alone, who had ſo triumphantly begun the glorious work.

The barrier of *France*, on the ſide of the *Low-Countries*, had been forming for more than half a century. What art, power, expence could do, had been done to render it impenetrable. Yet here ſhe was moſt expoſed; for here the Duke of MARLBOROUGH threatened to attack her.

To cover what they had gained by ſurprize, or had been yielded to them by treachery, the *French* marched to the banks of the *Schelde*. At their head were the Princes of the blood, and their moſt fortunate General, the Duke of *Vendoſme*. Thus commanded, thus poſted, they hoped to check the Victor in his courſe. Vain were their hopes. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH paſſed the river in their ſight. He defeated their whole army. The approach of night concealed, the proximity of *Ghent* favoured their flight. They neglected nothing to repair their loſs; to defend their frontier. New Generals, new Armies, appeared in the *Netherlands*. All contributed to enhance the glory, none were able to retard the progreſs of the Confederate arms.

Liſle, the bulwark of this barrier, was beſieged. A numerous Garriſon and a Marſhal of *France* defended the place. Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* commanded, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH covered and ſuſtained the ſiege. The rivers were ſeized, and the communication with *Holland* interrupted. The Duke opened new communications with great labour and much greater art. Through Countries, over-run by the enemy, the neceſſary convoys arrived in ſafety. One alone was attacked. The troops, which attacked it, were beat. The defence of *Liſle* was animated by aſſurances of relief.

The *French* aſſembled all their force. They marched towards the town. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH offered them battle, without ſuſpending the ſiege. They abandoned the enterprize. They came to ſave the town. They were ſpectators of its fall.

From this conqueſt the Duke haſtened to others. The poſts taken by the enemy on the *Schelde* were ſurprized. That river was paſſed the ſecond time; and notwithſtanding the great preparations made to prevent it, without oppoſition.

Bruſſels, beſieged by the Elector of *Bavaria*, was relieved. *Ghent* ſurrendered to the Duke in the middle of a winter remarkably ſevere. An army, little inferior to his own, marched out of the place.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted him to open another campaign, the Duke beſieged and took *Tournay*. He inveſted *Mons*. Near this City the *French* army, covered by thick woods, defended by treble intrenchments, waited to moleſt, nor preſumed to offer battle. Even this was not attempted by them with impunity. On the laſt day of *Auguſt*, 1709, the Duke attacked them in their camp. All was employed, nothing availed againſt the reſolution of ſuch a General; againſt the fury of ſuch troops. The battle was bloody. The event deciſive. The woods were pierced. The fortifications trampled down. The enemy fled. The town was taken. *Douay*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, *Bouchain* underwent the ſame fate in two ſucceeding years. Their vigorous reſiſtance could not ſave them. The army of *France* durſt not attempt to relieve them. It ſeemed preſerved to defend the capital of the Monarchy.

The proſpect of this extream diſtreſs was neither diſtant, nor dubious. The *French* acknowledged their Conqueror, and ſued for peace.

Theſe are the Actions of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH:
Perform'd in the Compaſs of few Years,
Sufficient to adorn the Annals of Ages.
The Admiration of other Nations
Will be conveyed to lateſt Poſterity,
In the Hiſtories even of the enemies of BRITAIN.

The Senſe, which the BRITISH Nation had
Of his tranſcendent Merit,
Was expreſſed
In the moſt ſolemn, moſt effectual, moſt durable manner.

The ACTS of PARLIAMENT, inſcribed on this Pillar,
Shall ſtand
As long as the BRITISH Name and Language laſt,
Illuſtrious Monuments
Of MARLBOROUGH's Glory
And
Of BRITAIN's Gratitude.

(1) About

were carried on with great zeal on both ſides; but the majority of the elected was clearly in favour of the Court; as was likewiſe that of the ſixteen *Scots* Peers, who were the Dukes of *Montroſe* and *Roxburgh*, the Marquiſs of *Tweedale*, the Earls of *Sutherland*, *Rothes*, *Loudon*, *Haddington*, *Buchan*, *Selkirk*, *Orkney*, *Stair*, *Deloraine*, *Ilay*, *Hoptoun*, *Bute*, and *Aberdeen* (1.)

It was King *George*'s lot to meet with continual diſturbances. The affair of the *South-Sea*, and the favour ſhewn to the Managers of that ſcheme, had raiſed great diſcontents. It was natural for the enemies of his Perſon and Government to improve ſuch a juncture: Accordingly they did ſo, and, though without hope of any foreign aſſiſtance, they imagined it poſſible to ſucceed in their deſigns, unleſs prevented by a diſcovery. The King had ſome ſuſpicion of a plot, which he had intimated in his ſpeech to both Houſes, but preſently after his ſuſpicions were turned into certainty. In the beginning of *May* he had full information of a conſpiracy formed againſt him, the firſt notice of which came from the Duke of *Orleans*.

Upon this information, a camp was marked out in *Hyde-Park*, to which the troops of the King's Houſhold marched the next day. Orders were iſſued to all military Officers immediately to repair to their reſpective commands. Lieutenant-General *Maccartney* was diſpatched to *Ireland*, to bring over ſome troops from thence into the Weſt of *England*. Meſſengers were ſent to *Scotland* to ſecure ſome ſuſpected perſons; and Mr. *Horace Walpole*, who, ſome days before, went over to *Holland*, was inſtructed to deſire the *States*, to keep in readineſs the guarantee troops, in order to be ſent into *England* in caſe of neceſſity. On the other hand, Colonel *Churchill* was ſent to the Court of *France*, with a private Commiſſion, probably to ſee how far the aſſurances from thence were to be depended upon. By theſe precautions the public tranquillity was preſerved in *Great-Britain*. However, the apprehenſions of the plot did not a little affect public credit; for, on *May* the 7th, *South-Sea* ſtock fell from 90 to 77; and the timorous or diſaffected began a run upon the Bank. But, a few days after, the funds gradually roſe to their former value.

To authorize theſe precautions, and ſound the temper of the people, the Lord *Townſhend* writ the following letter to the Lord-Mayor of *London*:

My Lord, *Whitehall, May* 8, 1722.

'His Majeſty having nothing more at heart than the peace and ſafety of his good City of *London*, the protection of its inhabitants, and the ſupport of public credit, has commanded me to acquaint your Lordſhip, that he has received repeated and unqueſtionable advices, that ſeveral of his ſubjects, forgetting the allegiance they owe to his Majeſty, as well as the natural love they ought to bear to their Country, have entered into a wicked Conſpiracy, in concert with Traitors abroad, for raiſing a Rebellion in this Kingdom in favour of a Popiſh Pretender, with a traiterous deſign to overthrow our excellent Conſtitution both in Church and State, and to ſubject a Proteſtant free people to tyranny and ſuperſtition; but I am perſuaded, that it will be a great ſatisfaction to your Lordſhip and the City to find, that, at the ſame time I am ordered to inform you of this deſign, I am likewiſe commanded by his Majeſty to let you know, that he is firmly aſſured, that the Authors of it neither are, nor will be ſupported, nor even countenanced by any foreign power. And as his Majeſty has had timely notice of their wicked machinations, and has made the proper diſpoſitions for defeating them, he has no reaſon to doubt, but by the continuance of the bleſſing of Almighty God, and the ready aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects, this effort of the malice of his enemies will be turned to their own confuſion. 1722.

His Majeſty makes no doubt, but your Lordſhip, purſuant to the truſt repoſed in you, will, in conjunction with the other Magiſtrates of his good City of *London*, exert, with the utmoſt care and vigilance, your authority at ſo important a conjuncture, for the preſervation of the public Peace, and the ſecurity of the City.'

I am, &c.

TOWNSHEND.

The reception this letter met with was very acceptable to the Court. An addreſs was preſented by the Court of Aldermen, thanking the King for his indulgent regard to the City of *London*, by informing them of the wicked deſigns of his enemies at home and abroad, and congratulating him upon the happy ſucceſs of his Negotiations, which had procured aſſurances, that theſe traiterous purpoſes would not be ſupported by any foreign power:

'When we reflect (continues the addreſs) on the many bleſſings, which *Britons* enjoy, under the protection of a Prince, who makes the laws of this land his rule for the Government of his people, when we conſider that neither the civil, or religious rights of your Majeſty's ſubjects, have met with the leaſt inſtance of violation, ſince your Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne of theſe Realms, when we recollect your Majeſty's Royal clemency and benevolence, (ſince the laſt Rebellion) to numbers of thoſe who had offended, in the higheſt degree, againſt their King, and the laws of their Country, we cannot but expreſs the utmoſt abhorrence of thoſe vile and deteſtable perſons, who ſhall again conſpire and attempt to bring a free and happy people under the yoke and tyranny of ſuperſtition, and to involve this Nation in a ſtate of blood, miſery, and utmoſt confuſion.

And as theſe muſt be the unavoidable conſequences attending any enterprize to alter our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and to introduce a Popiſh one;

As *Engliſhmen* that value our liberties; as honeſt

(1) About this time *David Graham*, eldeſt ſon of the Duke of *Montroſe*, was created Earl *Graham* of *Belford* in *Northumberland*, and *Robert Ker*, only ſon of the Duke of *Roxburgh*, Earl *Ker* of *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire*. *John Leſtlie*, Earl of *Rothes*, dying ſoon after his election, *James Ogilvy*, Earl of *Finlater* and *Seafield* was elected in his room.

1722. neſt men that have ſworn Allegiance to your Majeſty, and who have abjured and renounced the Pretender; and as real friends to our excellent Conſtitution in Church and State (with a Proteſtant Prince at the head of it) we beg leave, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to declare to your Majeſty, that, as we are bound in gratitude, we will exert ourſelves in our ſeveral ſtations, with the utmoſt care and vigilance, for the preſervation of the public peace and tranquillity, and for the reſtoring of public credit; and that we will uſe our ſincere and hearty endeavours for the firm ſupport of your Majeſty upon the Throne, and for the making your Reign eaſy and happy.'

The example of *London* was followed by many other Cities and Burroughs, who all expreſſed the ſame zeal and devotion. But, notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, the King's journey to *Hanover* was laid aſide, though the Regency had been ſettled, in which the Prince of *Wales* had no part. The Court, however, went to *Kenſington*, and the Prince and Princeſs retired to *Richmond*.

Several perſons taken up.

Various were the reports about the nature and diſcovery of the Conſpiracy, as the Government did not as yet think fit to publiſh the particulars. However, to remove all ſuſpicion of its reality, ſeveral perſons were taken up. On the 21ſt of *May*, Mr. *George Kelly*, who went under the name of *Johnſon*, an *Iriſh* Clergyman, was ſeized at his lodgings in *Bury-Street*, by three Meſſengers, for treaſonable correſpondences; and, having delivered his ſword and papers to them, they placed them in a window, and went in ſearch of other things. Their negligence gave him an opportunity of recovering his ſword, which he drew, and ſwore he would run the firſt man through the body, that diſturbed him in what he was doing, which was burning his papers in a candle with his left hand, whilſt he held the drawn ſword in the other. When the papers were burnt, he ſurrendered himſelf.

On the 4th of *Auguſt*, Mr. *Robert Cotton*, of *Huntingtonſhire*, one of the Gentlemen concerned in the late Rebellion, and cleared by the act of Grace, was ſeized at his lodgings over againſt *Somerſet-Houſe*, as were alſo his Footman and Landlady. Two days after, Mr. *Cochran* and Mr. *Smith* were brought priſoners from *Edinburgh*, and *Cochran* was committed to the *Tower*. One *John Sample*, formerly a ſervant to Sir *Robert Sutton*, while he reſided as Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of *France*, having been taken up for High-treaſon, and being in cuſtody of a Meſſenger, found means, on the 5th of *Auguſt*, to make his eſcape; upon which a proclamation was iſſued out, with a reward of 1000*l.* for apprehending him. And, on the 13th, another proclamation, with the like reward, was publiſhed for apprehending Mr. *Thomas Carte*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, againſt whom a warrant had been iſſued by one of the Secretaries of State.

On the 24th of *Auguſt*, Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Dean of *Weſtminſter*, was apprehended by ſome of the King's Meſſengers, who, having ſearched his houſe, and ſecured ſome of his papers, carried him before a Committee of the Privy-Council, who, having examined him, committed him to the *Tower* for High-treaſon. The next day, Mr. *Thomas Moore*, Vicar of *St. Botolph Alderſgate*, formerly Secretary to the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was likewiſe taken up, and afterwards examined, but ſoon after diſcharged.

About the middle of *September*, Mr. *Bingley*, Mr. *Neynoe*, a young *Iriſh* Prieſt, and two other perſons, were ſeized at *Deal*, and brought up priſoners to *London*. About the ſame time Mr. *Chriſtopher Layer*, a young Counſellor of the *Temple*, being alſo apprehended, he endeavoured, the next day, to make his eſcape; and ſucceeded ſo far in his deſign, that he found means to get out at a back-window two ſtory high, and, having reached the river-ſide, he gave a Sculler ſome guineas to carry him over the water to *Southwark* with all poſſible expedition. But, being diſcovered, upon his going off, by a ſervant-maid, he was immediately purſued, and, a hue and cry being raiſed after him, he was taken, and brought back, and the next morning committed to the *Tower*. On the 21ſt of of *September*, he was brought under a ſtrong guard to the *Cock-pit* at *Whitehall*, and, having been ſome hours under examination, before a Committee of the Privy-Council, was remanded to his confinement. The day before, Mr. *Sayer*, of the *Temple*, was taken into cuſtody; as was alſo, the next day, Mr. *Stewart*, Clerk to Mr. *Layer*, while his Maſter was under examination. The ſame day, *John Plunket*, Serjeant to a Company of Invalids at *Plymouth*, was ſeized at *Chelſea*, upon ſuſpicion of being concerned with Mr. *Layer*, and, after examination, committed to the cuſtody of a Meſſenger. On the 24th, Mr. *Shippen*'s houſe in *Norfolk-Street* was ſearched for papers, that might give light into ſome ſuſpicions. Warrants were likewiſe iſſued out for apprehending the Lord *North* and *Grey*, who was gone as far as the *Iſle of Wight*, and had put himſelf on board a Smuggler's ſloop, having been ſome time at Mr. *Holmes*'s houſe in that Iſland. Colonel *Morgan*, the Deputy-Governor, being informed of his being on board the ſloop, ſent to a Captain of one of the King's frigates, to have an eye upon the ſloop, and, when going to ſail, to ſend his long-boat aboard, and ſecure all the paſſengers on ſuſpicion; which being done, the Lord *North* and *Grey* at firſt pretended to be another perſon; but, finding that did him no ſervice, he confeſſed who he was; and he and the reſt of the paſſengers were carried before the Governor, who told them, he muſt ſecure them till he could write to Court; and, upon an anſwer from thence, he had orders to ſend them up in cuſtody. The Lord *North* and *Grey*'s houſe, in *Great Queen-Street*, being alſo ſearched for papers, the Meſſenger found there Mr. *Swathfegger*, Secretary to the Earl of *Orrery*, who was ſeized and committed to cuſtody; and, the next morning, *September* 27, the Earl himſelf was brought to town from his ſeat at *Brittel* in *Buckinghamſhire*, and, having been examined at the *Cock-pit*, was ordered to be confined that night at his own houſe in *Glaſs-Houſe-Street*, under a guard of thirty ſoldiers; and, the next day, in the evening, was again examined by a Committee of the Privy-Council, and committed priſoner to the *Tower*; as was alſo the Lord *North* and *Grey*, being brought up from *Portſmouth* by Lieutenant-General *Maccartney*, Colonel *Gordon*, and a Meſſenger.

On the 26th of *September* Mr. *Fleetwood* was taken

taken into cuſtody, and Mrs. *Layer*, ignorant of her husband's fate, and coming over from *France*, was about the ſame time ſeized at *Dover*.

Two days after Mr. *Stephen Neynoe*, the *Iriſh* Prieſt, ſeized at *Deal*, being cloſely confined in the houſe of Mr. *Crawford*, one of the King's Meſſengers, in *Mancheſter-Court* near the *Thames*, found means, about three in the morning, to make his eſcape from a window two ſtory high, by tying the blanket and ſheets together, and got to the wall of a neighbouring garden adjoining to the river; but not knowing, that the tide was high, he leaped into the water, and, being unskilled in ſwimming, was drowned.

After the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had lain a fortnight in priſon, Sir *Conſtantine Phipps* preſented a petition to the Court at the *Seſſions-Houſe* in the *Old Bailey*, in the name of Mrs. *Morrice*, the Biſhop's daughter, praying that, in conſideration of the Biſhop's ill ſtate of health, he might be either brought to a ſpeedy trial, or bailed, or diſcharged: But it was overruled, as were alſo the petitions of two other priſoners for the plot, *Cochran* and *Dennis Kelly*.

The commitment of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* made a great noiſe through the whole Kingdom, and gave occaſion to the diſaffected to heighten jealouſies and diſcontents. They pretended his confinement was injurious to the Church of *England*, and the Epiſcopal order, and went ſo far as to offer up public prayers for him (under pretence of his being afflicted with the Gout) in moſt Churches and Chapels in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, on *Sunday* the 16th of *September*. On the other hand, endeavours were uſed to remove the prejudices of the Clergy againſt the Miniſtry, and Dr. *Gibſon*, Biſhop of *Lincoln* (now of *London*) wrote a circular letter, wherein he ſets forth the indulgence wherewith the Biſhop was treated: The great reſpect the order of Biſhops met with from the King, who in the diſpoſal of his preferments was directed by their advice: The improbability of ſo unpopular an act, without a juſt and even neceſſary foundation: And laſtly the ſafety of the Nation, which requires that all delinquents ſhould be cenſured as ſuch, without any regard to the office, or title, or honour they bear.

Whilſt the Public was employed in condemning or acquitting the impriſoned Biſhop, the King thought proper to ſhew himſelf to the people. He ſet out the latter end of *Auguſt* for his *Weſtern* progreſs, accompanied by the Prince of *Wales*. He came to *Hackwood*, a ſeat of the Duke of *Bolton*, near *Baſingſtoke* in *Hampſhire*, on the 28th of *Auguſt*, lay there that night, and the next day arrived at *Salisbury*, being received every where with demonſtrations of the greateſt affection and joy. On the 30th he went to the camp near that City, and reviewed *Londonderry*'s and *Wade*'s Regiments of horſe, and *Evans*'s and *Gore*'s Regiments of dragoons; and *Wills*'s, *Cadogan*'s, *Pocock*'s, *Stanwix*'s, *Groves*'s, *Montague*'s, and *Clayton*'s Regiments of foot. The King returned by the way of *Wincheſter*, viſited *Portſmouth*, lay at *Stanſtead*, the ſeat of the Earl of *Scarborough*, and arrived at *Kenſington* the firſt of *September*.

The noiſe made by the Conſpiracy ſeemed to require the meeting of the Parliament as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit. Accordingly, on the 9th of *October*, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and opened the Seſſion with a ſpeech very proper to remove any doubts which might have been entertained of the plot: 1722.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I AM concerned to find myſelf obliged, at the opening of this Parliament, to acquaint you, that a dangerous Conſpiracy has been for ſome time formed, and is ſtill carrying on, againſt my Perſon and Government, in favour of a Popiſh Pretender. *The King's ſpeech.*

" The diſcoveries I have made here, the informations I have received from my Miniſters abroad, and the intelligences I have had from the powers in alliance with me, and indeed from moſt parts of *Europe*, have given me moſt ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked deſign.

" The Conſpirators have, by their Emiſſaries, made the ſtrongeſt inſtances for aſſiſtance from foreign powers, but were diſappointed in their expectations. However, confiding in their numbers, and not diſcouraged by their former ill ſucceſs, they reſolved once more, upon their own ſtrength, to attempt the ſubverſion of my Government.

" To this end they provided conſiderable ſums of money, engaged great numbers of Officers from abroad, ſecured large quantities of arms and ammunition, and thought themſelves in ſuch readineſs, that, had not the Conſpiracy been timely diſcovered, we ſhould, without doubt, before now, have ſeen the whole Nation, and particularly the City of *London*, involved in blood and confuſion.

" The care I have taken has, by the bleſſing of God, hitherto prevented the execution of their traiterous projects. The troops have been incamped all this ſummer: Six Regiments (though very neceſſary for the ſecurity of that Kingdom) have been brought over from *Ireland*: The *States-General* have given me aſſurances, that they would keep a conſiderable body of forces in readineſs to imbark on the firſt notice of their being wanted here, which was all I deſired of them, being determined not to put my people to any more expence than what was abſolutely neceſſary for their peace and ſecurity.

" Some of the Conſpirators have been taken up, and ſecured, and endeavours are uſed for the apprehending others.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" Having thus in general laid before you the ſtate of the preſent Conſpiracy, I muſt leave to your conſideration what is proper and neceſſary to be done for the quiet and ſafety of the Kingdom. I cannot but believe the hopes and expectations of our enemies are very ill-grounded, in flattering themſelves, that the late diſcontents, occaſioned by private loſſes and misfortunes, however induſtriouſly and maliciouſly fomented, are turned into diſaffection, and a ſpirit of Rebellion.

" Had I, ſince my Acceſſion to the Throne, ever attempted any innovation in our eſtabliſhed Religion; had I, in any one inſtance, invaded the liberty and property of my ſubjects, I ſhould leſs wonder at any endeavours

1722. " to alienate the affections of my people, and " draw them into measures, that can end in no- " thing but their own destruction.

" But to hope to persuade a free people, in " full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable " to them, to exchange freedom for slavery, the " Protestant Religion for Popery, and to sacri- " fice at once the price of so much blood and " treasure, as have been spent in defence of our " present Establishment, seems an infatuation " not to be accounted for. But, however vain " and unsuccessful these desperate projects may " prove in the end, they have at present so far " the desired effect, as to create uneasiness and " diffidence in the minds of my people; which " our enemies labour to improve to their own " advantage. By forming plots they depreciate " all property, that is vested in the public " funds, and then complain of the low state of " credit. They make an increase of the na- " tional expences necessary, and then clamour " at the burthen of taxes, and endeavour to im- " pute to my Government, as grievances, the " mischiefs and calamities, which they alone " create and occasion.

" I wish for nothing more, than to see the " public expences lessened, and the great na- " tional debt put in a method of being gradually " reduced and discharged, with a strict regard " to parliamentary faith; and a more favour- " able opportunity could never have been hoped " for, than the state of profound peace, which " we now enjoy with all our neighbours. But " public credit will always languish under daily " alarms and apprehensions of public danger. " And, as the enemies of our peace have been a- " ble to bring this immediate mischief upon us, " nothing can prevent them from continuing to " subject the Nation to new and constant diffi- " culties and distresses, but the wisdom, zeal, " and vigorous resolutions of this Parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I have ordered the accounts to be made up, " and laid before you, of the extraordinary " charge, that has been incurred this summer, " for the defence and safety of the Kingdom; " and I have been particularly careful, not to " direct any expence to be made greater or " sooner than was of absolute necessity.

" I have likewise ordered estimates to be pre- " pared, and laid before you, for the service of " the year ensuing; and I hope the further " provisions, which the treasonable practices of " our enemies have made necessary for our com- " mon safety, may be ordered with such fruga- " lity, as very little to exceed the Supplies of " the last year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I need not tell you of what infinite concern " it is to the peace and tranquillity of the King- " dom, that this Parliament should, upon this " occasion, exert themselves with a more than " ordinary zeal and vigour. An intire union " among all, that sincerely wish well to the pre- " sent Establishment, is now become absolutely " necessary. Our enemies have too long taken " advantage from your differences and dissen- " sions. Let it be known, that the spirit of " Popery, which breathes nothing but confusion " to the civil and religious rights of a Protestant " Church and Kingdom, however abandoned " some few may be, in despite of all obligations " divine and human, has not so far possessed my " people, as to make them ripe for such a fatal " change. Let the world see, that the general " disposition of the Nation is no invitation to " foreign powers to invade us, nor encourage- " ment to domestic enemies to kindle a civil war " in the bowels of the Kingdom. Your own " interest and welfare call upon you to defend " yourselves. I shall wholly rely upon the Di- " vine Protection, the support of my Parliament, " and the affections of my people, which I shall " endeavour to preserve, by steadily adhering " to the Constitution in Church and State, and " continuing to make the laws of the Realm " the rule and measure of all my actions."

The addresses of thanks were full of the sen- timents which so strong and pathetic a speech naturally produced. The detestation and abhor- rence, as well as the indignation conceived by both Houses, at the hearing of these traiterous and dangerous designs against his Majesty in fa- vour of a Popish Pretender were unspeakable. The Commons especially expressed themselves in a very affecting manner: 'We cannot ex- press too great an abhorrence of such unnatural practices, nor too great an indignation against those who would have made the Capital of this flourishing Kingdom a scene of blood and deso- lation. Wicked men! whilst they have the malice to revile your Government, and attempt to overturn it, at the same time have the inso- lence to depend upon the clemency of it for their security: While they are endeavouring to destroy all liberty, they are clamouring that a few of them are, for the public safety, confined: Whilst they are attempting to destroy all pro- perty, they are murmuring at the necessary taxes given to your Majesty for the security of it: And, whilst they act against all law themselves, they trust, and are confident, that, even in their own cases, the laws of the Realm will be the rule and measure of your actions.' To this were added assurances of not only making good all the extraordinary expences already incurred, but of chearfully granting whatever should be neces- sary for the safety of the Kingdom, as they were entirely convinced, that they could by no other means restore public credit, and attempt the gradual reduction of the great national debt, than by doing every thing in their power for the support of his Majesty's Government, and happy establishment in his Royal Family.

The expressions *of doing every thing in their power* were objected against by some Members as too general, and it was moved to add the words, *with due regard to the liberty of the Sub- ject, the Constitution in Church and State, and the Laws now in force*. But the motion was reject- ed, upon Mr. *Pulteney*'s representing, that such a clause would be injurious to the King, since it would look like making a condition or bar- gain with the King, and tacitly imply, either that the laws had already been infringed, or that the Commons were jealous, lest his Majesty should, for the future, break in upon the Con- stitution.

As the diſcovery of the plot made the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act neceſſary, a bill was brought in for that purpoſe the very firſt day of the Seſſion, by the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who repreſented the neceſſity of ſtrengthening the hands of the King's Miniſters, in order to a full detection and entire ſuppreſſion of the traiterous deſigns and practices againſt the Government, by impowering his Majeſty to ſecure all ſuſpected perſons. Accordingly, it was propoſed that the *Habeas Corpus* act ſhould be ſuſpended till the 24th of *October* 1723.

This was oppoſed chiefly by the Earls of *Angleſea*, *Cowper*, *Strafford*, and *Coningſby*, and the Lords *Trevor*, *Bathurſt*, and *Bingley*, who repreſented, that, the *Habeas Corpus* act being, on all hands, admitted to be the greateſt and ſtrongeſt bulwark of *Engliſh* liberty, it did not conſiſt with the wiſdom of Parliament to ſuſpend it, without an abſolute neceſſity. That, indeed, in caſes of actual Rebellion, or intended Invaſion, that act had been, at times before, ſuſpended; but yet this was done ſparingly, by degrees, and never for above the term of ſix months. That this conſideration put them under a very melancholy apprehenſion for the very being or effect of that excellent law, ſince the ſuſpenſion of it for a year might be as good a precedent for the ſuſpending it, on another occaſion, for the term of two years, as any former precedent was now for the preſent ſuſpenſion. That, the horrid and deteſtable Conſpiracy, which occaſioned this ſuſpenſion, having been diſcovered and notified to the City of *London* above five months before, and divers of the Conſpirators impriſoned for it a conſiderable time paſt, it was very unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the danger of this plot, in the hands of an able, faithful, and diligent Miniſtry, would continue for a year or more yet to come; and that in ſo high a degree, as to require a ſuſpenſion of the liberty of the ſubject; for ſo they took the *Habeas Corpus* act to be. That, indeed, their juſt apprehenſions would, in a great meaſure, be removed, if they could flatter themſelves with the hopes, that his Majeſty, on whoſe known equity, goodneſs, and clemency, they intirely depended, would remain among us, during the whole time of this ſuſpenſion: But that his Majeſty, not having viſited his Dominions abroad theſe two laſt years, would, very probably, leave the Kingdom the next ſpring to that end. That, in his Majeſty's abſence, this great power of ſuſpecting and impriſoning the ſubjects at will, and detaining them in priſon till the 24th of *October* 1723, and for as much longer time, as till they can, after that, take the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* act (if they could then do it at all) would be lodged in the hands of our fellow-ſubjects, who could not be ſuppoſed to be above all prejudices and partialities, as their Lordſhips were ſure his Majeſty was; and who, beſides, might have private piques and reſentments to gratify. That this bill did, in effect, veſt the Miniſters with an authority almoſt as arbitrary and extenſive as that of a *Roman* Dictator, ſince they might inflict, even on innocent perſons (who ſhould have the misfortune to diſpleaſe them) a puniſhment of above a year's impriſonment, which comes little ſhort of death, and which oftentimes occaſions it. That the *Dictatorian* power among the *Romans* was always ended or laid down immediately after the occaſion; for which it was given, was over; and it was remarkable, that it was never continued much longer, till a little before the *Roman* Commonwealth (from which all other States draw ſo many maxims of Government) loſt its liberty. That ſo long a ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act weakens the proviſion made in the bill for the Members of either Houſe of Parliament, *that they ſhall not be committed or detained, ſitting the Parliament, until the matter be firſt communicated, and the conſent obtained of the Houſes reſpectively*, ſince it is very probable, the Parliament will not be ſitting the greateſt part of the time, for which this bill was enacted, and would continue a law. That ſuch is the weakneſs of human nature, that the apprehenſion of what might befall a Member of Parliament, while the Parliament is not ſitting, might have ſome influence on the freedom of Parliament. And, upon the whole matter, ſince ſo long a ſuſpenſion was liable to ſo many inconveniencies, they thought it adviſable and conſiſtent with the uſual prudence of that Auguſt Aſſembly, to reduce it to the term of ſix months; at the end of which, if there appeared to be a neceſſity for it, it might be continued ſix months longer, as was done before in this very Reign, during the late Rebellion. 1722.

Theſe objections to the bill itſelf, or continuance of it for a year, were anſwered by the Lords *Townſhend*, *Harcourt*, *Carteret*, the Dukes of *Argyle*, *Wharton*, and *Newcaſtle*, and ſome others. They repreſented, 'That the *Habeas Corpus* act had been ſuſpended upon much leſs important occaſions, upon bare intimations of a plot; whereas the King had now laid before the Parliament the particulars of a Conſpiracy to introduce a Popiſh Prince: That it was neceſſary the ſuſpenſion ſhould continue a whole year, ſince the Conſpirators (who probably would lie ſtill all the winter) would exert themſelves in the ſummer when the Parliament was up; and might flatter themſelves with the hopes of foreign aſſiſtance.' After theſe debates, the ſuſpenſion, being put to the vote, was carried without a diviſion, and the bill was ſent down to the Commons.

The debates (which ran chiefly upon the continuance of it) were much the ſame as in the Houſe of Lords. Mr. *Spencer Cowper* ſaid, 'That he and all his family had come as early and readily into the Revolution, and, on all occaſions, had appeared as zealous for the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, as any one: But yet he could not be of opinion to truſt the liberties of the people in the hands of any Miniſtry, for ſo long a time as above a year. That neither in King *William*'s nor Queen *Anne*'s Reigns, nor ſince his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, even in times of open and actual Rebellion, the *Habeas Corpus* act had ever been ſuſpended for above ſix months; and therefore he moved, that the preſent ſuſpenſion might be limited to that term.' Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* added, 'That, if, at the end of thoſe ſix months, there appeared to be a neceſſity for a farther ſuſpenſion, he ſhould, and he doubted not but the whole Houſe would readily come into it.' At laſt, Mr. *Robert Walpole* roſe up, and laid before the Aſſembly ſome particulars of the dangerous Conſpiracy, which for ſome time had been, and was ſtill carrying on, for the utter ſubverſion of the

1722. the preſent happy Settlement. He ſaid, 'That this wicked deſign was formed about *Chriſtmas* laſt: That the Conſpirators had at firſt made application to ſome Potentates abroad, for an aſſiſtance of five thouſand men: That being denied, they afterwards (about the month of *April*) made farther application and earneſt inſtances for three thouſand men: Being again diſappointed in their expectations from foreign aſſiſtance, they reſolved deſperately to go on, confiding in their own ſtrength, and fondly depending on the diſaffection in *England:* That their firſt attempt was to have been the ſeizing of the *Bank*, the *Exchequer*, and ſuch other places, where the public money was lodged: That the Government had undoubted informations of this plot ever ſince *May* laſt; but, nevertheleſs, thought fit not to take up any body, becauſe, there being then two terms coming on together, the Conſpirators would have had the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* act; and ſo the apprehending them was put off till the long vacation.' He added, 'That the traiterous deſigns againſt his Majeſty's Perſon and Government had been carrying on ever ſince the death of the late Queen; and it could be proved, that there had been a meeting of ſome conſiderable perſons, one of whom was not far off, wherein it had been propoſed to proclaim the Pretender at the *Royal Exchange:* That an exact account of this deteſtable Conſpiracy would, in due time, be laid before the Parliament: And, as to the buſineſs now before them, though it was true, that the *Habeas Corpus* act had never before been ſuſpended for above ſix months; yet, conſidering the Lords had made this ſuſpenſion for a whole year, if the Commons ſhould go about to alter it, the ſame might occaſion a difference between the two Houſes, which, at this time of jealouſy and danger, might ſound ill in foreign Courts.' After this ſpeech, the bill paſſed the Houſe as ſent down by the Lords, and, on the 17th of *October*, received the Royal aſſent.

Purſuant to a clauſe in the act, that no Member of either Houſe ſhould be impriſoned during their ſitting, till the matter be firſt communicated to the Houſe, and their conſent obtained, the King by the Lord *Carteret* deſired the conſent of the Lords to detain priſoners the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, the Lord *North* and *Grey*, and the Earl of *Orrery*, which was readily given.

Soon after paſſing the bill, the Duke of *Norfolk* was taken into cuſtody at the *Bath*, and brought up to *London*. He was examined by the Council, and afterwards committed to the *Tower* on ſuſpicion of High-Treaſon.

When the Lord *Townſhend* acquainted the Peers with this affair, thoſe that oppoſed the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act were againſt conſenting to the Duke's commitment. They repreſented, that the cauſe and ground of his being ſuſpected of High-Treaſon ſhould be communicated to the Houſe, and that a general ſuſpicion was not ſufficient: That this would ſubject every Peer, even while the Parliament was ſitting, to unwarrantable impriſonments, and might produce very ill effects. But their reaſons were not heard, and after a long debate the Houſe conſented to the Duke's being detained priſoner in the *Tower*.

The Pretender's declaration.

As a farther proof of the Plot, the King, on the 16th of *November*, ſent the following meſſage to the Houſe of Peers:

'His Majeſty having been informed, that many ſcandalous declarations in print have been by ſeveral foreign poſts tranſmitted into this Kingdom, in order to be diſperſed among his good and faithful ſubjects, to poiſon their minds, and ſeduce them from their allegiance; ſeveral of thoſe declarations have, by his Majeſty's order, ever ſince his Majeſty received from both Houſes of Parliament the laſt moſt ſolemn and acceptable aſſurances of their fidelity, been intercepted; and amongſt them an original in writing, ſigned, as his Majeſty has good reaſon to believe by the Pretender himſelf. This, together with one of the printed copies, his Majeſty has ordered to be laid before you, as a matter not unworthy of your conſideration.'

This declaration (dated *September* 20, 1722, at *Lucca*) was directed by *James* III, King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to all his loving ſubjects of the three Nations, and to all foreign Princes and States, to ſerve as a foundation for a laſting peace in *Europe*, and ſigned *James Rex*. The Pretender begins with ſhewing how fond he is of his ſubjects; that, though the obligation he owes to his own honour be great, yet the obligation to the ſafety and tranquillity of his native Country is above all ties the deareſt to him and the tendereſt. He then talks of the late violations to the freedom of elections: Of Conſpiracies invented on purpoſe to give pretence for new oppreſſions: Of infamous informers: And a ſtate of proſcription in which he concludes every honeſt well-meaning man to be. Theſe conſiderations have engaged him to enter ſeriouſly into himſelf, and examine his heart, what ſacrifice to make on his own part for the public peace, eſpecially of theſe Kingdoms, of which he is the natural and undoubted father. Then he propoſes, that, if King *George* will quietly deliver to him the poſſeſſion of his Throne, he will in return beſtow upon him the title of King in his native Dominions, and invite all other States to confirm it, with a promiſe to leave to him his ſucceſſion to the *Britiſh* Dominions ſecure, whenever in due courſe his natural right ſhall take place. As motives to this reſignation, he ſays, that in King *George*'s native Dominions an unconteſtable right will free him from the crime and reproach of tyranny, and repreſents the difference between a calm undiſturbed reign over a willing people, and a reſtleſs poſſeſſion in a ſtrange land, where authority, forcing the inclinations of the people, can only be ſupported by blood and violence, eternally ſubject to fears and alarms, even when no danger appears. He concludes with ſaying, King *George*'s ſettlement here is frail and uncertain, becauſe his title ſhall, whilſt the Pretender has health or any deſcendants in being, be for ever diſputed, conjuring him, inſtead of adviſing with an imperious Miniſtry, as much his tyrants as the Nation's, to conſult his reaſon, to ask his conſcience, and to examine his intereſt and glory, and then his very ambition will admoniſh him to deſcend from a Throne, which muſt be always ſhaking, to mount another, where his ſeat will be firm and ſecure.

When this declaration was read in the Houſe of Lords, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that it was a falſe, inſolent, and traiterous libel, the higheſt

higheſt indignity to the King, full of preſumption and arrogance, in ſuppoſing the Pretender in a condition to offer terms to his Majeſty, and injurious to the honour of the *Britiſh* Nation, in imagining that a free Proteſtant people, happy under the Government of the beſt of Princes, could be ſo infatuated, as, without the utmoſt contempt and indignation, to hear of any terms from a Popiſh bigotted Pretender. Then they ordered the declaration to be burnt at the *Royal Exchange*. The King's meſſage, the declaration, and the Lords reſolution being communicated to the Commons, they agreed with the Lords, only adding, that the Sheriffs ſhould attend in perſon at the burning of the declaration. An addreſs was preſented by both Houſes, expreſſing their utmoſt aſtoniſhment and indignation at the ſurprizing inſolence of the Pretender, and aſſuring, they were determined to ſupport the King's title to the Crown, with their lives and fortunes (1).

The Commons proceeding to conſider of the ways and means to raiſe the Supplies, a motion was made, that, towards defraying the expences occaſioned by the late rebellion and diſorders, the ſum of 100,000*l.* ſhould be raiſed (in lieu of all forfeitures and profits of the two thirds of their regiſtered eſtates) upon the real and perſonal eſtates of all Papiſts or perſons educated in the Popiſh Religion. This was oppoſed by Sir *Wilfred Lawſon* and Dr. *Friend*, who ſaid, that ſuch an extraordinary tax would carry the face of perſecution, which was inconſiſtent with the principles and temper of the Proteſtant Religion: Adding, ſome of thoſe, who had their education in foreign Seminaries, proved ſome of the beſt friends to the preſent Government. To this Mr. *Yonge* anſwered, That he knew very little of foreign education, but he doubted very much, that loyalty to King *George* was taught by Prieſts and Jeſuits in *Romiſh* Seminaries. The Lord *Gage*, who was bred a *Roman* Catholic, and had ſeveral relations of that Religion, ſaid, That he believed moſt of them to be very loyal ſubjects, though, by their principles, they cannot take the oath of Supremacy; and therefore he propoſed, that a new oath of Allegiance might be framed for them. Mr. *William Thompſon* ſpoke on the ſame ſide, and declared his abhorrence of perſecuting any body on account of their opinions in Religion. This was anſwered by Recorder *Thompſon*, who ſtated the true notion of perſecution, which, in his opinion, was only when any one is puniſhed for his particular opinion in Religion, and for ſerving God according to that opinion, and the dictates of his conſcience. But that (ſaid he) was not the caſe here, for the extraordinary tax, now intended to be raiſed upon the Papiſts, was not a puniſhment for their being *Roman* Catholics, but on account of penalties they had at divers times incurred for being enemies to the Civil Government, raiſing rebellions, and contriving plots againſt the State. At laſt, Mr. *Walpole* repreſented 'the great dangers this Nation had been in, ever ſince the Reformation, from the conſtant endeavours of Popery to ſubvert our happy Conſtitution and the Proteſtant Religion, by the moſt cruel, violent, and unjuſtifiable methods: That he would not take upon him to charge any particular perſon among them with being concerned in the preſent horrid Conſpiracy: But that it was notorious to the whole world, that many of them had been engaged in the *Preſton* Rebellion, and ſome were executed for it; and the preſent Plot was contrived at *Rome*, and countenanced in Popiſh Countries: That many of the Papiſts were not only well-wiſhers to it, but had contributed large ſums of money towards carrying it on; and therefore he thought it very reaſonable, ſince they made ſuch ſavings of the incomes of their eſtates, that the ſame ſhould go towards the great expence they and the Pretender's friends had put the Nation to.' In the courſe of the bill, which was ordered to be brought in, the friends of the *Roman* Catholics, when they ſaw it was like to paſs, took the opportunity of a thin Houſe, to clog it with a clauſe for including the Papiſts and Nonjurors of *Scotland*, 1722.

(1) The addreſs was as follows:

'We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and faithful ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, being deeply affected with the ſenſe of thoſe many bleſſings, which we have conſtantly enjoyed, and hope long to enjoy, under your Majeſty's moſt juſt and gracious Government; and being thoroughly convinced, that our religious and civil rights, as well as the very being of the *Britiſh* Name and Conſtitution, do, under God, intirely depend upon the preſervation of your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, and of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, as ſettled by law in your Royal line, are filled with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and indignation at the unexampled preſumption and arrogance of the Pretender to your Dominions, in daring to offer ſuch an indignity to your Majeſty and the *Britiſh* Nation, as to declare to your ſubjects, and to all foreign Princes and States, that he finds himſelf in a condition to offer terms to your Majeſty, and even to capitulate with you for the abſolute ſurrender of the Religion and Liberties of a free Nation.

However great the infatuation of his Adviſers may be, we are ſenſible, nothing could have raiſed his or their hopes to ſo extravagant a degree of preſumption, but repeated encouragements and aſſurances from the Conſpirators at home, founded on the moſt injurious and groſs miſrepreſentations of the inclinations and affections of your Majeſty's ſubjects; and a raſh concluſion, that becauſe ſome, from whom it ought leaſt to have been expected, had broke through the ſolemn reſtraint of reiterated oaths, in order to raiſe themſelves on the ruin of their Country; therefore the whole body of the Nation was ripe for the ſame fatal defection, and ready to exchange the mild and legal Government of a moſt indulgent Prince, for the boundleſs rage of an attainted Fugitive, bred up in the maxims of tyranny and ſuperſtition.

But we, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, reſolve, by a ſteady and conſtant adherence to your Government, to wipe off this ſtain and imputation from the name of *Britons*, and to convince the world, that thoſe wicked deſigns, formed againſt your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon and Government, which the inſolence of this declaration proves to be moſt real, while it affects to treat them as imaginary, are impracticable againſt a Prince relying on, and ſupported by the vigour and duty of a *Britiſh* Parliament, and the affections of his people.

And we beg leave, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to aſſure your Majeſty, that neither the impotent menaces of foreign aſſiſtance, nor the utmoſt efforts of domeſtic traitors, ſhall ever deter us from ſtanding by your Majeſty with our lives and fortunes, and ſupporting your Majeſty's moſt juſt title to the Crown of theſe Realms, againſt the Pretender, and all his open and ſecret Abettors, both at home and abroad.

1722. *Scotland*, which was carried by five voices only in the Committee. But, when this amendment came to be conſidered by the Houſe, Mr. *Walpole* repreſented, That, the names and real eſtates of the *Scots* Papiſts and Nonjurors not being regiſtered, it was impoſſible to aſcertain their proportion of this tax. Upon which the clauſe was rejected, and the bill, having paſſed, was ſent up to the Lords, where it was alſo agreed to with another bill from the Commons, to oblige all perſons, being Papiſts, in *Scotland*, and all perſons in *Great-Britain* refuſing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the ſecurity of the King's Perſon and Government, to regiſter their names and real eſtates. Both theſe bills received the Royal aſſent.

Trial of Layer.

Mr. *Layer* was brought to his trial on the 21ſt of *November*, at the *King's-Bench*. His indictment ſet forth, 'That he had been employed in forming a moſt traiterous and horrid Plot and Conſpiracy againſt his Majeſty and his Government, by inliſting men in *Eſſex* for the Pretender's ſervice, in order to ſtir up a Rebellion; and alſo, that he had held correſpondence with the Pretender, by carrying letters and treaſonable papers to him beyond ſeas, and from him to his Majeſty's diſaffected ſubjects in this Kingdom.' The firſt evidence proved, that the Earl of *Cadogan* was to be ſeized, and the *Tower* at the ſame time; afterwards the *Bank* of *England*, and then his Majeſty and the Prince of *Wales*. The inliſting men for the Pretender was proved by ſeveral perſons, to whom Mr. *Layer* had given money; and, after a trial of about eighteen hours, he was found guilty, and received ſentence of death; but, being reprieved from time to time, the Houſe of Commons appointed a Committee to examine him in relation to the Conſpiracy, conſiſting of *Spencer Compton*, the Speaker; *Robert Walpole*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*; Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Maſter of the Rolls; *Paul Methuen*, Comptroller of the Houſhold; *William Pulteney*; *John Smith*, Teller of the *Exchequer*; *Richard Hampden*, Lieutenant General *Wills*, and Sir *Robert Sutton*. They choſe *Stephen Poyntz* to be their Secretary. Mr. *Layer*'s reprieve was prolonged on this occaſion, and, his trial not being publiſhed, the Earl of *Angleſey*, in the Houſe of Lords, took notice, 'That, at the opening of this Seſſion, his Majeſty, in his ſpeech from the Throne, had been pleaſed to acquaint both Houſes with the diſcovery of a dangerous Conſpiracy, which for ſome time had been formed, and was ſtill carrying on againſt his Perſon and Government: That ſome of the Conſpirators had been taken up and ſecured; and that endeavours were uſed for the apprehending others. That, one of the principal Plotters having ſince that time been tried and condemned, it was ſomewhat ſtrange, that no particulars relating to the Conſpiracy had yet been communicated to that Houſe, the rather, becauſe ſeveral of their Members had been apprehended, and were ſtill confined, on ſuſpicion of being concerned in it.' And therefore he moved, 'That the Judges of the *King's-Bench* be ordered to cauſe the trial of *Chriſtopher Layer* to be forthwith printed and publiſhed, being firſt peruſed by the King's Council.' This motion was ſupported by the Earls *Cowper*, *Strafford*, and *Aylesford*, the Lords *Trevor*, *Bathurſt*, *Lechmere*, and ſome others. To this it was anſwered by the Lord *Carteret*, 'That the order moved for was altogether unneceſſary, directions having been long before given by the Judges for the printing and publiſhing of the trial with all convenient ſpeed: That the trial being of a very large extent, and ſeveral parts of it, that were taken down in ſhort-hand, requiring a great deal of time to be reviſed and rectified by the Judges and the Council on both ſides, had occaſioned the delay complained of; but that, the printing of the trial being now in great forwardneſs, the ſame would be publiſhed in a few days.' Upon this a motion for an order to the Judges was rejected, and about a week after the trial was publiſhed. However, ſixteen Lords entered their proteſts. 1722.

Theſe debates probably haſtened the publiſhing of the trial; and, though *Layer* was ſtill reprieved from time to time, in hopes that he would make a full diſcovery of the plot, he waved it; and therefore he was at laſt executed at *Tyburn*, his head being carried to *Newgate*, and the next day fixed up at *Temple-Bar*; but his quarters were delivered to thoſe, who came for them. He was attended at his death by Mr. *George Hawkins* and Mr. *John Berryman*, two Clergymen. His ſpeech was very ſhort; but in it he juſtified himſelf in what he had done, and recommended the intereſt of the Pretender. He delivered a paper to Mr. *Price*, the Under-Sheriff, and another to a friend. 1722. Layer executed, May

The report of the Committee appointed to examine Mr. *Layer*, and others, having been delivered to the Houſe on the 1ſt of *March*, by Mr. *Pulteney*, the Chairman, it appeared from thence, that a deſign had been long carrying on by perſons of figure and diſtinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the Pretender on the Throne of theſe Kingdoms. That various methods had been attempted, and various times fixed for putting this deſign in execution. That the firſt intention was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade theſe Kingdoms at the time of the late elections; but that the Conſpirators, being diſappointed in this expectation, next reſolved to make an attempt at the time, that it was generally believed the King intended to go to *Hanover*, by the help of ſuch Officers and Soldiers, as could paſs into *England* unobſerved from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of *Ormond*, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in *Spain* for that purpoſe, at which time the *Tower* was likewiſe to have been made a place for arms. But this deſign being alſo diſappointed by the diſcoveries made in *England*, and the King's putting off his journey; by the incampment of his forces at home, as well as the ſending for thoſe from *Ireland*, and by the readineſs of his Allies the *States-General*, to aſſiſt him in caſe of need; by the orders given in *Spain*, that the late Duke of *Ormond* ſhould not be ſuffered to paſs through that Kingdom, the Conſpirators found themſelves under a neceſſity of deferring their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp: During that interval they were labouring by their agents and emiſſaries to corrupt and ſeduce the Officers and Soldiers of the army, and depended ſo much on this defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the Pretender on the Throne, tho' they ſhould obtain no aſſiſtance from abroad, which nevertheleſs they ſtill continued to ſollicit for. *Report of the Committee to examine Layer.*

The truth and reality of theſe deſigns were confirmed by the concurrent advices from almoſt all parts of *Europe*, ſent by perſons who appeared to have had no communication with each other. Theſe advices were alſo verified by ſeveral diſcoveries made at home by the informations and confeſſions of the parties concerned, as well as by a long ſeries of correſpondence which the Conſpirators furniſhed the Government againſt themſelves. 1722-23.

From ſeveral letters and circumſtances it appeared, that the firſt deſign was to have been executed with the aſſiſtance of foreign forces, at the time of the elections; that the Pretender, the late Duke of *Ormond*, Lord *Orrery*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, were of this opinion; that memorials were drawn up here, to be preſented to the Regent for this purpoſe, and that thoſe memorials were actually preſented, or, at leaſt, application made to the Regent in conſequence of them, by directions from perſons in *England*; and that ſuch diſpoſitions had been made for this enterprize at that time, as broke out into riots at ſome of the elections; which muſt have been allowed to have been no unfavourable juncture for ſuch an attempt, conſidering the diſcontents occaſioned by the late *South-Sea* ſcheme, which the Conſpirators have all along flattered themſelves they ſhould be able to improve into a ſpirit of Rebellion, and the liberties uſually taken at ſuch a ſeaſon, when all the Freeholders of *England* are neceſſarily aſſembled together, and when the whole Nation is too apt to be in a ferment, even in the quieteſt times.

This deſign failing, on account (as it is reaſonable to believe) of the Conſpirators not being able to obtain the forces they ſollicited from abroad, and of their being themſelves divided in opinion as to the time and manner of execution, their next endeavour was to attempt an inſurrection at the time, when they ſuppoſed his Majeſty would be going to *Hanover*. For it appeared by ſeveral particulars, that the Duke of *Ormond* was to have landed in *England* with officers and arms about that time. The reaſon of *Ormond*'s not coming proceeded from the orders iſſued at *Madrid* and in *France* to prevent him, and by the King's not going abroad. In a letter to one of the Secretaries of State from *Rome*, notice was taken, that a perſon of great diſtinction at that place had declared it as his opinion, that the grand project formed in the Conclave, for placing the Pretender on the Throne of *Britain*, was going to be put in execution; but that the ſame perſon afterwards aſſigned four reaſons for its having miſcarried, which were, the want of money, the ſuſpected faith of the Regent, the want of ſkill in thoſe who were to conduct it, and the puſillanimity of the Pretender, who, to avoid hazarding his own perſon, propoſed to ſend his child.

The Report farther obſerved, that the Leaders, in order (as it is natural to believe) to ſave themſelves from the danger of legal conviction, choſe to manage their correſpondences by the intervention of perſons of a meaner rank and figure, and of deſperate fortunes, who, they hoped, might eſcape the obſervation of the Government; being no otherwiſe conſiderable, than as the truſt repoſed in them made them ſo. Of theſe inferior Agents, *Layer* appears to have been principally intruſted by Lord *North* and *Grey*, and Lord *Orrery*; and *Plunket*, who travelled with *Layer* to *Rome*, and whoſe treaſonable practices and correſpondences are cloſely connected with thoſe of *Layer*, writes of himſelf as tranſacting part of his treaſons with Lord *Orrery*'s Clerk, and ſends frequent accounts to the Pretender's Agents abroad, of matters relating to the ſaid Lord.

George Kelly, a Nonjuring Clergyman, appears to have been the perſon principally entruſted by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and to have been employed in writing for him, and conveying letters to him, until the time that he, *Kelly*, was firſt taken into cuſtody; after which, it appears to the Committee, that *Thomas Carte*, another Nonjuring Clergyman, was entruſted and employed by the Biſhop in the ſame manner; and the Committee obſerved, that *George Kelly*'s Correſpondence has a cloſe connexion with that of *Dennis Kelly*, and likewiſe that he appears to have been privy to *Plunket*'s and *Neynoe*'s tranſactions.

The perſon employed by the Duke of *Norfolk*, in conveying letters between him, and *George Jernegan*, an Agent of the Pretender's in *Flanders*, they find to be Mrs. *Spelman*, alias *Yallop*, who has likewiſe owned her conveying letters in the ſame manner between Mr. *Harvey* of *Comb*, and one *Moore* of *Brownloe Street*, and the ſaid *Jernegan*; the Committee obſerve, that *John Sample* acted under the direction of Mr. *Sempil* (commonly called Lord *Sempil*) and his ſon at *Paris*; and that he wrote letters to the late Duke of *Ormond* and the Pretender.

After the reading of the report, it was moved by Mr. *Pulteney*, that this queſtion might be put, 'That upon conſideration of the report, and the ſeveral papers and examinations relating to the Conſpiracy, it appears to this Houſe, that a deteſtable and horrid Conſpiracy has been formed and carried on by perſons of figure and diſtinction, and their agents and inſtruments, in conjunction with Traitors abroad, for invading theſe Kingdoms with foreign forces, for raiſing Inſurrections and a Rebellion at home, for ſeizing the *Tower*, and the City of *London*, for laying violent hands upon the Perſons of his moſt ſacred Majeſty and the Prince of *Wales*, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment in Church and State, by placing a Popiſh Pretender upon the Throne.' This queſtion, after a ſhort debate, was carried without dividing; and then Mr. *Pelham* moved, 'That it appears to this Houſe, that *Chriſtopher Layer*, in his ſeveral examinations before the Lords of the Council, and the Committee of this Houſe, has groſsly prevaricated, ſuppreſſed the truth, contradicted himſelf, and endeavoured, as far as in him lies, to diſguiſe and conceal the horrid and deteſtable Conſpiracy:' Which was alſo carried in the ſame manner. After this, the Attorney-General moved, 'That it appears to this Houſe, that *John Plunket* has been a principal Agent and Inſtrument in the Conſpiracy, and has carried on ſeveral treaſonable correſpondences to procure a foreign force to invade theſe Kingdoms, to raiſe Inſurrections and a Rebellion at home, and was engaged with others in the villainous and execrable deſign, of laying violent hands upon his Majeſty's moſt ſacred Perſon.' This queſtion being carried with very little oppoſition, the Attorney-General moved again, for a bill to inflict certain pains and penalties on *John Plunket*. Though this motion was warmly oppoſed, yet,

1722-23 yet, after a long debate, it was carried by a majority of 289 againſt 130, and the bill, being brought in, paſſed both Houſes: But thirty-one Lords entered their proteſts againſt it. A few days after, the Sollicitor-General made the like motion in the caſe of *George Kelly*, and a bill was alſo paſſed againſt him, which was attended with the ſame proteſts.

By theſe acts *Plunket* and *Kelly* were to be kept in cloſe cuſtody during his Majeſty's pleaſure, his Heirs and Succeſſors, in any priſon in *Great-Britain*; and, in caſe they ſhould break priſon, they and their aſſiſtants were to ſuffer death.

Act againſt Biſhop Atterbury.

The ſame day Mr. *Yonge* in a long ſpeech took notice, how deeply Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, had been concerned in this deteſtable Conſpiracy; aggravating his crime from his holy function, and high ſtation in the Church of *England*, a Church ever conſpicuous for its loyalty; from the ſolemn oaths he had, on ſo many occaſions, taken to the Government, and by which he had abjured the Pretender; when at the ſame time he was traiterouſly conſpiring to bring him in, upon the ruin of his Country, and of all that was dear and valuable to us as Freemen and Chriſtians: Concluding, that as he was a diſgrace to his Order, and a diſhonour to the Church, ſo he might apply to him on this occaſion theſe words of the 1ſt of *Acts*, *Verſe* 20, *Let his habitation be deſolate, and let no man dwell therein, and his Biſhopric let another take.* And therefore he moved, 'That it appears to this Houſe, that *Francis* Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on the wicked and deteſtable Conſpiracy, for invading theſe Kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raiſing Inſurrections and Rebellions at home, in order to ſubvert our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment in Church and State, by placing a Popiſh Pretender upon the Throne.' Sir *William Wyndham* ſaid, he ſaw no cauſe to proceed againſt the Biſhop in ſo ſevere a manner, there being little or indeed no evidence beſides conjectures and hearſays. However, Mr. *Yonge*'s motion was agreed to, and a bill was ordered to be brought in to inflict certain pains and penalties on *Francis* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*.

When the bill came to be read a ſecond time, the Biſhop ſent a letter to the Speaker, which he deſired might be communicated to the Houſe, and in which he ſaid, that, though conſcious of his own innocence, he ſhould decline giving the Houſe any trouble that day, and contented himſelf with the opportunity (if the bill went on) of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a Member.' However the Commons proceeded in that affair, and, the Council for the bill being called in, and the bill read, the Council opened the evidence, and produced a ſcheme, taken amongſt Mr. *Layer*'s papers, which was read, as were alſo ſeveral copies of letters ſtopped at the Poſt-Office. Then the Council examined ſeveral witneſſes to make good the allegations of the bill; produced ſeveral papers taken at his houſes at *Weſtminſter* and *Bromley*; as alſo a packet taken on one of his ſervants at the *Tower* of *London*; and examined two witneſſes, one to prove, that a letter and paper contained in the packet were his handwriting; and the other to prove, that a letter directed to Mr. *Dubois*, taken amongſt his papers at the Deanry at *Weſtminſter*, was ſealed with the ſame ſeal, with which the letter taken on his ſervant at the *Tower* was ſealed. Then the Council ſummed up the evidence, and, being withdrawn, the Speaker opened the bill, which was committed to a Grand Committee, on the 6th of *April*, when the leading men amongſt the Tories choſe to go out of the Houſe, ſo that only Mr. *Lawſon*, Mr. *Ogletherpe*, and two or three more, ſtaid to ſpeak in the Biſhop's behalf. When they came to the filling up the blank for pains and penalties, it was moved, that he ſhould be deprived of his office and benefice, baniſhed the Kingdom, be guilty of felony if he returned, and that it ſhould not be in the King's power to pardon him without conſent of Parliament; but without forfeiture of goods and chattels. Mr. *Lawſon* repreſented, that, the evidence againſt the Biſhop being all either hearſay or conjecture, and therefore not to be depended upon, he ought to have no puniſhment at all. Mr. *Oglethorpe* was of the ſame opinion, but gave it another turn. He ſaid, 'It was plain, the Pretender had none but a company of ſilly fellows about him; and it was to be feared, that, if the Biſhop, who was allowed to be a man of great parts, ſhould be baniſhed, he might be ſollicited and tempted to go to *Rome*, and there be in a capacity to do more miſchief by his advice, than if he was ſuffered to ſtay in *England* under the watchful eye of thoſe in power.' But the bill paſſed and was ſent up to the Lords; before whom the Biſhop was brought to his trial on the 9th of *May*; and, himſelf and his Council having been heard, the Lords in a Grand Committee went through the bill againſt him; and on the 15th the bill was read the third time; after which a motion being made for paſſing it, there aroſe a very long and warm debate (1).

Earl *Powlet*, who opened the debate, ſpoke to the nature of this bill, ſhewed the danger of ſuch an extraordinary proceeding, and urged, that the ſwerving from the fixed rules of evidence, and conſequently from juſtice, muſt inevitably be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences to our excellent Conſtitution. Dr. *Willis*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, in anſwer to that, alledged,

(1) The Speakers for and againſt the bill were as follows:

Againſt the bill.	For the bill.
1. Earl *Powlet*,	2. Lord Biſhop of *Salisbury*,
3. Lord Biſhop of *Cheſter*,	4. Lord Biſhop of *London*,
5. Duke of *Wharton*,	9. Earl of *Findlater* and *Seafield*,
6. Lord *Bathurſt*,	10. Duke of *Argyle*,
7. Earl of *Strafford*,	12. Lord *Lechmere*,
8. Lord *Trevor*,	14. Earl of *Peterborough*,
11. Lord *Gower*,	15. Earl of *Cholmondley*.
13. Earl *Cowper*.	

1723. ledged, that as extraordinary diſeaſes require extraordinary remedies; ſo in caſes of extreme danger and neceſſity, when the very being of the State lies at ſtake, if the common law cannot reach offenders, the Legiſlature ought to exert itſelf. He was replied to by Dr. *Gaſtrell*, Biſhop of *Cheſter*, who owned, that extraordinary proceedings may indeed be recurred to upon extraordinary occaſions, and when they are evidently neceſſary for the preſervation of the State; but that was very far from the preſent caſe, ſince the Conſpiracy, in which the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was charged to have had a ſhare, had been diſcovered and diſappointed long before. The Duke of *Wharton*, in a long ſpeech, ſummoned up the whole evidence, which had been produced againſt the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and endeavoured to ſhew the inſufficiency of it to prove the charge; concluding, 'That, let the conſequences be what they would, he would not have ſuch a helliſh ſtain ſully the luſtre and glory of that illuſtrious Houſe, as to condemn a man without the leaſt evidence;' and therefore was for rejecting the bill. He was ſtrongly ſupported by Lord *Bathurſt*, who, in the firſt place, took notice of the ungracious diſtinctions, that were fixed upon the Members of that noble and illuſtrious Aſſembly, who differed in opinion from thoſe, who happened to have the majority. That, for his own part, as he had nothing in view but truth and juſtice, the good of his Country, the honour of that Houſe, and the diſcharging of his own conſcience, he would freely ſpeak his thoughts, notwithſtanding all diſcouragements: That he would not complain of the ſiniſter arts, that had been uſed of late to render ſome perſons obnoxious, and, under pretence of their being ſo, to open their letters about their minuteſt domeſtic affairs. For theſe ſmall grievances he could eaſily bear; but, when he ſaw things go ſo far, as to condemn a perſon of the higheſt dignity in the Church, in ſuch an unprecedented manner, and without any legal evidence, he thought it his duty to oppoſe a proceeding ſo unjuſt and unwarrantable in itſelf, and ſo dangerous and diſmal in its conſequences. To this purpoſe he begged leave to tell their Lordſhips a ſtory he had from ſeveral Officers of undoubted credit, who had ſerved in *Flanders* in the late war. A *Frenchman*, it ſeems, had invented a machine, which would not only kill more men at once, than any yet in uſe, but alſo diſable for ever any man, who ſhould be wounded by it. Big with hopes of a great reward, he applied himſelf to one of the Miniſters, who laid the project before the late *French* King; but that Monarch conſidering, that ſo deſtructive an engine might ſoon be turned againſt his own men, did not think proper to encourage it: Whereupon the Inventor came over into *England*, and offered his ſervice to ſome of our Generals, who likewiſe rejected the propoſal with indignation. The uſe and application of this ſtory is very obvious; for, if this way of proceeding be admitted, it will certainly prove a very dangerous engine. No man's life, liberty, or property will be ſafe. And if thoſe, who were in the Adminiſtration ſome years ago, and who had as great a ſhare in the affections of the people, as any that came after them, had made uſe of ſuch a political machine, ſome of thoſe noble perſons, who now appear ſo zealous promoters of this bill, would not be in a capacity to ſerve his Majeſty at this time. He added, that, if ſuch extraordinary proceedings went on, he ſaw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their Country Houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates within their own families, ſince the leaſt correſpondence, the leaſt intercepted letter, might be made criminal. To this purpoſe he quoted a paſſage out of Cardinal *de Retz*'s memoirs, relating to that wicked politician, Cardinal *Mazarine*, who boaſted, that, if he had but two lines of any man's writing, with a few circumſtances atteſted by witneſſes, he could cut off his head, when he pleaſed. He likewiſe animadverted on the majority of the venerable bench, towards which turning himſelf, he ſaid, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice ſome perſons bore the learned and ingenious Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, unleſs it was, that they were intoxicated with the infatuation of ſome of the wild *Indians*, who fondly believe they inherit not only the ſpoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy they kill. The Earl of *Strafford* ſpoke on the ſame ſide, as did alſo the Lord *Trevor*, who, among other arguments againſt the bill, urged, that, if men were in this unprecedented manner proceeded againſt without legal proof, in a ſhort time men would be tried as they were liked by Miniſters: That, for his own part, he believed he ſtood but indifferently in the opinion and liking of ſome perſons, and therefore he had reaſon to think himſelf more in danger, becauſe at preſent they wanted the protection of the law (meaning the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act;) and, as in a ſhort time they were like to be ſo unhappy, as to be deprived of his Majeſty's perſonal protection, and were ſtill liable to be confined upon ſuſpicion, which he took to be no more than *will and pleaſure*, they were conſequently at the will and pleaſure of the Miniſters. That however no apprehenſion of what he might ſuffer ſhould deter him from doing what he thought his duty: That, conſonant to that principle, he had all along, and ſtill oppoſed theſe extraordinary proceedings, which tended to lodge an exorbitant power in their fellow-ſubjects. That, if he were to loſe his liberty, he had rather give it up to one ſingle tyrant, than to many; for a tyrant, if a man of common underſtanding, would, for his own ſake, be tender of the lives of his ſubjects; whereas many tyrants would endeavour to deſtroy one another, to get one another's preferments. The Lord *Trevor* having done ſpeaking, the Earl of *Seafield* endeavoured to ſhew, that the evidence, which had been produced before them, being ſufficient to convince any reaſonable man, that there had been a deteſtable Conſpiracy, and that the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* had a great ſhare in it, was likewiſe ſufficient to juſtify this extraordinary proceeding againſt him, eſpecially ſince they inflicted on him ſo light a puniſhment, conſidering the heinouſneſs of the crime. The Duke of *Argyle* purſued the ſame argument; run through and confuted the moſt eſſential parts of the Biſhop's defence; and aggravated his offence, by which he had debaſed his holy function and character, and acted contrary to the ſolemn repeated oaths he had taken. The Lord *Gower* ſpoke afterwards againſt the bill; but what ſurprized moſt people, the Lord *Lechmere*, who, on ſeveral occaſions, had expreſſed his diſlike of theſe extraordinary proceedings, declared it as his opi- 1723.

1723. nion, that there was ſufficient evidence to ſupport the charge. He was anſwered by Earl *Cowper* in a long ſpeech, importing in ſubſtance, That the ſtrongeſt argument, which had been urged for this bill, was neceſſity; but that, for his part, he ſaw no neceſſity, that could juſtify ſo unprecedented and ſo dangerous a proceeding. That, as already had been ſuggeſted, the Conſpiracy had above a twelve month before been happily diſcovered, and the effects of it conſequently prevented. That, beſides the intrinſic weight and ſtrength of the Government, by numerous offices and employments, civil and military, and the wealth and intereſt of the well-affected to his Majeſty's Perſon and the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, the hands of thoſe at the helm had ſtill been fortified by the ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act, and the additional troops; ſo that, in his opinion, there could be no danger to the Government, if *Plunket* and *Kelly* were not priſoners for life, nor the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* ſent into baniſhment. That, on the contrary, if that Prelate's talent and genius lay in contriving and carrying on ſtate intrigues, he thought him leſs dangerous at home than abroad: That the other reaſons alledged to ſupport this extraordinary proceeding had no more weight in them than the firſt: That the known rules of evidence, as laid down at firſt, and eſtabliſhed by the law of the land, were the birth-right of every ſubject of this Nation, and ought to be conſtantly obſerved, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but alſo in both Houſes of Parliament, till altered by the Legiſlature: That much had been ſaid of the power of Parliaments, which he owned was very great; but that, in his opinion, their abſolute power conſiſted only in making and repealing laws, and, till ſuch time as a law was repealed, every ſubject had a right to it. That the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the Clerks of the Poſt-Office was a very dangerous precedent: That in former times it was thought very grievous, that, in capital caſes, a man ſhould be affected by ſimilitude of hands: But here the caſe was much worſe, ſince it was allowed, that the Clerks of the Poſt-Office would carry the ſimilitude of hands four months in their minds. That theſe men might be honeſt, and ſwear to the beſt of their knowledge; but he was ſure, they were at leaſt very willing and forward evidence: For as he asked one of them, how he knew ſuch a paper to be Mr. *Kelly*'s hand? He readily anſwered, 'He had ſeen the ſame four months before, and he was ſure it could be no other:' Whereas any man, who has never ſo little been converſant in the world, knows, that hands may be ſo well counterfeited, as not to be diſtinguiſhed. After this, he commended the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s noble and brave carriage in not anſwering before the Houſe of Commons, whoſe proceeding in this unprecedented manner againſt a Lord of Parliament was ſuch an incroachment on the prerogative of the Peerage, that, if ſubmitted to by paſſing this bill, they might well be ſaid to be the laſt of Lords. '*Ultimus Romanorum*, my Lords (ſaid he in the concluſion) was a character of honour and praiſe: But to be the laſt of *Britiſh* Peers, by giving up our antient privileges, will never, I doubt, admit of ſuch conſtruction; and therefore I am for rejecting this bill." Little was ſaid of any great weight after this ſpeech; and, about half an hour paſt nine the queſtion being put, it was reſolved in the affirmative, that the bill ſhould paſs, by a majority of 83 voices againſt 43; upon which ſeveral Lords entered their proteſt. 1723

By this act the Biſhop, from the 1ſt day of *June* 1723, was to be deprived of all offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices Eccleſiaſtical, and incapable of holding any for the future. He was alſo baniſhed the Realm, and, in caſe he returned, he was to ſuffer death, as well as all perſons that correſponded with him.

When the report and the other papers were communicated to the Lords by the Commons, the Earls of *Scarſdale*, *Strafford*, and *Cowper*, the Lords *Craven*, *Gower*, *Bathurſt*, and *Bingley* complained, that, in the examinations, it is ſet forth, that *John Plunket* told *Layer*, that they were of a club or meeting, called, in *Plunket*'s letters, *Burford's Club* (1). Theſe Lords ſeverally declared the ſame to be falſe and groundleſs: And Earl *Cowper* in particular made a long ſpeech, complaining of being mentioned in the Report, on the bare hearſay of an infamous perſon, which was enough to give an air of fiction to the whole Conſpiracy; and then moved, that *Plunket* ſhould be ſent for and examined. The Lord *Townſhend* anſwered, 'That he was much ſurprized to find that a noble Peer, whoſe abilities and merits had juſtly ſo great weight in that illuſtrious Aſſembly, ſhould, upon a trivial circumſtance, ridicule, as a fiction, a horrid execrable Conſpiracy, ſupported by ſo many concurring proofs, and from a falſe trifling particular infer, that no part of it was true.' As the debate was like to grow warm, ſome Members called for the queſtion, and Earl *Cowper*'s motion was rejected by 81 againſt 26. The Earl and Mr. *Hutchinſon* publiſhed declarations againſt the falſe information of their being of the club, wherein they ſtrongly aſſerted their innocence. Burford club.

The Lords had alſo choſen by ballot a Committee of nine, to whom the report and original papers were referred to prepare what might be fit to be offered to the Commons, by way of anſwer to what was delivered, at a Conference relating to the papers. When the Duke of *Dorſet*'s Report from the Lords Committees was taken into conſideration, it was reſolved, That a deteſtable Conſpiracy had been formed for

(1) *Layer* being aſked, If *Plunket* ever explained to him who were meant by *Burford's Club? Plunket* told him, It was an appellation made uſe of by the Pretender and his Agents, to denote a club of Tory Lords and others, of which club Lord *Orrery* was Chairman, and conſiſted of the following Members:

Lord *Strafford*,	Mr. *Hutchinſon*,
Sir *Henry Goring*,	Biſhop of *Rocheſter*,
Lord *Cowper*,	Sir *Conſtantine Phipps*,
General *Webb*,	Mr. *Shippen*,
Lord *Bingley*,	Lord *Scarſdale*,
Mr. *Dawkins*,	Lord *Bathurſt*,
Lord *Craven*,	Lord *Gower*.

The Committee thought it juſtice due to ſeveral of the perſons named by *Layer*, to obſerve, that the matters, aſſerted of *Burford*'s Club in *Plunket*'s letters to *Dillon*, ſeemed utterly inconſiſtent with the known characters of ſome of thoſe perſons. See *Report*.

for raiſing a Rebellion, and laying violent hands on the King and Prince: After which, the Committee was thanked by the Lord-Chancellor, for having diſcharged their truſt with great exactneſs, fidelity, and candor.

Dr. *Friend* the Phyſician, who had exerted himſelf very zealouſly for the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was ſoon after taken into cuſtody; for, on the 15th of *March*, Mr. *Walpole* acquainted the Commons, 'That his Majeſty, having had juſt reaſon to apprehend Dr. *John Friend* (a Member of this Houſe) for High-treaſon, deſired the conſent of the Houſe to his being committed and detained; and then he moved for an addreſs to that purpoſe. This motion was oppoſed by Mr. *Shippen* and Mr. *Bromley*, who ſaid, they could not ſee any reaſon for that Houſe giving leave for detaining any Member, unleſs the ſpecies of treaſon was declared, and that the information was upon oath. Sir *Joſeph Jekyll* and Mr. *Walpole* replied, That, by the late act for ſuſpending the *Habeas Corpus*, the King was impowered to take up any perſon he had reaſon to ſuſpect: That therefore the Government was not obliged to ſay, whether the information was upon oath or not. But Mr. *Walpole* added, he did not doubt but Dr. *Friend* was charged upon oath; and privately declared to ſeveral Members, that they had a poſitive oath of his being guilty of the blackeſt and baſeſt treaſon. Mr. *Shippen* then ſuggeſting, that the Doctor's having ſpoke ſo warmly the *Monday* before in Mr. *Kelly* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s behalf, was, in his opinion, the reaſon of his being taken up the next day himſelf, and at that rate there was an end of the liberty of ſpeech, which every Member of that Houſe had a right to, Mr. *Walpole* replied, He wondered any Gentleman could think any Miniſtry capable of ſo baſe a thing, as to take up any Gentleman for what he ſaid in that Houſe, without any other cauſe, when they knew themſelves to be accountable as well as others for their actions: Adding, that they, who made ſuch inſinuations, might more eaſily be proved to be Jacobites, than they could make out ſuch an allegation againſt the Miniſtry. Mr. *Pulteney* ſpoke on the ſame ſide; and, in relation to Dr. *Friend*'s having ſpoken in *Kelly*'s behalf, obſerved, that it was uſual, in all Conſpiracies, for one Traitor to endeavour to excuſe another. Mr. *Shippen* animadverted with ſome warmth upon this reflection, ſaying, It was not to be endured, to have a Member of that Houſe called a Traitor, before he was convicted as ſuch. But, Mr. *Pulteney* having explained himſelf, that matter ended, and then the motion for an addreſs was carried without a diviſion.

The affair which occaſioned the moſt talk, next to the plot, was the *Harburgh* lottery, which was brought before the Parliament this Seſſion. The lottery took its name from the place where it was to be drawn, the town and port of *Harburgh* on the river *Elbe*, within the King's *German* Dominions, where the Projector was to ſettle a trade for the woollen manufacture between *England* and *Germany*. The Houſe of Commons having appointed a Committee to inquire into this and other lotteries, then carrying on in *London*, it was repreſented in their report, 'That the ſcheme propoſed, that 1,500,000 *l.* ſterling, or 16,500,000 guilders, ſhould be ſubſcribed; and that it was to be drawn at *Harburgh* in five claſſes, 100,000 tickets to be drawn in each claſs, at 3 *l.* *per* ticket; and that every perſon ſubſcribing was to pay 12 *s.* or ſix guilders for each ticket, before the drawing each claſs of the lottery. That 200,000 *l.* of 300,000 *l.* in each claſs was to be divided into lots, to the fortunate Adventurers, which amounts to 1,000,000 *l.* to be deducted out of the whole ſum, which was to be paid the fortunate Adventurers. That a ſum of 1,000,000 *l.* was ſubſcribed for, to carry on a trade between *Great-Britain* and his Majeſty's *German* Dominions; and that 2 *per cent.* was only paid in upon the ſtock ſo ſubſcribed; of which a ſum of 13,000 *l.* or more was actually paid in money, and 7000 *l.* or more was ſecured by notes; 400,000 *l.* whereof was ſubſcribed. At firſt, 100,000 *l.* ſtock was ſold at 15 *l.* 3 *s.* *per cent.* of which 2 *per cent* was only paid in to the Company, and the reſt diſpoſed of as follows; 13 *l.* 3 *s.* *per cent.* which amounted to 13,150 *l.* 10,000 *l.* of which was given to Mr. *Nicolai*; and 3,150 *l.* to Mr. *Benjamin Joules*, for their ſervices: And as to 13,000 *l.* paid in money, and 7,000 *l.* in notes, the Committee could get no account what was become of it, not being able to ſee their books; nor could the Committee learn what number of tickets had been delivered out, or what money thereupon had been received, or what was become of what they had received. That with regard to the diſpoſition of the other 500,000 *l.* 5 *per cent.* upon 1,500,000 *l.* which amounts to 75,000 *l.* was to be deducted for management; which being taken out of the ſaid 500,000 *l.* leaves 425,000 *l.* which ſum was to be incorporated into the ſtock of the firſt Company, and to make a part of a capital of 1,500,000 *l.* as the Committee apprehended, of which they could get no poſitive information. But whether the former capital was intended to be ſo great, or only to conſiſt of this 425,000 *l.* and the 1,000,000 *l.* which was before ſubſcribed, it appeared to the Committee, that a plain fraud was intended in joining this real ſum with an imaginary ſubſcription; of which 2 *per cent.* only was paid in or ſecured, and that probably embezzled.' The Truſtees of this lottery were twenty; ſome of whom were in *Germany*; the reſt, who were in *England*, were the Lord *Barrington*, Sir *John Hartop*, *Charles Frederick Krenbergh*, *John London*, *Fiennes Harriſon*, *Peter Hartop*, *William Squire*, *Edward Richier*, *John Caſwal*, *William Sterling*, *Benjamin Smith*, *Benjamin Burroughs*, *John Thompſon*, *Henry Bendiſh*, —— *Foſter*, *Benjamin Joules*, and *John Manley*. But ſeveral of them reſigned their truſt immediately, being diſſatisfied with the ſcheme; for, when Sir *Thomas Webſter*, Sir *Charles Wager*, and Lord *Barrington* waited upon Lord *Townſhend*, Lord *Carteret*, and Mr. *Walpole*, they were told, that an *Engliſh* charter for the advantage of the lottery could not be granted, becauſe it was illegal and impracticable. Upon reading the report, the Houſe came to the following reſolutions: 1723.

1. That the project, called the *Harburgh* lottery, carried on in the City of *London*, is an infamous fraudulent undertaking, whereby ſeveral unwary perſons have been drawn in to their great loſs; and that the manner of carrying the ſame on hath been a manifeſt violation of the laws of this Kingdom.

2. That it appears to this Houſe, that the Managers of, and Agents of the ſaid lottery, did frequently,

1723. frequently, without any authority for ſo doing, make uſe of his Majeſty's Royal Name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his Majeſty's ſubjects to engage, or be concerned therein. After which a bill was ordered to be brought in to ſuppreſs the lottery, and to prevent any foreign lotteries from being carried on in this Kingdom; and to oblige the perſons concerned, in the management of the *Harburgh* lottery, to make reſtitution and ſatisfaction for the money they have received from the Contributors. And it was alſo reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That it appeared to this Houſe, that *John* Lord Viſcount *Barrington*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, a Member of this Houſe, has been notoriouſly guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on the fraudulent undertaking, called the *Harburgh* lottery; and for that offence he be expelled the Houſe.'

East-India *Company at* Oſtend.

In *December* 1722, the Emperor of *Germany* granted a patent for eſtabliſhing an *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, the ſubſtance of which was, that they were impowered to open books of ſubſcription, wherein the ſubjects of any Nation were admitted to ſubſcribe. The Company was to be called *the Imperial Company of Commerce eſtabliſhed in* Flanders. The fund conſiſted of eight millions of florins, and Directors to be choſen annually. The Nobility had the privilege of entering into this Company, without derogation in the leaſt from their Nobility: Thoſe of any Nation, who ſubſcribed 20,000 florins, were to be naturalized from that ſubſcription: And any perſon had the privilege to ſubſcribe what ſum he pleaſed above 1000 florins, but nothing leſs, to prevent confuſion in their accounts. The ſettlement of this Company was ſaid to be chiefly owing to Mr. *Colebrook*, an *Engliſh* Merchant.

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition they met with from the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch*, they opened their books, and had a full ſubſcription in a very few days, owing chiefly to the clandeſtine Negotiations of their Agents in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, where great numbers of Merchants ſubſcribed to that ſtock, and Maſters of *Eaſt-India* ſhips and Supercargoes went to *Oſtend*, to enter into their ſervice, and put them in a way to eſtabliſh and carry on their trade, which they did effectually, to the great damage of the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* Companies. Monſieur *de Fonſeca*, the Emperor's Miniſter at *Paris*, ſignified to the Duke of *Orleans*, then at the head of affairs there, that the Emperor was much ſurprized at the moſt Chriſtian King's forbidding his ſubjects to be any ways concerned in the *Oſtend* Company. He was anſwered, 'That repreſentations had been made to the Emperor, that he was engaged by treaty not to encourage any ſuch commerce; that, nevertheleſs, his Imperial Majeſty, without any regard to the ſaid repreſentations, had thought fit to grant a Charter in favour thereof. That the moſt Chriſtian King was Maſter of his own Kingdom, and not obliged to give an account of his actions, and therefore the Emperor could not take amiſs the prohibition to his ſubjects, not to have any concern in the Company ſet up at *Oſtend*.'

A memorial of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company (which had been delivered to the *States* in *March*) having been preſented to the Commons this Seſſion, together with an extract of another memorial ſent by the *States* to the Court of *Vienna*, concerning the *Oſtend* Company, Sir *Nathaniel Gould* repreſented to the Houſe the great damage the *Eaſt-India* Company had already received, and was like farther to receive by the *Oſtend* Company; it was unanimouſly reſolved, 'That for the ſubjects of this Kingdom to ſubſcribe, or be concerned in encouraging any ſubſcription, to promote an *Eaſt-India* Company, now erecting in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, is a High-Crime and Miſdemeanor.' Accordingly a bill paſſed both Houſes, and received the Royal aſſent, to prevent the King's ſubjects from ſubſcribing or being concerned in the *Oſtend Eaſt-India* Company.

There had been ſeveral General Courts held by the *South-Sea* Company about transferring two millions of their ſtock to the Bank of *England*, which was at laſt agreed on by the two Companies. A petition had likewiſe been preſented to the Commons for the reviving the two millions that had been annihilated. Accordingly an act paſſed this Seſſion, whereby it was enacted, that the two millions ſhould be revived, and added to the capital ſtock, and divided among the Proprietors.* By the ſame act, the whole capital, computed at 33,802,483 *l.* 14 *s.* was to be divided into two equal parts, one of which amounting to 16,901,241 *l.* 17 *s.* was to be called *the joint ſtock of South-Sea annuities*, attended with annuities payable out of the *South-Sea* Company's funds in lieu of all dividends, *viz.* at 5 *l. per cent.* till *June* 24, 1727, and from thence at 4 *l. per cent.* till redeemed. The other moiety was to remain in the Company as a joint-ſtock, attended with the reſidue of the yearly funds, payable at the *Exchequer*, till redemption, and alſo attended with the ſeveral ſums for charges of management, and with all benefits of trade, &c. And, as concerning the moiety ſo converted into *South-Sea* annuities, every Proprietor ſhould be intitled to annuities at 5 *l. per cent.* till *June* 24, 1727, and from thence at 4 *l. per cent.* and the Company ſhould receive at the *Exchequer*, out of the duties charged with their whole annuities yearly, the intereſt of the ſame moiety, till redemption, in truſt for the Proprietors: And all powers in force were to be continued for ſecuring the joint ſtock of *South-Sea* annuities, and the yearly funds to attend the ſame. The annuities were payable half-yearly, at *Lady-Day* and *Michaelmas*.

An act paſſed this Seſſion for the more effectual execution of juſtice, in a pretended privileged place in the pariſh of *St. George*, commonly called *the Mint*, where great numbers of Debtors had taken ſanctuary.

On the 27th of *May*, the King put an end to the Seſſion with the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I AM perſuaded, notwithſtanding the unuſual length of this Seſſion, you will not think your time has been miſemployed in conſulting the neceſſary means for preſerving the peace and quiet of the Kingdom; and bringing to juſtice ſome of the chief promoters of that confuſion, which lately threatened the Nation.

"The prudent meaſures you have taken for our common ſecurity, and your enabling me to defend my Kingdoms againſt any deſigns or attempts of our enemies, are the moſt convincing teſtimonies of your fidelity and affection

723. " affection to me, and of your concern for the " liberties of my people. Be aſſured, the con- " fidence you have repoſed in me ſhall never be " made uſe of but for their ſafety and defence.

" The papers, which have been laid before " you, for your information, and have been " ſince publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the " world, evidently ſhew, that the Conſpirators " had brought their wicked arts and practices to " ſuch perfection, that they confidently carried " on their traiterous projects in defiance of the " law, from an aſſurance of their being able to " elude it. The reſpect and reverence due to " the law had been loſt, and the tranquillity of " my people endangered, had not you inter- " poſed. This made it neceſſary for the Le- " giſlature to exert itſelf, in puniſhing ſuch of- " fenders, whoſe guilt is too certain to leave the " leaſt room for doubt, and whoſe crimes are " too heinous to admit of any aggravation.

" And yet it is with pleaſure I reflect, that " the juſtice of Parliament has been ſo tempered " with mercy, that even thoſe, who are re- " ſolved to be diſſatisfied, muſt acknowledge " the lenity of your proceedings, and will be " at a loſs for any pretence to complain, ſo few " examples having been made, and the penal- " ties inflicted by bill falling ſo much ſhort of " the puniſhments due for the ſame crimes, by " the common courſe of law.

" The firmneſs, you have ſhewn, muſt con- " vince all the world, how much they were " miſtaken, whoſe chief hopes were founded " on the diſaffection of my people. It gave " me great ſatisfaction to ſee as general a con- " currence in full Parliament upon this occaſion, " as has been known on any former: And it is " to be hoped, our enemies will ceaſe to flatter " themſelves with the vain imagination of being " able to ſubvert our Religion and preſent Eſta- " bliſhment.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I muſt acknowledge, in a particular man- " ner, the great readineſs you have ſhewn in " raiſing the neceſſary Supplies for the enſuing " year. It is an unexpected felicity, that you " have been able ſo far to diſappoint the hopes " of our enemies, as to avoid laying any new " burthen upon my people; and that ſo ſoon after " that great ſhock and convulſion in all the pub- " lic funds, and in the midſt of inteſtine alarms " and diſturbances, the credit of the Nation " ſhould ſo far revive and flouriſh, that not " only the Supplies of the year ſhould be raiſed " at a much lower intereſt, than was ever known " in the moſt quiet times, but part of the natio- " nal debt ſhould be reduced from an intereſt of " 5 to 3 *per cent*, and put in a courſe of being " ſoon diſcharged.

1723.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I return you my moſt ſincere thanks for " the indefatigable pains you have taken in the " ſervice of the Public. I earneſtly recommend " it to you, in your ſeveral ſtations and coun- " tries, to perſevere in your endeavours for pre- " ſerving the peace of the Kingdom; by juſtice " and reſolution to ſubdue the reſtleſs ſpirit of " faction and ſedition; and by prudence and " temper to reconcile the miſled.

" Some extraordinary affairs calling me abroad " this ſummer, I doubt not but that the wiſdom " and vigilance of my good ſubjects will pre- " vent our enemies from taking any advantage " of my abſence. To gain the hearts and af- " fections of my people ſhall always be my firſt " and principal care. On their duty and loy- " alty I will intirely depend. They may as " ſurely depend on my protection, in the full " enjoyment of their Religion, Liberty, and " Property."

The King goes to Hanover.

The King, whom the Conſpiracy had detained in *England* the laſt year, had no ſooner put an end to the Seſſion, but he ſet out for his *German* Dominions. He embarked for *Holland* the 3d of *June*, and, after ſtaying two days with his brother the Biſhop of *Oſnabrug*, arrived the 11th at *Herenhauſen*. He appointed Lords Juſtices in his abſence as uſual, the Prince being ſtill excluded, who was now in his forty-firſt year. The Lord *Harcourt*, formerly ſo ſtrictly united with the Earl of *Oxford* and Queen *Anne*'s other Miniſters, and who had defended them with ſo much zeal, was one of the Lords Juſtices. Mr. *Walpole* was likewiſe of the number, and acted as Secretary of State, in the abſence of the Lords *Townſhend* and *Carteret*, who were with the King. It was intended to advance him to the Peerage, but he choſe rather to have that honour conferred on his ſon, who was made Baron *Walpole* of *Walpole* in the County of *Norfolk* (1). About the ſame time Mr. *Pulteney*, Chairman of the late Committee of Secrecy, was made Cofferer of the Houſhold; and *Philip*, Lord *Stanhope*, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard; Dr. *Gibſon* was tranſlated from *Lincoln* to *London*, Dr. *Reynolds* from *Bangor* to *Lincoln*, and Dr. *Bradford* from *Carliſle* to *Rocheſter*; Dr. *Waugh* was promoted to *Carliſle*, and Dr. *Willis*, on the death of Dr. *Trimnel*, to *Wincheſter*; Dr. *Hoadley* was tranſlated from *Hereford* to *Saliſbury*; Dr. *Green*, on the death of Dr. *Fleetwood*, from *Norwich* to *Ely*; Dr. *Leng* was made Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Dr. *Egerton*, brother to the Duke of *Bridgewater*, of *Hereford*.

Promotions.

The King, before his departure, ſhewed his clemency to thoſe who had been taken up on account

The King's clemency.

(1) The Lord *Townſhend*'s eldeſt ſon was called up to the Houſe of Peers, by the title of Baron *Townſhend* of *Lynn-Regis*, and made one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, in the room of the Lord *Teynham*, who ſome days before ſhot himſelf, and died an hour after.

The preamble to the Lord *Walpole* began thus:

Our moſt beloved and moſt faithful Counſellor *Robert Walpole*, firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, with the aſſiſtance of other ſelect perſons, and Chancellor of our *Exchequer*, having highly recommended himſelf to our Royal favour by his many ſervices to Us, to our Houſe, and to his own Country, we did not think him unworthy to be advanced to the rank of the Peers of our Realm. But, though he rather chuſes to merit the higheſt titles than to wear them, we have however thought fit, in order to ennoble his family, to confer on the ſon the honour due to the father, and to raiſe to the Peerage *Robert Walpole*, Junior, Eſq; *&c.*

1723. count of the Plot. The Earl of *Orrery* was releaſed from his confinement, and admitted to bail; as were alſo the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *North* and *Grey*, *Dennis Kelly*, *Thomas Cochran*, and *Swathfogger*, the Earl of *Orrery*'s Secretary. On the 20th of *June*, Dr. *Friend* was admitted to bail; and, two days after, Dr. *Atterbury* embarked on board the *Aldborough*, a ſmall man of war, which had orders to land him in *France*. He was put on ſhore at *Calais*, accompanied with his daughter Mrs. *Morrice*, and her huſband, who was High-Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*. At *Calais* he was told, that the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, having obtained his pardon, was juſt arrived there in his way to *England:* Upon which the Biſhop merrily ſaid, *Then I am exchanged.* The King had granted the Lord *Bolingbroke* a pardon the day after the Parliament broke up, of which one of his friends inſtantly ſet out for *France* to bring him word. He immediately returned to *England* to plead his pardon, in expectation that a new Parliament would repeal his Attainder. The Lord *Harcourt* had prevailed with the King to ſhew him this favour, though Mr. *Walpole* had oppoſed it at the Council-board with unanſwerable arguments: He was againſt looſening the hands of one, who (as he ſaid) he foreſaw, from his former conduct and ambition, and the natural reſtleſneſs of his temper, would go any lengths to poiſon the minds of the ſubjects, in order to diſturb the national tranquillity, that he himſelf might the eaſier arrive at power. But, notwithſtanding his diſapprobation, he was forced to give way (1).

Before the King left *England*, it was agreed in Council, that the troops ſhould be incamped as they had been the laſt ſummer, and that the Horſe-guards ſhould be quartered round *Hyde-Park*, in order to be ready to aſſemble, if there ſhould be occaſion.

Theſe meaſures kept all things quiet in *Great-Britain*, during the King's ſeven months abſence. The ſame reaſons, which had required his preſence abroad, detained him perhaps longer than he intended. He was received in his Dominions in the moſt agreeable manner, and was complimented by at leaſt twelve foreign Miniſters. The King and Queen of *Pruſſia* waited likewiſe upon him, by which means his Court was as ſplendid, and as much the ſcene of affairs, as ever the Court of *Great-Britain* had been.

State of foreign affairs.

Affairs were then at a ſort of criſis: The uſeleſneſs of the Congreſs of *Cambray* and of *Brunſwick*, where little had been done, having worn out the patience of the Princes whoſe intereſts were to be determined there, they entered into ſeparate Negotiations, and ſought the means of coming to an agreement. The Czar and King of *Sweden* were going to conclude a treaty favourable to the Duke of *Holſtein*'s pretenſions to *Sleſwick*, of which King *George* had guaranteed the poſſeſſion to the King of *Denmark:* It was to be feared, that this treaty might affect even *Bremen* and *Verden*, lately annexed to the Electorate of *Hanover*. 1723.

On the other hand, *France* and *Spain* ſeemed to be ſincerely reconciled, and willing to unite againſt the Emperor. The Regent had projected a marriage between the King of *France* and the Infanta of *Spain*, then three years old, and had married his ſecond daughter *Mademoiſelle de Montpenſier* to the Prince of *Aſturias*, and, a year after, another daughter to *Don Carlos*, eldeſt ſon of *Philip* V. by his ſecond wife. Theſe two powers endeavoured to draw the Czar to their ſide; they offered new treaties to *England*, more advantageous than the former, in regard to trade, but ſtrongly inſiſted upon the reſtitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*; and it was wiſhed, that Court would not be concerned in the affairs of *Italy*, and would declare openly againſt the *Oſtend* Company.

This ſituation of ſo oppoſite intereſts was full of difficulties. The Emperor, preſſed too much, might declare for the Czar and the *Swede: Poland*, confined between theſe three powers, could not help taking part with them: Almoſt all *Italy* exclaimed againſt the treaty of *London:* The Pope had proteſted againſt any deciſions at *Cambray* to the prejudice of his right: The King of *Sardinia*, the Dukes of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Modena*, had preſented memorials equivalent to ſo many proteſtations: *France* and *Spain* were inclined to ſupport them: War was every where on the point of breaking out: *England*, engaged by ſo many treaties, and her own intereſts, muſt have been concerned: For King *George* to declare againſt the Emperor was expoſing his *German* Dominions, and helping to ſtrengthen two powers already very formidable to the reſt of *Europe:* To take part with the Emperor was ſupporting the new eſtabliſhment at *Oſtend*, and arming againſt himſelf *France*, *Spain*, and perhaps *Ruſſia* and *Sweden*.

King *George* overcame all theſe difficulties, or at leaſt ſuſpended their ill conſequences. He entered into ſtricter Alliances with the Kings of *Pruſſia* and *Denmark:* He uſed his endeavours to prevail with the Emperor to be more ready to end his differences with *Spain*, and to deſiſt from the affair of *Oſtend*, againſt which his Subjects in particular, and his faithful Allies the *States-General*, were extremely incenſed. In *England*, as hath been related, the Commons had voted againſt it.

One of the King's principal deſigns, when he came to *Hanover*, was to perſuade the Court of *Vienna* to deſiſt from erecting the *Oſtend India* Company: He laboured conſtantly at it, but the ſucceſs did not anſwer his good intentions: That Court promiſed, in general, not to do any thing contrary to treaties, and the rights of others, but avoided to enter into any diſcuſſion, and diſregarded the repreſentations that were made from all parts.

It

(1) Mr. *Walpole*'s conduct with regard to this tranſaction, and many more, was not unlike the Lord *Clarendon*'s, who ſays of himſelf, 'That he had often, as believing himſelf obliged in duty, argued in the *Senate* in favour of many points, which he had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed at the *Council-Table*.' The reaſons, on which Miniſters found their conduct on ſuch occaſions, are obvious to every man of common penetration.

It is obſerved from the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s pardon, that Mr. *Walpole* held not then the firſt rank, either in power or confidence, but that the direction of affairs, particularly the foreign, after the death of the Earls *Stanhope* and *Sunderland*, was chiefly conducted by the Lord *Townſhend* and Baron *Bothmar*.

It was the ſame with reſpect to the Czar. So that the King's journey proved fruitleſs, and the Negotiations might have been as well carried on at *London* as at *Hanover*. Something was alſo done for the Proteſtants, whoſe complaints continued, becauſe they were ſtill oppreſſed, and new grievances were added to the old. The King of *Pruſſia* readily entered into the deſign to procure them eaſe and tranquillity.

This union put a ſtop at leaſt to greater calamities; and appeared to be very cordial. King *George* ſpent four or five days at *Berlin*, where he was received and treated with great reſpect and magnificence. The two Secretaries of State, the Lords *Townſhend* and *Carteret*, who attended him, had frequent Conferences with the King of *Pruſſia*'s Miniſters, in order to conclude ſome Alliance to prevent the Czar's deſigns, in favour of the Duke of *Holſtein*: The propoſals were neither rejected nor received, and aſſurance was given that no engagement ſhould be made contrary to what had been agreed.

All was quiet in *England*: However there appeared now and then ſome ſparks of diviſion, which ſhewed the parties ſtill ſubſiſted, and had not altered their ſentiments. At the election of the Sheriffs this year the rabble was ſpirited up at *London*, by the oppoſition which the new Sheriffs, Sir *Richard Hopkins* and Mr. *Feaſt*, met with from the old ones, Mr. *Humphrey Parſons* and Mr. *Child*, who endeavoured to have the election fall upon Sir *John Williams* and Mr. *Lockwood*. *Hopkins* and *Feaſt* were declared duly elected by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; notwithſtanding *Parſons* and *Child* had made a contrary declaration in favour of *Williams* and *Lockwood*, but, the Lord Mayor having diſſolved the *Common-Hall*, after the Court had declared *Hopkins* and *Feaſt* duly choſen, the old Sheriffs could not meet them after the laſt adjournment, as they intended to have done, but were prevented by the Lord Mayor's and Aldermen's prior declaration. *Feaſt* oppoſed *Williams* in the election of an Alderman for *Cripplegate-Ward*, which, being alſo conteſted, was decided by the Court of Aldermen in favour of *Williams*, upon which the rabble broke the windows of the well-affected in that ward, and committed ſeveral outrages, for which ſome of the ring-leaders were taken, and committed to *Newgate*.

Purſuant to an act of Parliament lately paſt, requiring all perſons to take the oaths before the 25th of *December*, or to regiſter their eſtates, the Seſſions, held by the Juſtices of the Peace over all the Kingdom, were crowded with perſons of all ſexes and conditions for that purpoſe.

The King, having been informed that his ſubjects in *Ireland* were in want of ſmall money, made a contract with *William Wood* to furniſh that Kingdom with copper half-pence and farthings. The copper was to be of ſuch fineneſs, and the money of ſuch a weight, as agreed upon in the patent granted for that purpoſe. When this money came to be circulated in *Ireland*, great clamour was raiſed againſt it, and the Parliament, which met on the 5th of *September*, came to theſe reſolutions:

That the importing and uttering of copper half-pence and farthings, by virtue of *Wood*'s patent, would be prejudicial to the revenue, deſtructive of trade, and of dangerous conſequence to the rights of the ſubject: That the State of the Nation had been miſrepreſented to the King, in order to obtain the patent: That the half-pence wanted weight; and, though the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a loſs to the Nation of 150 *l. per cent*: That it had been always highly prejudicial to the Kingdom to grant the power of coinage to private perſons, and would at all times be of dangerous conſequence. 1723.

Addreſſes from both Houſes, agreeable to theſe reſolutions, were tranſmitted to the King, who, in anſwer to the Commons, ſaid, 'He was very much concerned, that his granting the patent for coining of half-pence and farthings, agreeable to the practice of his Royal Predeceſſors, had given ſo much uneaſineſs to the Houſe of Commons; and, if there had been any abuſes committed by the Patentee, his Majeſty would give the neceſſary orders for inquiring into, and puniſhing thoſe abuſes, and do every thing, that was in his power, for the ſatisfaction of his people.' Purſuant to this anſwer (for which the Commons returned an addreſs of thanks) the affair was referred to the Lords of the Privy-Council in *England*, by whom a report of it was drawn up in *July* the next year. In this report they juſtified the conduct of the Patentee, and obſerved, that, his Majeſty having ordered, that an aſſay ſhould be made of the fineneſs, value, and weight of Mr. *Wood*'s copper money, and the goodneſs thereof, compared with the former coinages of copper money for *Ireland*, and the copper money coined in his Mint in *England*, it had been accordingly referred to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, Mr. *Southwell*, and Mr. *Scroope*, to make the aſſay and trial; and it appeared, 'That the *Pix* of the copper-monies coined at *Briſtol* by Mr. *Wood* for *Ireland*, containing the trial pieces, which was ſealed and locked up at the time of coining, was opened at his Majeſty's Mint at the *Tower*: That the Comptroller's account of the quantities of half-pence and farthings coined agreed with Mr. *Wood*'s account, amounting to 59 tons, 3 hundred, 1 quarter, 11 pounds, and 4 ounces: That by the ſpecimens of this coinage, which had from time to time been taken from the ſeveral parcels coined, and ſealed up in papers, and put into the *Pix*, 60 half-pence weighed 14 ounces Troy, and 18 penny-weights, which is about a quarter of an ounce above one pound weight Averdupois; and 30 farthings weighed 3 ounces and 3 quarters of an ounce Troy, and 46 grains; which is alſo above the weight required by the patent: That both half-pence and farthings, when heated red hot, ſpread thin under the hammer, without cracking: That the copper, of which Mr. *Wood*'s coinage is made, is of the ſame goodneſs and value with the copper, of which the copper money is coined in his Majeſty's Mint for *England*, and worth, in the market, about 13 pence *per* pound weight Averdupois: That a pound of copper wrought into bars and fillets, and made fit for coinage, before brought into the Mint at the *Tower* of *London*, is worth 18 pence *per* pound, and always coſts as much, and is coined into 23 pence of copper money by tale for *England*. That the half-pence and farthings coined by Mr. *Wood*, when compared with the copper money coined for *Ireland* in the Reigns of King *Charles* II, King *James* II, and King *William* and Queen *Mary*, conſiderably exceeds them all in goodneſs, fineneſs, and value of the copper, none of them bearing

1723. bearing the fire ſo well, not being malleable, waſting very much in the fire, and great part of them burning into a cinder of little or no value at all.' The fact being thus proved to be on the ſide of Mr. *Wood*, the Lords Committees ſhew, that his Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors always exerciſed the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in *Ireland* to private perſons, none of which patents were equally beneficial to that Kingdom, nor ſo well guarded with proper covenants and conditions for the due execution of the powers thereby granted, as this of Mr. *Wood*, though the validity of theſe patents, and a due compliance with them, was never in any one inſtance till this time diſputed or controverted. They then prove, that Mr. *Wood*'s patent was not, as had been ſuggeſted in *Ireland*, obtained clandeſtinely, in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the Attorney and Sollicitor-General, and after Sir *Iſaac Newton* had been conſulted in all the ſteps of ſettling it. In the laſt place they made it plainly appear by a cloud of witneſſes, that there was a real want of ſmall money in *Ireland*, to make ſmall payments. But, Mr. *Wood* having, in compliance with the clamour induſtriouſly raiſed againſt his coinage, propoſed to reduce his coinage from 100,000 *l.* to 40,000 *l.* value, it was thought fit to accept of it, and to ſend directions to *Ireland* accordingly (1).

The Parliament of *Ireland* paſſed ſeveral acts, and particularly one for accepting the Quakers affirmation inſtead of an oath; and granted 340,000 *l.* Supply towards paying off the debt of the Nation, which was about 660,000 *l.* and for the ſupport of the Eſtabliſhment for two years.

On the 10th of *October* died Earl *Cowper*, D eminent for his integrity in the diſcharge of the E office of Lord Chancellor, which he had twice O filled. There may have been Chancellors of more extenſive learning, but none of more knowledge in the laws of *England*. His judgment was quick, and yet ſolid. His eloquence manly, but flowing. His manner graceful and noble (2).

The King was ſtill at *Hanover* when he heard of D the Duke of *Orleans*'s death, who, under the title th of Prime Miniſter, governed *France* as abſolutely O as he had done during the minority of *Lewis* XV. King *George* was much concerned at the news: The mutual eſteem they had for each other, their circumſtances and intereſts which were not unlike, begot a firm friendſhip between them, whereof they gave on all occaſions the moſt effectual proofs. The Duke died of an apoplexy in the 50th year of his age, and according to his deſire, before his deceaſe, the Duke of *Bourbon* was nominated Prime Miniſter.

As the death of the Duke of *Orleans* might T occaſion great alterations, and as it was uncer- tain whether the new Miniſter would enter into E the views of his Predeceſſor, the King haſtened his return to *England*. Being detained by contrary winds ſome days in *Holland*, he received there aſſurances, from the part of *France*, of the good

(1) Notwithſtanding this deciſion of the Privy-Council of *England*, Dean *Swift*, in his paper, called *The Draper of* Dublin, repreſented this affair in the blackeſt colours, and is ſuppoſed to be author of a lampoon upon it, beginning with theſe words:

Now, altho' to draw water *is not very good,*
Yet we all ſhould rejoice to be hewers *of* Wood.

(2) In *September* this year, four *Engliſh* Gentlemen were barbarouſly murdered in *France*. Mr. *Seabright* and Mr. *Monpeſſon*, accompanied by Mr. *Davis*, paſſing over to *Calais* in their way to *Paris*, ſet out from thence for that City the 12th of *September*, Mr. *Seabright* and Mr. *Davis* in one chaiſe, Mr. *Monpeſſon* and *Richard Spindelow*, Mr. *Seabright*'s man, in another, and Mr. *Monpeſſon*'s ſervant on horſeback. About ſeven miles from *Calais* they were attacked by ſix ruffians well mounted, who ſtopped the poſtillions, came up to the chaiſes, and demanded their money, which the Gentlemen readily ſurrendered, they having no fire-arms to make reſiſtance, and even their ſwords were taken from them. The robbers then, taking them out of the chaiſes, commanded them to lie down upon their faces, and the poſtillions to do the ſame. After which the villains rifled their pockets, and ſearched them very narrowly; which done, they ordered *Spindelow* to get up and open the portmanteaus, which as he was doing, he ſaw one of the rogues pull the dead body of Mr. *Locke* out of a chaiſe in which he had been killed in his return from *Paris*, at ſome ſmall diſtance from that Place; Mr. *Locke*'s ſervant, a *Swiſs*, was ſpared, but made to lie on his face. When they had done with Mr. *Seabright*'s portmanteau, they ordered Mr. *Monpeſſon* to open his, and he deſired Mr. *Seabright* to tell them in *French*, his ſervant was gone before, and had the key with him. This man they had ſhot in the back, but, not being dead, he was commanded to lie down on his face, and now they fetched him to open his maſter's portmanteau; when they had finiſhed their ſearch, they cried *Tuez, Kill*; they firſt ſhot Mr. *Seabright* through the heart, Mr. *Davis* was ſhot and ſtabbed in ſeveral places, and his ſkull cleft; they ſtabbed *Spindelow* in five places of his body, and left him for dead, Mr. *Monpeſſon* at the ſame time received a ſhot which had laid him ſprawling on the ground. A peaſant of the neighbourhood, who was going to *Calais* for a licence to marry, unfortunately paſſing that way, was alſo murdered, and Mr. *Monpeſſon*, who had lain as if he had been dead, lifting up his head before the murderers were gone, one of them came back to him and cut his throat; but he and *Spindelow* made a ſhift with the help of ſome of the Country people to get back to *Calais*, where Mr. *Monpeſſon* died 36 hours after, and *Spindelow*, recovering of his wounds, returned to *England*. The dead bodies of the four *Engliſh* Gentlemen were brought to *England*, and landed at *Tower Wharf*, four days after, where they were received by their friends, who gave them decent interment; and *George Turville*, Eſq; of the *Middle Temple*, who happened to paſs by the place where theſe Gentlemen were murdered, a few hours after the ſaid murder was committed, while the dead bodies, ſtripped naked by the Country people, yet lay on the high road, gave orders for erecting a monument of black marble, in form of a pyramid, on the ſpot where the murder happened, by permiſſion of the Duke *de Humiers*, Governour of the *Boulognois*, and the Biſhop of *Bologne*. Theſe robbers, and aſſaſſins robbed the *Liſle* ſtage coach, ſeven miles from *Peronne*, two months afterwards, and killed *Poulart* and *Heuvlet*, two perſons that accompanied the coach; two of the rogues *Joſeph Bizean*, a jeweller of *Liege*, and *Peter le Fehvre*, another jeweller, being taken, were tried and condemned at *Paris* in *July* following, by this moſt dreadful ſentence: *To be put to the rack, to have their arms, legs, and thighs broken on a ſcaffold, and to have their bodies put upon wheels, there to remain with their faces towards the ſky as long as they had life, and* Bizean's *dead body to be carried and remain expoſed on a wheel upon the high road to* Calais, *and* le Fehvre's *on the high road to* Peronne, which ſentence was executed to the full.

good disposition of that Court, to cultivate, and even improve, the union established by the late Duke of *Orleans*, between the two States.

The King came to *London* the 19th of *December*, and on the 9th of *January* the Parliament met, and was opened by the following speech, delivered as usual by the Lord Chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Cannot open this Session without congratulating you upon the success of your endeavours last year for the safety, interest, and honour of the Kingdom. The rise of the public credit, the flourishing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the general tranquillity of my people, are the happy consequences of your prudent resolutions. It is to be hoped, that the few examples, which were made of some notorious offenders, will be sufficient to deter the most disaffected from engaging in the like desperate and wicked practices. The augmentation you thought fit to make to our National forces, by sea and land, has not only secured the general quiet of the Kingdom against any sudden attempts or insurrections, but has also given me such weight and credit in all foreign Negotiations, as greatly contribute towards the preservation of the peace of *Europe*.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I will order the proper Officers to lay before you the estimates for the service of the current year. I desire such Supplies only, as you shall find absolutely necessary for preserving the peace of the Kingdom, and for the security of my people; and those, I hope, may be raised without laying any additional charge or burthen on my subjects.

"I must, in a particular manner, recommend to your care the public debts of the Kingdom, as the most national concern you can possibly take into your consideration. I am persuaded, it must be a very great satisfaction to all my faithful subjects, to see the sinking fund improved and augmented, and the debt of the Nation thereby put into a method of being so much the sooner gradually reduced and paid off. It would be a work truly worthy of a *British* Parliament to begin this commendable undertaking, and to make such a progress therein, as, with a strict regard to public faith and private property, may pave the way to this great and desirable end.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In the present happy situation of our affairs, I have nothing more to recommend to you, than that you would make use of the opportunity, which your own good conduct has put into your hands, in considering of such farther laws, as may be wanting for the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for the exciting and encouraging a spirit of industry in the Nation.

"I am fully satisfied, that the trade and wealth of my people are the happy effects of the liberties they enjoy; and that the grandeur of the Crown consists in their prosperity: And I am as fully persuaded, that all, who wish well to their Country, must agree with me, that it is the vainest of all delusions to imagine, that the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom can ever be secured, but by supporting the present Establishment, and maintaining the Succession in the Protestant Line. Let us therefore heartily join in every thing, that may tend to promote our mutual happiness, and to extinguish the hopes of those, who long have been, and still are restless in their endeavours to subject this Nation to the whole train of miseries, that are inseparable from Popery and Arbitrary Power." 1723-24.

This speech drew from both Houses addresses of thanks, with assurances of maintaining the present happy Establishment, and the Succession in his Majesty's Family, as the only solid foundation of quietly enjoying their Religion, Laws, and Liberties. *Addresses of thanks.*

The Commons, according to custom, proceeded to raise the Supplies, which were granted according to the estimate laid before them by the Court. Ten thousand seamen, at 4 *l.* a month each, were voted for the sea-service, and the army was continued on the same foot as last year. The affair of the army occasioned a warm debate, chiefly about the four thousand additional troops raised the year before, which the Opposers insisted to have disbanded; but it was carried against them, and resolved that the number of effective men, for the year 1724 (including 1815 invalids) should be 18264. A land-tax of two shillings in the pound, with the malt-tax, was granted towards defraying the expences of the ensuing year. *Proceedings on the Supply.*

As the King had particularly recommended to their care the public debts of the Nation, the Commons took the same into consideration, and came to the following resolutions: *A bill for lessening the public debts.*

That, towards lessening the public debts, the annuities of 5*l. per cent*, charged on the general fund, by a clause in the act of the 5th of his Majesty's Reign, except such as had been subscribed into the *South-Sea*, should be paid off at *Lady-Day* 1724, as also the unsubscribed blanks of the lottery of 1714. That all these should be discharged, with the money arising from the sinking fund, as well as the two annuities, which by the act, entitled, *An act for redeeming certain annuities, payable by the Cashier of the Bank at* 5 l. per cent, *were enacted to be redeemed at* Lady-Day, 1724. Pursuant to these resolutions, a bill was brought in, which, passing both Houses, received the Royal assent.

Protections from foreign Ministers, Peers, and Members of Parliament, having long been the subject of complaint, a list of the names of the persons protected by written certificates was laid before the Commons, and it was resolved, 'That all protections and written certificates of the Members of this House be declared void in law, and be forthwith withdrawn and called in; and that none be granted for the future; and that, if any shall be granted by any Member, such Member shall make satisfaction to the party injured, and shall be liable to the censure of the House.' This order was to be printed and set up in the Courts of Justice, and distributed by the Sheriffs in their several Counties. The same *Protections called in.*

1723-24. grievance being taken into conſideration by the Lords, after ſome debate, the following declaration was made, 'That all the written protections are null and void; and all other protections, which ſhall be at any time hereafter given, ſhall be taken to be null and void.' But this order is not to extend to menial ſervants, nor thoſe employed neceſſarily and properly about the eſtates of Peers, or any who are really their ſervants.

In this Seſſion, the inland duty was laid on coffee, tea, and chocolate, which has been a conſiderable increaſe to the public revenue.

Army bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords.

The affair of the army cauſed the greateſt debate in the Houſe of Lords. There had been the laſt year an addition of four thouſand men on account of the Conſpiracy, which was now propoſed to be continued. The Commons had agreed to it, and paſſed the bill; but the continuance of theſe additional troops met with great oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords. The two moſt remarkable ſpeeches were the Lord *Trevor*'s againſt it, and the Lord *Townſhend*'s for it (1). It was obſerved, that the Lord *North* and *Grey*, the Earl of *Orrery*, the Lord *Bathurſt*, and others of that party, appeared very zealous for the reduction of the army, which cauſed the Duke of *Argyle* to ſay in his ſpeech, 'That, if he ſaw the Nation unanimous in opinion, that our laws, liberties, properties, and holy religion, intirely depend on the preſent happy Settlement, and on the Proteſtant Succeſſion in his Majeſty's Royal Family, he would readily give his vote for reducing the army. But he was very much afraid, that ſome people ſo ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on the diſbanding of the additional troops, with no other deſign than to weaken the Government, and thereby have an opportunity of involving their native Country in new troubles. And therefore thoſe noble Lords, who had ſpoke for the reduction of the army, would do well, when they went down into their ſeveral Countries, to aſſure the people, with whom, no doubt, their reaſons would not fail of having great weight, that their liberties and properties were entirely ſafe under his Majeſty's Government.' After a long debate, the motion againſt the additional troops was rejected, and the bill paſſed, as ſent up by the Commons. 1723-24

The buſineſs of the Seſſion being over, the King came to the Houſe of Peers the 24th of *April*, and, paſſing the bills, delivered the following ſpeech by the mouth of the Chancellor: 1724. *End of ſecond Seſſion.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"THE unanimity, chearfulneſs, and diſ-
"patch with which you have now finiſhed
"every thing I recommended to you, at the
"opening of this Seſſion, are freſh inſtances
"of your affection to my Perſon and Govern-
"ment, and cannot fail of contributing, with
"the bleſſing of God on our endeavours, to-
"wards the eſtabliſhment of that happy tran-
"quillity we now enjoy both at home and
"abroad.

"Your continuing the like national force by
"ſea and land this year, as was judged neceſſary
"by Parliament for the ſervice of the laſt,
"gives me great ſatisfaction. You have hereby
"wiſely provided againſt the miſchiefs from any
"ſudden

(1) As theſe ſpeeches contain the chief arguments on both ſides, they are here inſerted at large:

The Lord *Trevor* ſaid, 'That, the Conſpiracy mentioned in the King's ſpeech at the opening of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, which was the occaſion of this augmentation of the land-forces, being now happily extinguiſhed, and thereby the cauſe of raiſing that additional number being perfectly removed, there was not the leaſt reaſon or pretence for continuing that number. That the keeping on foot a greater army in time of peace, than was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of the King's Perſon and Government, was very dangerous to our happy Conſtitution: And, conſidering the great tranquillity we enjoy both at home and abroad, he could not but apprehend, the number of regular forces allowed by this bill to be much greater than was neceſſary for that end. That, if ſo great an army was allowed to be continued in our preſent happy circumſtances, a ſtanding army would thereby become an eſſential part of our Conſtitution, ſince the reaſons for keeping it up in perpetuity would grow ſtronger every year, and in every ſucceeding Reign. For on the one hand it cannot, with any probability, be foreſeen or expected, that in any future time there will be leſs reaſon to be given, than at preſent, for juſtifying the neceſſity of keeping up ſo great an army, there being now as little danger to our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment to be feared either from inſurrections at home, or by any diſturbance or invaſions from abroad, as the nature and inſtability of human affairs will allow of. And on the other hand, if ſo numerous an army be at preſent allowed of in Parliament, no argument can hereafter be urged for the reducing the number in any future Reign, but what will ſeem to carry with it too great a diſtruſt of the Prince then on the Throne, and will be conſtrued to imply, that the ſame confidence is not to be repoſed in him, as in his predeceſſors.' His Lordſhip added, 'That it was not out of any diſtruſt he entertained either of his Majeſty or his Miniſters, that he was for reducing part of the army. That, on the contrary, he was fully convinced, his Majeſty will never make an ill uſe of his power, of which they had a ſure earneſt in the equity and moderation, with which his Majeſty had governed hitherto: But, that as they could not promiſe themſelves, nor expect, that ſo good and ſo juſt a King ſhould always fill the Throne, it was prudence early to prevent the inconveniencies and dangers, to which our excellent Conſtitution and Liberties would be expoſed, in caſe, in any ſucceeding Reign, an ambitious Prince and ill Miniſters ſhould have ſo great a number of troops at their diſpoſal. That it was notorious, that all the States of *Europe*, that have loſt their liberties, have been inſlaved by their own armies, whoſe Officers and Commanders, growing every day in power, do, at laſt, turn it againſt thoſe, from whom they had at firſt their commiſſions; of which we had a fatal example in *England* ſtill freſh in our memories in the perſon of *Oliver Cromwell*. That, beſides the four thouſand additional men, the regular forces were double the number of thoſe kept on foot after the peace of *Ryſwick*, in the Reign of King *William* of glorious memory; and more numerous by one third than in the late Queen's Reign, after the peace of *Utrecht*: That therefore they are more than ſufficient to ſecure the Government againſt any ſudden inteſtine commotion, which is the leſs to be apprehended, by reaſon of the general affection, which the people had lately ſhewn in taking the oaths, though many of them, that took them, were not required to do it, by the act paſſed the laſt Seſſion; and he was confident, that, except a few perſons of deſperate principles and fortunes, who might hope to fiſh in troubled waters, there was no body in *England*, that had any thing to loſe, who wiſhed for a Revolution. That, if we looked abroad, it appeared, that by the happy influence of his Majeſty's wiſe Counſels, and the good Alliances, that had been entered into and concerted, all *Europe* enjoyed a profound peace, which,

" ſudden ſhocks to public credit; you have
" provided for the ſafety of the Kingdom, and
" have enabled this Nation to hold, among the
" powers of *Europe*, the rank and figure due to
" her honour and dignity. Nothing could have
" been more acceptable to me, than your hav-
" ing been able to make that proviſion, with-
" out laying any new or additional burthens on
" my people.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I return you my thanks for the care and
" pains you have taken towards augmenting the
" ſinking fund, and improving the public re-
" venues, by putting them under a ſtricter
" management. I make no doubt, but that the
" happy beginning you have made will be at-
" tended with ſuch immediate good conſe-
" quences, as will encourage you to purſue the
" way you have now opened for a gradual re-
" duction of the debt, and for putting the
" trade and navigation of *Great-Britain* on ſuch
" a foot, as may not only in ſome meaſure diſ-
" courage the unjuſtifiable incroachments they
" labour under from ſome of our neighbours,
" but at the ſame time extend her exportations
" beyond what has been known in former
" ages.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" As the early receſs, which your diligence
" and unanimity has procured you, affords you
" the opportunity of a longer retirement into the
" Country, than the buſineſs of former Seſſions
" has uſually allowed of, I aſſure myſelf, that 1724.
" you will carry with you thither the ſame zeal
" for the public good, with which you have
" been animated in Parliament; and that you
" will make it your buſineſs to diſcountenance
" any remains there may be yet left of ſedition
" and diſaffection, and to promote that perfect
" harmony and confidence between me and my
" people, which I moſt earneſtly deſire, and
" on which our mutual happineſs intirely de-
" pends."

A little before the end of the Seſſion, the King had appointed the Duke of *Newcaſtle* to be Secretary of State in the room of the Lord *Carteret*, who was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Duke of *Grafton* was appointed Lord Chamberlain, the Lord *Falmouth* and Mr. *Edgecombe* Vice-Treaſurers of *Ireland*, Mr. *Yonge* Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Mr. *Pelham* Secretary at war. Sir *Robert Raymond* being made a Judge of the *King's-Bench*, Sir *Philip York* ſucceeded him as Attorney-General. And Sir *Clement Wearg* was made Sollicitor-General. About the middle of *May*, *Horatio Walpole* was appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary at the Court of *France*.

On the 16th of *May* the King ſent the following circular letter to the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*: 'We being greatly deſirous to favour and encourage thoſe antient and laudable nurſeries of piety and learning, and to enable them more effectually to anſwer the end of their inſtitution, by ſending forth conſtant Supplies of learned and able men, to ſerve the public both in Church and State; and having obſerved, that

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in all probability, would be laſting: But that, in caſe of a rupture with any neighbouring Prince, our fleet, which was certainly the moſt numerous, and the beſt in all *Chriſtendom*, would defend us againſt any foreign invaſion or inſult. That the pay of the four thouſand additional men amounted to a good ſum of money. That indeed, at another juncture, that expence might eaſily be borne; but that in the preſent circumſtances, when the Nation is involved in ſo great a debt, and groans under the load of heavy taxes, this additional charge is very conſiderable. That, his Majeſty, in his gracious ſpeech at the opening of this Seſſion of Parliament, having, in a particular manner, recommended to the Houſe of Commons the putting the national debt in a method of being gradually reduced and paid, it was with the greateſt ſatisfaction he took notice, that ſome progreſs had already been made in that great and important undertaking; and that, in order to improve that good beginning, not only the pay of theſe additional forces, but alſo all other needleſs expences ought, in his opinion, to be applied to the increaſe of the ſinking fund.' His Lordſhip concluded, as he had began, with the moſt earneſt profeſſions of his ſincere and intire affection for his Majeſty's ſacred Perſon and Government, and for his Royal Family, on whoſe proſperity, under God, abſolutely depend both our preſent felicity, and the preſervation of our laws, liberties, properties, and holy religion.

The Lord *Townſhend* anſwered the Lord *Trevor*, and ſaid, 'That he agreed with that noble Lord in ſome parts of his ſpeech, but was ſorry he differed from him in others. That he was thoroughly perſuaded of his intire affection to his Majeſty's Perſon, and the preſent happy Settlement; nor did he in the leaſt doubt, but he ſaw with pleaſure the progreſs, that had been already made towards reducing the national debt: But that, at the ſame time, they ought to conſider, that, as the happy tranquillity, we at preſent enjoy, is in ſome meaſure owing to the ſtrength of the Government, ſo it was prudence not to weaken that ſtrength, becauſe the ſame might affect public credit, which being founded on the ſecurity of the Government, if that ſecurity was rendered precarious, they would ſoon ſee the funds and ſtocks fall 10 or 12 *per cent.* which would render the reduction of the national debt altogether impracticable, ſince it was impoſſible to reduce that debt, otherwiſe than by public credit. That it was notorious, that, before the laſt augmentation of regular forces, the Government could not form and march a body of three or four thouſand men againſt any ſudden attempt, either at home, or from abroad, without leaving the King's Perſon, the Royal Family, the Capital of the Kingdom, and the fortified Places expoſed; and therefore the ſaid augmentation was become abſolutely neceſſary to prevent theſe dangers and inconveniencies. That the number of the troops now on foot was not ſo great as to afford any juſt ground of jealouſy, ſince the preſent forces are much inferior to thoſe the Crown had formerly. That, by the antient and *Gothic* conſtitution of the Government, the King had at his diſpoſal the Militia of the Realm, which chiefly conſiſted in archers, who were kept in conſtant diſcipline and exerciſe, the memory of which is ſtill preſerved, there being almoſt in every village a place called *But-Lane*. That the invention of fire-arms had made a great alteration in the antient Conſtitution; and, inſtead of archers, the Crown raiſed as many regular troops, as were thought neceſſary upon any emergency That Queen *Elizabeth*, who had many enemies both at home and abroad, conſtantly kept a conſiderable body of troops in the *Netherlands*, without any contradiction from her Parliaments, and thereby maintained herſelf on the Throne, and overcame all her enemies. That, if King *Charles* I. had ſteered the ſame courſe, he might, in all probability have preſerved both his Crown and his Life, ſince he loſt both only for want of a ſufficient force to ſup-

preſs

1724. that no encouragement or proviſion has hitherto been made in either of the Univerſities, for the ſtudy of *modern hiſtory*, or *modern languages*, the knowledge of which is highly neceſſary towards compleatly qualifying the youth committed to their care for ſeveral ſtations both in Church and State, to which they may be called; and having ſeriouſly weighed the prejudice, that has accrued to the Univerſities from this defect, perſons of foreign Nations being often employed in the education and tuition of youth, both at home and in their travels, and great numbers of the young Nobility and Gentry being either ſent directly abroad from ſchools, or taken away from the Univerſities before the courſe of their ſtudies can be there compleated, and opportunities frequently loſt to the Crown, of employing and encouraging Members of the two Univerſities, by conferring on them ſuch employments both at home and abroad, as neceſſarily require a competent ſkill in writing and ſpeaking the modern languages; in order therefore to remedy theſe and the like inconveniencies, we have determined to appoint two perſons of ſober converſation and prudent conduct, of the degree of Maſter of Arts, or Batchelor of Laws, or of ſome higher degree, in one of the Univerſities, ſkilled in modern hiſtory, and in the knowledge of modern languages, to be nominated by us to be our Profeſſors of modern hiſtory, one for the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and the other for that of *Oxford*, who ſhall be obliged to read lectures in the public ſchools, at ſuch times as ſhall hereafter be appointed. And we have further determined, that each of the Profeſſors ſhall have a ſtipend of four hundred pounds *per annum*, and out of the ſtipend ſhall be obliged to maintain with ſufficient ſalaries, in the Univerſity where he ſhall be eſtabliſhed, two perſons at leaſt, well qualified to teach and inſtruct in writing and ſpeaking the languages, which Teachers ſhall be under the direction of the Profeſſors reſpectively, and ſhall be obliged to learn two at leaſt of the languages, both the Profeſſors and Teachers taking eſpecial care, that the times and hours for the inſtructing and teaching the Scholars be ſo ordered, as not to interfere with thoſe appointed for their academical ſtudies; which Profeſſors and Teachers ſhall be obliged, once every year, to tranſmit an atteſted account of the progreſs made by each Scholar committed to their care, to our principal Secretaries of State, to be laid before us, that we may encourage the diligence and application of ſuch amongſt them, as ſhall have qualified themſelves for our ſervice, by giving them ſuitable employments either at home or abroad, as occaſions ſhall offer.'

The two firſt Profeſſors were Mr. *Gregory*, of *Chriſt-Church*, *Oxford*; and Mr. *Samuel Harris*, Fellow of *Peter-Houſe*, *Cambridge*.

For a farther encouragement to the Univerſities, the King ordered that his Almoner ſhould chuſe, out of the Members of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, twenty-four Preachers to officiate alternately in the Chapel at *White-Hall*, with a ſalary of thirty pounds a year each.

The inoculation of the ſmall-pox had now begun to be practiced in *England*, and ſucceeded very well with the two Princeſſes, *Amelia* and *Carolina*, and had the ſame good effect on Prince *Frederick*, the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Lady *Mary Ruſſel*, his ſiſter. But others are ſaid to ſuffer under it, particularly the Earl of *Sunderland*'s ſon, who died in the operation, upon which Dr. *Jurin*, Secretary to the Royal Society, publiſhed a treatiſe in favour of inoculating.

The 21ſt of *May* died *Robert Harley*, Earl of *Oxford*, and Earl *Mortimer*, whoſe life and character is given at large, by the Author of the * *Political State* (1).

On

preſs faction, which was the principal ſource of all the calamities and enormities, in which the Nation was afterwards involved. That upon the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. they, who at that time had the management of affairs, did not think it proper to keep up a great number of regular troops, and therefore choſe to reſtore to the Crown its antient power over the Militia of the Kingdom; but that there was a ſecret in that. That King *James* II, not truſting to the Militia, had an army of 20,000 men, which would have ſecured him the Crown, had he not given a general diſguſt to his people, by violating the fundamental laws, and endeavouring to ſubvert the Conſtitution in Church and State. That in the Reign of King *William* of glorious memory, when ſome leading men in the Parliament thought fit to diſband the army, after the peace of *Ryſwick*, they fell upon a project to ſecure the Government, which was to raiſe and diſcipline the Militia; but that they ſoon after perceived the unprofitableneſs of that ſcheme, the Militia proving a great burthen to the People, and of no ſervice to the Government. That the reduction of the army had then a double ill effect; for, on the one hand, it obliged King *William*, and his Miniſters, to enter into a treaty of partition; and, on the other hand, it very probably encouraged *France* to break that treaty, which occaſioned a ſecond war, and was the ſource of two thirds of that heavy debt, under which the Nation labours at this day. That the diſbanding of the army had almoſt the ſame ill effect in the Reign of the late Queen, having encouraged *Lewis* XIV. to furniſh the Pretender with a land-force and a fleet to invade theſe Kingdoms. That, if at preſent they weakened the hands of the Government, we ſhould be expoſed to the like inſults and attempts. That, if our enemies may be credited in an affair, in which it is their intereſt to ſpeak truth, they ſeemed confidently aſſured of ſucceſs in their deſign of overturning the Government, provided they had only an aſſiſtance of three or four thouſand men from abroad; and that, conſidering the method now practiſed in embarkations, how good, and how ſtrong ſoever our fleet may be, it was impoſſible to hinder a foreign Prince, who ſhould have a mind to undertake it, to throw ſuch a number of men upon *England*.' His Lordſhip concluded, 'That the conſtant tenour of his Majeſty's Adminiſtration, ſince his happy acceſſion to the Throne, ought to convince every body, that, by the continuing the number of regular forces now on foot, his Majeſty and Miniſters have nothing in view but the public ſafety and ſecurity, and thereby to give the people an opportunity to improve trade, and encourage induſtry, as the only means to retrieve their former loſſes.'

(1) The moſt material particulars, beſides what relates to his family and circumſtances, are as follows:

By his ſtrict conjunction with the *Foleys* and *Winningtons*, his relations and their friends, he gained at laſt ſuch an extenſive intereſt, as to be choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.' When the Queen thought fit to lay aſide the Earl of *Nottingham*, Principal Secretary of State, Mr. *Robert Harley* was pitched upon to ſucceed him as her Favourite and Prime Miniſter, ſuppoſing he would be moſt agreeable to the Whigs, from his education among the Diſſenters. The Duke of *Marlborough* and the Earl of *Godolphin*'s main deſign, in advancing him, was to ſecure his intereſt in the

Houſe

On the 15th of *June* died Dr. *Henry Sacheverel*. Though he had taken the oaths to the Government, his will ſhewed he perſevered to the end in the ſame ſentiments, for, amongſt his legacies, he left five hundred pounds to the late Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. It does not appear, that he was any way concerned in the plot.

As to foreign affairs, one of the moſt remarkable events, this year, was the abdication of *Philip* V, King of *Spain*. Having taken the reſolution to renounce his Crown, and retire with the Queen to the Monaſtery of *St. Ildefonſo*, he ſent from thence, the 15th of *January* 1723-4, the Marquiſs *de Grimaldo*, Principal Secretary of State, with a packet for the Prince of *Aſturias*, his Son, who, the day before, returned from *St. Ildefonſo* to the *Eſcurial*. The Marquiſs being arrived there, and having acquainted the Prince with his meſſage, his Highneſs ſent for the *Infantes* to come to his apartment; and alſo ordered the Count *de Altamira*, the Marquiſs *de Valero*, the Duke *de San Pedro*, the Count *de Salazar*, the Marquiſs *de Magney*, the Count *de Safateli*, and the Prior of *San Lorenzo*, to attend there, and be witneſſes of what ſhould paſs; who being all preſent, the Marquiſs delivered the packet to the Prince of *Aſturias*, who returned it to him opened, that he might read what was in it, which was the inſtrument of his Father's renunciation of the Crown, accompanied with a letter of advice to direct the new King's conduct. The Renunciation was alſo ſent to the Preſident of the Council of *Caſtile*, and ordered to be publiſhed throughout the Kingdom (1). Upon this it was reſolved in the Council of *Caſtile*, that King *Lewis* might immediately take the Government upon him without aſſembling the *Cortes*, as having been already ſworn to and acknowledged Prince of *Spain*. The penſion, which their Catholic Majeſties reſerved to themſelves, was about 100,000 piſtoles, and they likewiſe reſerved about 25,000 for each of the *Infantes*. 1724.

Perſecution in France.

The King of *France*, at the perſuaſion of the Biſhop of *Frejus*, and contrary to the ſentiments of the Duke of *Bourbon*, publiſhed a ſevere edict this year againſt his Proteſtant ſubjects: Whoever performed any exerciſe of the Reformed Religion, if a man, was to be ſent to the gallies; if a woman, to be ſhaved, and confined where the Judges thought fit: The Proteſtant Preachers to be put to death; and thoſe, who had any communication directly or indirectly with ſuch Miniſters, condemned to the gallies: To give their children foreign education, to be puniſhed with a fine of 6000 livres: The memory of thoſe, who died in the profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, to be proſecuted: All concealed Proteſtants, who diſſuaded ſick perſons from dying Catholics, to be ſent to the gallies, if men, and, if women, as before: To conſent, that children ſhould marry abroad without licence, to be puniſhed with the gallies; and Baptiſm and Schooling were forbidden to Proteſtants, under the like pains and penalties. To put a ſtop to theſe ſeverities, Mr. *Horace Walpole* had orders to ſollicit the *French* Court in behalf of the Proteſtants; but he could obtain no

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Houſe of Commons, and they fondly imagined, that, as to the grand affairs, either he would not intermeddle, or would blindly follow their directions; but they ſoon after found, that a perſon of his ambitious ſpirit would not be contented to act an under part.

They, who extol his liberality and munificence to learned men, are no more to be depended upon, than when they tell us, that he diſcharged the office of Secretary to King *William*, with great addreſs; for, as it is certain on the one hand, that he never ſerved King *William* in that capacity, it is no leſs true on the other hand, that the only perſon, on whom he beſtowed any public mark of favour, was Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, the famous Author of the *Tale of a Tub*, whom he employed, with ſome other obſcure Writers, to banter and ridicule all that oppoſed his meaſures. He was the reverſe of his predeceſſor in the Treaſury, the Earl of *Godolphin*, who never kept ſuitors unprofitably in ſuſpence, nor promiſed any thing that he was not reſolved to perform. The Earl of *Oxford*, on the contrary, kept them, who had any pretenſions, in perpetual dependance, by feeding them with hopes. This maxim he practiſed in a moſt barbarous manner, with Mr. *Rowe*, Author of the tragedy of *Tamerlane*, the ſtory is too well known to be repeated. They who commend him for being a kind friend, and generous enemy, have forgot with what an unrelenting fury he purſued his Benefactor, the immortal Duke of *Marlborough*, and Mr. *Stephens*, the Miniſter, whom he cauſed to be proſecuted to the pillory, and that ignominious puniſhment was not remitted, till he was brought to the place of execution. His prodigious riſe and greatneſs was more owing to his cunning in finding out the weakneſſes of thoſe he had to deal with, than to his own bright parts. For he neither was maſter of eloquence in ſpeech, nor of ſtile in writing, but in both puzzled and intricate: His conſtant deſign being to diſcover other people's thoughts, and conceal his own. But he had at laſt the fate, which all ambidexters deſerve, to be diſtruſted and diſregarded by all parties; of which he was ſo ſenſible, that, for ſeveral years before his death, he ſeldom came to Parliament, but lived in a Country retirement, endeavouring to drown his melancholy thoughts in wine, which at laſt dozed his ſpirits, and certainly abridged his life.

(1) The renunciation was as follows:

Having theſe four years conſidered with due reflection, and maturely, the miſeries of this life, through the infirmities, wars, and troubles, with which God has been pleaſed to viſit me during the twenty-three years of my Reign; and having likewiſe conſidered, that my eldeſt Son *Don Lewis*, ſworn Prince of *Spain*, is of ſufficient age, is married, and has capacity, judgment, and the qualities fit for ruling and governing juſtly and happily this Monarchy; I have determined abſolutely to quit the poſſeſſion and adminiſtration of it, renouncing the ſame, with all its Dominions, Kingdoms, and Lordſhips, in favour of the ſaid Prince *Don Lewis*, my eldeſt Son; and to retire with the Queen, in whom I have found a ready diſpoſition and voluntary inclination, to accompany me to this place and ſeat of *St. Ildefonſo*, here to ſerve God, diſengaged from all other cares, to meditate on death, and to ſeek my ſalvation. This I communicate to the Council for their information, to be notified to the proper perſons, that my reſolution may be made known to all.

His letter to his Son was remarkable neither for ſtile nor ſentiments: Amongſt his inſtructions, he ſays: 'Preſerve ever a great devotion to the moſt Holy Virgin, and put yourſelf, as well as your Kingdoms, under her protection, ſeeing you cannot, by any other means, better obtain what may be needful for you, and for them. Be always, as you ought, obedient to the Holy See, and to the Pope, as the Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt. Protect and defend ever the Tribunal of the Holy Inquiſition, which may be called the bulwark of the faith, and to which it owes its preſervation in all its purity in the Dominions of *Spain*; ſo that the hereſies which have afflicted the other parts of *Chriſtendom*, and produced ſuch horrid and deplorable ravages in them, could never be able to get footing here.'

1724. no other anſwer, than that *the King's edicts muſt be obeyed.*

However, the Court of *France* declared, that the edict againſt the Proteſtants ſhould not affect the inhabitants of *Alſatia*, their religious rights being founded on treaties of peace. This was done to prevent the *Alſatians*, terrified with this edict, from putting themſelves under the protection of *Germany*.

and at Thorn.

The Proteſtants at *Thorn*, in Royal *Pruſſia*, belonging to *Poland*, were likewiſe treated with great cruelty, on account of a pretended riot in *July*, which was really begun by a Student of the *Jeſuits College*, and for which, the Preſident and Vice-Preſident of that City, with thirteen others, were condemned to be beheaded, and others quartered and burnt, and the Proteſtant Counſellors at *Thorn* to be removed from the Magiſtracy, and Papiſts put in their places; and the Church of *St. Mary* to be taken from the Proteſtants, and given to the *Franciſcan* Friars. Mr. *Finch*, the *Britiſh* Miniſter at *Dreſden*, had orders to go to *Poland*, and inſiſt upon ſatisfaction for the Proteſtants of *Thorn*, and other places in that Kingdom, oppreſſed by the Papiſts; but the *Poles* could not be prevailed upon to do the Proteſtants juſtice (1).

Commotions in Scotland.

A ſet of enthuſiaſtical Levellers roſe in the Weſt of *Scotland*, who, under pretence of eſtabliſhing equality among Chriſtians, pulled down incloſures, and committed great ravages and depredations. But, the Royal regiment of *Scots* Fuzileers being ordered to march againſt them, about the latter end of *June*, and three other regiments of foot landing at *Galloway* at the ſame time, they ſoon ſuppreſſed thoſe diſorders.

The third Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament of King George.

The Parliament met again the 12th of *November*, when his Majeſty made the following ſpeech to both Houſes by the mouth of the Lord-Chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I AM perſuaded you ſhare with me in the " ſatisfaction I feel at the proſperous ſitua- " tion of affairs: Peace with all powers abroad; " at home perfect tranquillity, plenty, and an " uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and reli- " gious rights, are moſt diſtinguiſhing marks " of the favour and protection of the Divine " Providence: And theſe, with all their hap- " py conſequences, will, I doubt not, by the " bleſſing of God upon our joint endeavours, " be long continued to my people.

" The ſame proviſion by ſea and land, for " the defence and ſafety of the Nation, will " continue to make us reſpected abroad, and " conſequently ſecure at home. The ſame at- " tention to the improvement of the public re- " venues, and to the eaſe and encouragement of " trade and navigation, will eſtabliſh credit up- " on the ſtrongeſt baſis, and raiſe ſuch a ſpirit " of induſtry, as will not only enable us gradu- " ally to diſcharge the national debt, but will " likewiſe greatly increaſe the wealth, power, " and influence of this Kingdom.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I have ordered the proper Officers to pre- " pare and lay before you eſtimates of the ex- " pences for the ſervice of the enſuing year; " and, as they do not exceed what has been found " by experience to be abſolutely neceſſary for " the ſecurity of the Kingdom, I make no " queſtion, but I ſhall have your ready concur- " rence in raiſing the Supplies in ſuch manner, " as ſhall be moſt eaſy to my people.

" There is one thing, that I cannot but men- " tion to you, as deſerving your particular con- " ſideration,

(1) The affair of *Thorn* was thus: On the 16th of *July*, the ordinary proceſſion at *Thorn* being arrived at *St. James*'s Church-yard, a great number of the Citizens children reſorted thither to ſee it, with their hats under their arms, according to cuſtom; but a Student of the *Jeſuits College*, not ſatisfied with that mark of civility and reſpect, would needs have them kneel down, and gave them bad language and blows. About two hours after the proceſſion was over, this ſame Student, with ſome of his comrades, inſulted ſeveral young people, without the leaſt provocation on their part; but, in the end, this troubleſome young fellow was ſeized by the ſoldiers of the garriſon, and brought to the guard, after he had wounded ſeveral Citizens with ſtones. Next day the *Jeſuits* Students got together again, and meeting one of the Citizens, whom they had abuſed the day before, they would oblige him to get their comrade ſet at liberty; but the Citizen had the good fortune to get out of their hands, and ran to his own houſe for ſafety, whither they purſued him ſword in hand. In the mean time the Preſident of the City had given order for ſetting him at liberty, at the requeſt of the Rector of the *Jeſuits College*, but, another Student being likewiſe carried to the guard-room, his comrades would oblige the Preſident to ſet him at liberty alſo, which he refuſed to do, till he had ſpoke to the Rector. Upon this the *Jeſuits* Students ran furiouſly to the guard-room to reſcue their comrade, but, being repulſed, they thought to revenge themſelves upon a townſman, whom they purſued with drawn ſwords to the *Burgrave*'s houſe, where he took ſhelter. They then attacked a *Lutheran* Student, who was in his night-gown at the door of his lodgings. They dragged him by the hair as far as their own College, threw him into the canal, and beat him unmercifully; which being done, they ſallied again into the City, and wounded ſeveral people with their ſabres, who were coming to the aſſiſtance of the *Lutheran* Student. But, the Preſident having ſent thither the town-guard, they were obliged to betake themſelves to their College, where they kept the *Lutheran* Student, till the *Jeſuits* Student was firſt ſet at liberty. While this exchange was making, ſome of the trained-bands of the town were ordered to poſt themſelves before the *Jeſuits College*, to protect them from the enraged populace. But, the Students throwing ſtones at them, and firing upon them, it was not poſſible to reſtrain the people, who forced open the gate, and were doing what they could to revenge the cruelty of the *Jeſuits* Students, when, in that very inſtant, the Town-Clerk, who had got the *Lutheran* releaſed, came and obliged them to retire. The riot was then thought to be over, but the guards, that were poſted before the College, were ſcarce marched off, when the *Jeſuits* Students from within fired again, and threw ſtones at the people, who again forced open the gate, plundered the College, and committed great diſorders, till a detachment of the garriſon and trained-bands came to the *Jeſuits* aſſiſtance, and diſperſed the people.

The bloody decree (notwithſtanding the interpoſition of ſeveral Proteſtant Princes and States) was put in execution, only the Vice-Preſident was reprieved. As many were exorbitantly fined, with the money ariſing from thence, a ſtone pillar with the Virgin *Mary*'s ſtatue was erected where her picture was burnt.

724. " ſideration. It is too manifeſt, that the funds " eſtabliſhed for the finiſhing the works at " *Greenwich Hoſpital*, and providing for a com- " petent number of ſeamen there, cannot, in " time of peace, be ſufficient to anſwer the " expences of this great and neceſſary work. It " is therefore very much to be wiſhed, that ſome " method could be found out to make a farther " proviſion for a comfortable ſupport to our ſea- " men, worn out in the ſervice of their Coun- " try, and labouring under old age and infir- " mities.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" You muſt all be ſenſible how much our " preſent happineſs is owing to your union and " ſteady conduct. It is therefore wholly un- " neceſſary to recommend to you unanimity and " diſpatch in all your deliberations. The zeal " and abilities you have on all occaſions ſhewn " in ſupporting the intereſt of your Country, " even under the greateſt difficulties, leave me no " room to doubt of my having your intire and " effectual concurrence in every thing, that can " tend to the ſervice of the public, and to the " good of my people."

ate on rmy. After the addreſſes of thanks from both Houſes, the Commons proceeded upon the Supplies for the next year. This brought on a debate about the land-forces, particularly the additional four thouſand men; but at length it was voted, that the number ſhould be as the laſt year 18,264 effective men, and the ſum of 654,488 *l.* 17 *s.* 8 *d.* was granted for their maintenance. For raiſing this and the other Supplies, two ſhillings in the pound on lands and the malt tax were voted.

Great part of this Seſſion was taken up in the trial of the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and the repeal of the late Lord *Bolingbroke*'s attainder. There had been for ſome time a murmuring againſt the inſufficiency of the Maſters in *Chancery* to anſwer the great ſums lodged in their hands by the Suitors in that Court; and it was ſuſpected, that the large ſums, which they paid for admiſſion into their places, made their way more eaſy than it ought to have been, and very much leſſened the inquiry into their qualifications. This abuſe had indeed been long growing up to this degree; and there was ſcarce any thing bought and ſold more freely and openly than a Maſter in *Chancery*'s place. The Suitors money, for which the Maſters paid no intereſt, brought them in great intereſt from the funds; and, the profits of the place being conſequently doubled or trebled to what they had been before, there was ſuch an opportunity to inrich themſelves by the advantages they made of the money they had in their hands, that it is not ſurprizing, that the Lord-Keepers and Lord-Chancellor doubled and trebled the price, which the Maſters were to pay for admittance. But, the complaints againſt this practice growing ſtrong and public, and the Lord-Chancellor *Macclesfield* finding it impracticable for him to put a ſtop to thoſe complaints, or keep the Great Seal under them, he reſigned it the beginning of *January*, 1724-5; and it was committed to the cuſtody of Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*, Maſter of the *Rolls*, Sir *Jeffery Gilbert*, and Sir *Robert Raymond*, who having in in Council taken the oath as Lords Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, the King ſaid to them as follows: 1724.

' I have had ſuch experience of your integrity and ability, that it is with pleaſure I now put the Great Seal into your hands. You are fully informed of the ſtate of the accounts of the Maſters in *Chancery*. I earneſtly recommend to you the taking effectual care, that intire ſatisfaction be made to the Suitors of the Court; and that they be not expoſed to any dangers for the future; and I have ſuch confidence in the faithful diſcharge of the truſt I now repoſe in you, that I am perſuaded you will look narrowly to the behaviour of all the Officers under your juriſdiction, and will ſee, that they act with the ſtricteſt regard to juſtice, and to the eaſe of my ſubjects.'

On the 9th of *February*, Mr. Comptroller delivered the following meſſage to the Houſe of Commons:

George R.

' His Majeſty having reaſon to apprehend, that the Suitors of the Court of *Chancery* were in danger of loſing a conſiderable ſum of money from the inſufficiency of ſome of the Maſters, thought himſelf obliged, in juſtice and compaſſion to the ſaid Suitors, to take the moſt ſpeedy and proper method the law would allow, for inquiring into the ſtate of the Maſters accounts, and ſecuring their effects for the benefit of the Suitors: And his Majeſty, having had ſeveral reports laid before him in purſuance of the directions he had given, has ordered the reports to be communicated to the Houſe, that they may have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair, as the ſhortneſs of the time, and the circumſtances and nature of the proceedings, would admit of.'

Theſe reports, and the papers referred to in them, being taken into conſideration by the Commons, Sir *George Oxenden* roſe up, and ſaid, ' That it manifeſtly appeared by theſe reports, which after the ſtricteſt enquiry, and upon the matureſt deliberation, had been drawn up by perſons of the greateſt weight and authority for their abilities, experience, high ſtations, and integrity, that enormous abuſes had crept into the High-Court of *Chancery*, chiefly occaſioned by the Magiſtrate, who was at the head of that Court, and whoſe duty conſequently it was to prevent the ſame. That the crimes and miſdemeanors of the late Lord Chancellor were many, and of various natures, but might be reduced to theſe three heads: 1. That he had taken into his own hands the eſtates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics, and either had diſpoſed of part of them arbitrarily to his own profit, or connived at the Officers under him, making advantage of the ſame. 2. That he had raiſed to an exorbitant price the offices and places of the Maſters in *Chancery*, and, in order to enable them to pay to him thoſe high prices and gratuities for their admiſſion, had truſted in their hands large ſums of money belonging to Suitors in *Chancery*. 3. That in ſeveral caſes he had made divers irregular orders. So that, in his opinion, that firſt Magiſtate in the Kingdom was fallen from the height of the dignities and honours, to which he had been raiſed by the King's Royal bounty and favour, to the depth of infamy and diſgrace. And therefore he moved,

1724-25. moved, that *Thomas* Earl of *Macclesfield* be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors.' This motion was seconded by Mr. *Strickland*, and supported by Mr. *Doddington*, one of the Lords of the Treasury, who failed not to aggravate the Earl's misdemeanors, which, they said, were of the greatest and most dangerous consequence, since most of the estates in *England*, once in thirty years, pass through the Court of *Chancery*. Mr. *Pulteney*, who spoke next, said, 'That it was far from his thoughts to endeavour to abate the just resentment, which the Gentlemen, who spoke last, shewed against the great abuses, that had been committed in the Court of *Chancery:* But that, in his opinion, they went a little too fast in so weighty and important an affair, by which means they might lose the very end they aimed at, the effectual punishing the person, by whose neglect at least, those abuses had been committed. That whatever deference they ought to pay, on this occasion, to the capacity, experience, integrity, and authority of the persons, who had drawn up the reports, that had been laid before them, yet it little became the dignity, and was even derogatory to the prerogative of that House, which is the grand inquest of the Nation, to found an impeachment upon those reports, without a previous inquiry and examination into the proofs, that were to support it. And therefore he moved, that this affair might be referred to the consideration of a select Committee.' Sir *William Wyndham* urged, 'That, by proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports laid before them from above, the Commons would make a dangerous precedent, and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after State-criminals.' These reasons had great weight with several Members, particularly on Sir *Wilfred Lawson* and Sir *Thomas Pengelly*, who supported Mr. *Pulteney*'s motion. But, Mr. *Yonge* and Sir *Clement Wearg* having answered those objections, the question was put, and it was carried by a majority of 273 against 164, That *Thomas* Earl of *Macclesfield* should be impeached of High Crimes and Misdemeanors; and Sir *George Oxenden* was ordered to go up to the Lords, and at their bar to impeach him in the name of the House of Commons. This being done, a Committee was appointed to draw up the articles. Then a bill was ordered to be brought in, to indemnify the Masters in *Chancery* from the penalties of the act of the 5th and 6th years of King *Edward* the Sixth (against buying and selling of offices) upon their discovering what consideration, price, or gratuity they paid, or agreed to pay, for the purchase of, or for their admission to their respective offices; which bill passed both Houses, and had the Royal Assent.

Trial of the Earl of Macclesfield. May 6.

The Earl of *Macclesfield*'s trial lasted twenty days. The eight first articles against him were, for taking large sums of the Masters in *Chancery* for admission or purchase. By the other articles, he was accused of admitting persons of small substance, and of suffering an unjust and fraudulent practice to continue, of paying for their places out of the Suitors money, by means of which great deficiencies happened: Of neglecting to secure *Fleetwood Dormer*'s person or effects, who, by disposing Suitors money to his own use, had caused a deficiency of 24,000 *l.*: Of neglecting to prevent the like abuses for the future, by taking security upon admission: Of borrowing money of the Masters out of the Suitors cash, and making use of the same so long as he pleased. Upon these and other accounts, sentence was passed upon him by the mouth of Sir *Peter King*, Speaker of the House of Lords: That he should be fined 30,000 *l.* and imprisoned in the *Tower* till the sum was paid. 1725.

After the trial, it was moved that the Earl should be for ever rendered uncapable of any office in the State; but the motion was rejected, as well as another for his not sitting in Parliament, or coming within the verge of the Court. The Earl was carried to the *Tower*, and confined in the same apartment as was formerly the Earl of *Oxford*'s; and, three days after, the King in Council ordered his name to be struck out of the list of Privy-Counsellors. The Earl paid his fine about six weeks after, and was discharged from his confinement. Sir *Peter King*, being created Baron of *Oakham* in *Surry*, succeeded him in the Chancellorship (1).

The debts of the civil list being increased to above 500,000 *l.* the King, on the 8th of *April*, sent by Mr. *Walpole* the following message to the Commons: *Debts of the civil list discharged.*

'The necessities of his Majesty's Government having rendered it impracticable for his Majesty to make any considerable retrenchments in the expences of his civil list; and having engaged his Majesty in some extraordinary expences, which he is persuaded his loyal Commons will believe have been employed, not only for the honour and dignity of the Crown, but for the interest and prosperity of his People, his Majesty hopes, from the known zeal and affection of his Parliament to his Person and Government, that he may be enabled to make use of the funds, lately settled for the payment of the civil list annuities, and for replacing the same to his Majesty in the most advantageous manner, and, upon the credit thereof, to raise a sum of money sufficient to redeem those annuities, and to discharge the present debts contracted in his civil Government.' Mr. *Pulteney*, Cofferer of the Houshold, who, about this time, began to be dissatisfied, moved for an address, that an account should be laid before the House of all monies paid for secret service, pensions, bounties, *&c.* from the 25th of *March*, 1721, to the 25th of *March*, 1725. This address being voted, a motion was made for

(1) This great Lawyer was designed by his father to follow his own trade, that of a Salter, or Grocer, in the City of *Exeter*; and did actually serve several years, as (or in the nature of) an apprentice to it; but his genius to learning, breaking through the disadvantages of education, discovered itself in two or three very learned treatises, of the Ecclesiastical Constitution, of the Creed, and Primitive Christianity, which he wrote even while he was breeding up in the trade of his father; who, being related to the famous Philosopher Mr. *Locke*, did, doubtless, by the advice of that great man, enter his son in the *Temple*, where he soon distinguished himself in the study and practice of the law. His father was a native of *Glastonbury* in *Somersetshire*; and, when the charter of that antient Corporation was revived, in the year 1705, Sir *Peter King* was appointed their Recorder by it, and continued so to his death.

25. for the Houſe to go into a Grand Committee, to conſider of the King's meſſage; but Mr. *Pulteney* repreſented, 'That, the Houſe having ordered an addreſs for ſeveral papers relating to the Civil Liſts and other expences, they ought, in his opinion, to put off the conſideration of the meſſage, till thoſe papers were laid before the Houſe; it being natural to inquire into the cauſes of a diſeaſe, before one applies remedies to it.' This being oppoſed by Mr. *Walpole*, Mr. *Pulteney* replied, 'That he wondered how ſo great a debt could be contracted in three years time, but was not ſurprized ſome perſons were ſo eager to have the deficiencies of the Civil Liſt made good, ſince they and their friends had ſo great a ſhare in it; and deſired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they were to expect another reckoning?' To this it was anſwered in general, 'That there was indeed a heavy debt on the Civil Liſt, and a great many penſions; but that moſt of theſe had been granted in King *William*'s and Queen *Anne*'s Reigns, ſome by King *Charles* the Second, and very few by his preſent Majeſty. That, ſince the Civil Liſt was firſt ſettled for his Majeſty, an expence of above 90,000 *l. per ann.* had happened, which could not then be foreſeen, and therefore was left unprovided for. That, upon examination of the account of the Civil Liſt debts, it would appear, that moſt of thoſe expences were either for the neceſſary ſupport of the dignity of the Crown and Government, or for the public good. That there was indeed a penſion of 5,000 *l.* of another nature, upon the account of the Cofferer's place, but which could not well be avoided; for both Lord *Godolphin*, who was in that office, and his father, had ſo well deſerved of the Government, that they could not handſomely remove him without a gratuity, and therefore they gave him a penſion of 5,000 *l.* to make room for the worthy Gentleman, who now enjoys the poſt.' Then the Commons, in a Grand Committee, took the meſſage into conſideration, and a motion was made, 'That, for the redeeming the annuities of 25,000 *l. per ann.* charged on the Civil Liſt revenues by an act of Parliament of the 7th year of his Majeſty, and for diſcharging the debts and arrears due from his Majeſty to his ſervants, tradeſmen, and others, his Majeſty be enabled to raiſe any ſum not exceeding one million, by *Exchequer* bills, loans, or otherwiſe, on the credit of the deductions of ſix-pence *per* pound, directed by that act, and of the Civil Liſt revenues, at an intereſt not exceeding 3 *l. per cent.* till repayment of the principal.' This motion, after ſome further debate, being carried by a majority of 239 againſt 119, a bill paſſed for that purpoſe, and received the Royal Aſſent the 20th of *April*.

Bo- The ſame day a petition was preſented to the ke Houſe of Commons in behalf of *Henry St. John*, late Viſcount *Bolingbroke*, attainted for High-Treaſon. The purport of the petition was to ſuſpend the execution of the law, with reſpect to his forfeitures, as a pardon ſuſpended it, with reſpect to his life. After the petition had been offered to the Houſe by the Lord *Finch*, Mr. *Walpole* * acquainted the Houſe, that he had received his Majeſty's commands to inform them, that the Petitioner had ſeven years ſince made his humble application and ſubmiſſion to the King, with aſſurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity, which his Majeſty ſo far accepted, as to give him encouragement to hope for ſome future marks of his grace and goodneſs; and that his Majeſty is ſatisfied, that the Petitioner's behaviour has been ſuch, as convinces him, that he is an object of his mercy; and his Majeſty conſents, that this petition be preſented to this Houſe. Then the petition was read, ſetting forth, that the Petitioner is truly concerned for his offence, in not having ſurrendered himſelf, purſuant to the act (whereby the Petitioner was attainted of High-Treaſon, and forfeited all his real and perſonal eſtate) and, by reaſon thereof, hath ſuffered very great loſſes. That, upon the Petitioner's marriage in 1700, Sir *Walter St. John*, Bart. and the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount *St. John* (the Petitioner's grandfather and father) together with the Petitioner, made a ſettlement of the family-eſtates in the Counties of *Wilts*, *Surrey*, and *Middleſex*, all which premiſes (except a very ſmall part thereof) are now in the poſſeſſion of the Petitioner's father, and the Petitioner cannot become intitled thereto for his life, until after his father's deceaſe: That the Petitioner hath, in a moſt humble and dutiful manner, made his ſubmiſſion to his Majeſty, and given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his inviolable fidelity, and of his zeal for his ſervice, and for the ſupport of the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, which his Majeſty hath been moſt graciouſly pleaſed to accept; and praying, that leave may be given to bring in a bill for enabling the Petitioner, and the Heirs-male of his body (notwithſtanding his Attainder) to take and enjoy the ſettled eſtate, according to the limitations of the ſettlement, or other aſſurances therein mentioned, and for enabling the Petitioner to hold and enjoy any perſonal eſtate or effects, whereof he now is, or hereafter ſhall be poſſeſſed, and to inveſt the ſame in the purchaſe of any real or perſonal eſtate within this Kingdom. After the reading of this petition, the Lord *Finch* moved for a bill, which was ſeconded by Mr. *Walpole*, who, having repeated part of what he had before laid before the Houſe by the King's command, added, 'He was fully ſatisfied, that the Petitioner had ſufficiently attoned for his paſt offences, and therefore deſerved the favour of that Houſe, ſo far as to enable him to enjoy the family-inheritance, that was ſettled upon him; which, according to the opinion of the beſt Lawyers, he could not do by virtue of his Majeſty's pardon, without an act of Parliament.' This was confirmed by the Attorney and Sollicitor-General. But, after a ſhort diſpute among the Lawyers about the validity of ſuch a pardon in the preſent caſe, Mr. *Methuen*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Lord *Finch*'s motion, and ſaid, 'That, as he had the honour to be one of the King's immediate ſervants, it might perhaps by ſome be thought unbecoming his ſtation to appear againſt a petition, to the preſenting of which his Majeſty, in his Royal clemency and goodneſs, hath graciouſly been pleaſed to give his conſent. But that, being at liberty to follow the dictates of his conſcience in this matter, he would freely declare his opinion, that the public crimes, for which this Petitioner ſtood attainted, were ſo heinous, ſo flagrant, and of ſo deep a dye, as not to admit of any expiation or attonement; and whatever he might have done to deſerve his Majeſty's private grace and pardon, yet he thought him altogether unworthy of any national favour.'

1725.

1725. favour.' Then he went through the late Lord *Bolingbroke*'s conduct, while he had a ſhare in the Adminiſtration of affairs in Queen *Anne*'s Reign; 'how he was the principal adviſer of, and actor in the wicked meaſures, that were then purſued; his clandeſtine Negotiation of peace, without the privity of the Queen's Allies, contrary to the expreſs tenor of the Grand Alliance; his inſolent behaviour towards all the Confederates in general, and the *Dutch* in particular; his ſacrificing the intereſt of the whole Confederacy, and the honour of his own Country, particularly in the baſe abandoning of the poor and brave *Catalans*; a tranſaction, with which he had an opportunity to be intimately acquainted, as having had the honour, at that juncture, to ſerve the Nation as the Queen's Miniſter in *Portugal:* And, to ſum up all his crimes in one, his traiterous deſign of defeating the Proteſtant Succeſſion, the foundation of both our preſent and future happineſs; and of advancing a Popiſh Pretender to the Throne, which would have involved his native Country in endleſs miſery.' Though this ſpeech made a great impreſſion on the Aſſembly, and ſeveral other eminent Members ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, particularly Mr. *Onſlow* and Lord *William Pawlet*, the motion for a bill was carried by 231 againſt 113. When the bill was was brought in, it was moved, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted, to diſable him to ſit in Parliament, or enjoy any place under the King; but, upon Mr. *Walpole*'s oppoſing it, the clauſe was rejected, and the bill paſſed both Houſes, and received the Royal aſſent.

Bill paſſed in his favour, May 31.

Acts paſſed this Seſſion The moſt material acts paſſed this Seſſion, beſides what have been mentioned, were theſe, an act for diſarming the *Highlands*, and ſecuring the peace of *Scotland*. A proteſt was entered againſt this act in the Houſe of Lords, alledging, That the diſorders in the preamble were not proved: Too great power was given to the Lord-Lieutenants and Juſtices of the peace, and that the behaviour of the *Highlanders* had of late been inoffenſive.

Another act paſſed for regulating elections within the City of *London*, and for preſerving the peace, good order, and government of the City. This law, which is now the rule for all elections in the City, raiſed ſo great a ferment in *London*, that a printed ſummons was diſperſed inviting the Citizens to aſſemble at *Guild-Hall* to conſider of it. This attempt being reſented by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the gates of *Guild-Hall* were ordered to be ſhut, and the Government was acquainted with what had paſſed. Upon this the guards were doubled at *St. James*'s, *Leiceſter-Houſe*, and *Somerſet-Houſe*, and ſuch precautions taken as kept all things quiet. This ſpirit was ſuppoſed to have been raiſed by that majority of the Common-Council, who had voted thanks to Mr. *Francis Child* and Mr. *John Barnard*, for ſtrenuouſly oppoſing the bill. By a clauſe of this act, the right of election of Aldermen and Common-council-men belongs to Freemen, being houſholders, paying ſcot and lot to the amount of 30 *s.* provided they have been in houſes of 10 *l.* a year, twelve Kalendar months. This, and ſome other particulars, occaſioned a petition from the Freemen of *London* againſt the bill, whilſt it was depending.

A motion was made in the Houſe of Commons for inſerting a clauſe in a bill about the 50 new Churches, to diſable bodies corporate to purchaſe advowſons or other eccleſiaſtical preferments. This motion made by Mr. *Arthur Onſlow* was chiefly intended to reſtrain the Univerſities from purchaſing advowſons, but it was rejected.

Thomas Guy, formerly a Bookſeller of *London*, and afterwards Member of Parliament for *Tamworth*, dying in the 80th year of his age, left a benefaction of 200,000 *l.* to a Hoſpital for Incurables erected by himſelf, and near finiſhed in his life-time, beſides many other charities. In order to the better management and diſpoſition of his charities, an act paſſed the 24th of *March*, for incorporating the Executors of the laſt will and teſtament of Mr. *Thomas Guy*.

Two acts likewiſe paſſed to diſſolve the marriages of *William Yonge* with *Mary Heathcote*, and of *Francis Anneſly* with *Elizabeth Sutton*.

The Princeſs of *Wales* was delivered on the 5th of *December* of a Princeſs at *Leiceſter-Houſe*, who was afterward chriſtened by the name of *Louiſa*, and is now married to the Prince of *Denmark*.

The King put an end to the Seſſion with the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I AM come to put an end to this Seſſion " of Parliament, which, though it has been " extended to an unexpected length, has been " ſo well employed for the ſervice and intereſt " of the Public, that I aſſure myſelf it will be " to the general ſatisfaction of the Nation.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" The prudent uſe you have made of the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of credit, by a certain " reduction of more than three millions ſeven " hundred thouſand pounds to an intereſt of " four *per cent.* and by a wiſe proviſion for the " redemption thereof by Parliament, without " further notice, on payment of ſuch ſums, as " the circumſtances of the Government will " from time to time admit, has ſecured a conſiderable addition to the ſinking fund, not ſubject to the hazard of future events (1).

" You have not only raiſed the Supply for the " ſervice of the current year at the loweſt rate of " intereſt, that has been ever known, but, without laying any new burden on my people, " you have enabled me to diſcharge the debts " of my Civil Government; debts contracted " by neceſſary and unavoidable expences, and in " ſupport of ſuch meaſures of Government, as " have greatly increaſed the happineſs of my " people. You have thereby ſhewn your juſt " regard to my honour, and the dignity of the " Crown.

My

(1) An act paſſed this Seſſion, for continuing to the Bank the ſeveral annuities of 80,751 *l.* 7 *s.* 10 *d.* ½, and of 100,000 *l.* until *Midſummer* 1727, and from thence for reducing the ſame to 71,001 *l.* 2 *s.* 3 *d.* ½, and 80,000 *l.* redeemable by Parliament (that is, from 5 *l. per cent.* to 4 *l. per cent.*)

(1) Lords

1725. *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" As all our public bleſſings are the happy " effects of the general tranquillity we now en- " joy, I cannot but expreſs my ſatisfaction in the " proviſion you have made for ſuppreſſing and " preventing diſturbances and commotions in " thoſe parts, where the peace of the Kingdom " might have been moſt indangered.

" Nothing more remains neceſſary, than to " tell you, that I intirely depend on the faithful " diſcharge of your duties in your ſeveral ſta- " tions, and on your conſtant care, in your re- " ſpective Countries, to preſerve the peace and " quiet of the Public. But I know not how to " part with you without firſt returning you my " very hearty thanks for the many repeated in- " ſtances you have, in this Seſſion, given me of " your duty and affection. All ſuch returns may " be expected from me, as can be made by the " moſt indulgent Prince to an affectionate and " loyal people."

Knights of the Bath created.

Preſently after the end of the Seſſion, the King revived the order of Knights of the *Bath*, of whom Prince *William* was the firſt, and the Duke of *Mountague* was appointed Grand-Maſter. Among the Knights were Sir *Robert Walpole*, and his ſon the Lord *Walpole*. The whole number was 38, including the Sovereign. Several promotions were likewiſe made. Mr *Methuen* was appointed Treaſurer of the Houſhold, and the Earl of *Lincoln*, Cofferer in the room of Mr. *Pulteney*. *William Bateman* was created Baron of *Calmore*, in *Ireland*, and Viſcount *Bateman*. Soon after Sir *Robert Walpole* was made Knight of the Garter (1).

The King having ſettled his affairs in *England*, and appointed the Lords Juſtices, ſet out for *Hanover* the 3d of *June*, and arrived the 14th at *Heren-Hauſen*.

The *Scots*, ever ſince the Union, had very unwillingly paid any of the taxes that had been laid on the united Kingdom; and had behaved on all ſuch occaſions, as if they thought themſelves injured, when they were obliged to contribute any thing towards the public expence. The enemies to the Government failed not to feed this ill humour, and, under colour of zeal for the old Conſtitution, to ſet the people againſt that, which was now eſtabliſhed. The malt-tax was moſt clamoured againſt; and it was foreſeen, that it would not be collected without peril to the Officers. At *Edinburgh* indeed, the Exciſemen were ſuffered to take an account of the Maſter's ſtock in hand; but thoſe at *Glaſgow* were obliged to apply to the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe at *Edinburgh* for protection and aſſiſtance, their lives being threatened, if they offered to viſit the malt-houſes. The Commiſſioners applied to Major-General *Wade*, Commander in Chief of the forces in *Scotland*, who, on the 23d of *June*, ſent Captain *Buſhel*, with two companies of ſoldiers to *Glaſgow*, where they arrived the next day in the evening. At their entrance into the town, they found a great mob of men, women, and boys, who gave them abuſive language, and threw ſtones at them, as they marched along the ſtreets, crying aloud, *No malt tax*. The Officer deſired them to forbear, for he meant them no harm. The Provoſt gave him billets for quartering his men, but told him, he could not put him in poſſeſſion of the guard-room, becauſe the rabble had locked it up, and carried away the key, as ſoon as they heard the ſoldiers were coming. The Officer, unwilling to exaſperate them, by forcing open the door, ordered the guard to be kept at a public houſe, which they hired for that purpoſe. About eleven o'clock that night, ſeveral thouſands of the mob got together about the houſe of Mr. *Daniel Campbel*, Repreſentative in Parliament for *Glaſgow*, threatening to plunder it. Upon which Captain *Buſhel* ſent an Officer to the Provoſt, letting him know the miſchief they deſigned to commit; and that he was ready with his men to aſſiſt him in preventing it. But his anſwer was, He thought the number of his ſoldiers too few, and therefore he would make no uſe of them. Thus the rabble, finding no oppoſition, nor even the appearance of a Magiſtrate to reſtrain their fury, with hatchets and other inſtruments forced into the houſe, and turned out two or three of Mr. *Campbel*'s ſervants (he, with his wife, having the day before retired to his Country-houſe) and fell to plundering every thing they could carry away, and deſtroying what was not portable. This riot continued till nine the next morning, when ſeveral of the mob were lying drunk in the houſe, with the wine and liquors they found in the cellars, but the Magiſtrates did not get any of them ſecured. The Officers of the Exciſe hid themſelves as well as they could: Some of them fell into the hands of the mob, and with great difficulty eſcaped with their lives, after having been unmercifully beaten. The rabble were then pretty quiet, till about four in the afternoon, when they began to meet again; women, or men in women's cloaths, beating drums about the ſtreets to call them together. Captain *Buſhel*, not knowing what their deſigns might be, ordered the ſoldiers to be near the guard-room, which the Provoſt had now cauſed to be opened: But the mob did not long keep their ſecret; for they advanced towards the guard, crying, *Drive the dogs out of town: We will cut them to pieces*. The Officer ſaid again, *We mean you no hurt, but, if you continue to provoke the ſoldiers, we ſhall not be able to reſtrain them from firing at you*. The rabble anſwered, *You dare not fire with ball*; and continued throwing ſtones in ſuch quantities, and ſo large, that they

(1) Lords of the Treaſury.

Sir *Robert Walpole*,
Sir *Charles Turner*,
Sir *William Yonge*,
George Doddington, Eſq;
Sir *William Strickland*.

Lords of the Admiralty.

James Earl of *Berkeley*,
Sir *John Jennings*,
John Cockburn, Eſq;
William Chetwynd, Eſq;
Sir *John Norris*,
Sir *Charles Wager*,
Sir *George Oxenden*.

1725. they broke ſome of the locks of the ſoldiers pieces, and their bayonets, and wounded ſeveral men. Upon which they were ordered to fire over the heads of the mob to frighten them; but they advanced ſtill upon the ſoldiers, and, throwing ſtones in greater quantities, the ſoldiers at laſt fired on them, and killed or wounded three or four, which made them retire to ſome diſtance. In this ſhort interval, the Provoſt ſent to Captain *Buſhel*, deſiring him to ſave himſelf and his men, by retreating out of the town; for the Rioters were collecting all the arms they could; and, if he did not march away, there would be more blood ſhed. The Captain, taking his advice, marched immediately for *Dunbarton*, being followed by great numbers of the mob, and that ſo cloſely, that he was forced to fire now and then to ſecure his retreat out of the town. Three or four hundred of them followed him ſix miles, but they durſt not come up with him. He ſent an Officer from *Dunbarton* to *Edinburgh*, to give General *Wade* an account of what had happened; and, on the 8th of *July*, the General, accompanied by *Duncan Forbes*, Lord Advocate, ſet out from *Edinburgh*, and at noon the next day joined a body of forces, that had been ordered to draw together on a moor within two miles of *Glaſgow*, conſiſting of four troops of horſe, and a detachment of Colonel *Campbel*'s Dragoons; eight companies of the Earl of *Deloraine*'s regiment of foot; the Earl of *Stair*'s regiment, and one of the new-raiſed *Highland* companies. The General wrote a letter to the Magiſtrates to let them know he was coming; and the next day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, entered the town; the troops advancing with ſilence and good order; and they were diſtributed into quarters without any diſturbance. The two following days the Exciſemen were ſet to take an account of the Maltſters ſtock in hand, and had quiet admittance. The Rioters having endeavoured by circular letters to every town of any note to excite tumults, the mob roſe *July* the 9th, at *Elgin*, attacked in the night-time three ſoldiers, who were poſted centinels at a ſhop, wherein was lodged a quantity of brandy, that had been ſeized by the *Cuſtom-Houſe* Officers, and obliged the ſoldiers to fire in their own defence, by which one of the rabble was killed. The ſoldiers being overpowered were put in priſon by the Magiſtrates; and the mob immediately carried off the brandy. The Maltſters at *Glaſgow* complied with the terms of the act of Parliament. Many of the Rioters were ſeized; moſt of them mean perſons. Near an hundred witneſſes were examined, but little or nothing was found againſt any of them: It was all laid on thoſe, who fled, and on ſtrangers. The General and the Lord Advocate, having ſtaid a week at *Glaſgow*, returned to *Edinburgh*. The Lord Advocate committed ſeventeen men and boys, and four women, to priſon. The Provoſt, Bailiffs, Dean of Guild, and Deacon Conveener were alſo apprehended, and the next day, under a ſtrong guard of dragoons, ſent to *Edinburgh*. When they came near the City, there was a vaſt concourſe of people at ſuch an unuſual and unexpected ſight, beſides a great many Merchants and men of note on horſeback, who went out to meet them, and accompanied them to the priſon-doors, the *Glaſgow* Magiſtrates being in coaches. They did not continue long under confinement; for, this affair being brought before the Lords Juſticiary, they were unanimous in their opinions, that they were innocent; upon which they were immediately ſet at liberty. It was reported, that the whole Royal Boroughs of *Scotland* had come to a reſolution to ſtand out againſt payment of the malt-tax. But they were ſo far from doing it, that, the Convention being aſſembled at *Edinburgh* on the 7th of *July*, they reſolved to write a circular letter to each of the Royal Boroughs, to be ſent by expreſs, teſtifying the falſhood of that report, and their abhorrence of the thought of reſiſting or not paying due obedience to the law, which has enacted the levying of that tax, exhorting the Magiſtrates and Governors of each Royal Borough, to concur vigorouſly with the Officers of the Revenue, in the execution of the laws relating thereto, and in ſuppreſſing of all mobs, riots, and tumultuous aſſemblies; and requiring them every where to uſe all diligence for the diſcovery of the Authors of ſuch malicious reports and ſeditious practices; and to acquaint the annual Committee of the Convention therewith, that the Offenders might be proſecuted, and brought to deſerved puniſhment at the ſuit of the Convention, as diſturbers of the public peace. The Rioters at *Glaſgow* were brought to their trial before the Court of Juſticiary, of which the Earl of *Ilay* was chief; and, *Walter Buchanan*, *William Hamilton*, *George Macfarlane*, *Patrick Mitchel*, and *Janet Balleny* being found guilty of the riot, the four men were, the next day, ſentenced to be tranſported, after they had been ſcourged at *Glaſgow* by the common hangman; and *Balleny*, the woman, was ſentenced to ſtand twice in the pillory there; ſo that no capital puniſhment was inflicted on any of theſe Offenders.

General *Wade* did likewiſe another very important ſervice to the Public, by diſarming, purſuant to the act of Parliament, the *Highlanders*, *Mackenzies*, *Macdonalds*, *Grants* of *Glenmoriſton*, *Macleods*, *Chiſholms*, *Stewarts*, *Camerons*, *Macphерſons*, *Mackintoſhes*, *Macgregors*, *Gordons*, *Farquharſons*, *Macfarlans*, and other Clans, their Tribes and Followers; as alſo the Inhabitants of the Iſles of *Sky* and *Mull*; the arms amounting to between two and three thouſand. The Companies of the ſoldiers left in the *Highlands* were ſo poſted, that they poſſeſſed all the conſiderable paſſes, and thereby prevented the ſtealing of cattle.

As to foreign affairs, there were great alterations abroad this year. Mention has been made of the marriage of *Lewis*, Prince of *Aſturias* with the Duke of *Orleans*'s ſecond daughter, and of King *Philip*'s reſignation of the Crown to his Son. It has been alſo related, how *Lewis* XV of *France* was married to the Infanta of *Spain*; and *Madamoiſelle de Beaujolois*, another of the Duke of *Orleans*'s daughters, to *Don Carlos*, Infant of *Spain* by King's *Philip*'s ſecond wife. The firſt marriage was conſummated, but ſoon after diſſolved by the death of *Lewis* King of *Spain*. Upon his deceaſe, his Father, King *Philip*, reſumed the Crown. In the beginning of *March* 1724-5, the *French* King, who could never gain upon himſelf to be tolerably civil to the young Infanta, declared his reſolution to ſend her back into

25. *Spain* (1). This was ſo highly reſented by the Court of *Spain*, particularly by the Queen, that it was reſolved to ſend back to *France Madamoiſelle de Beaujolois*, whoſe marriage with *Don Carlos* was yet unconſummated; which was accordingly done, and at the ſame time the Infanta was ſent to *Madrid*, the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, the Marquiſs *de Monteleone*, and *Patrick Lawleſs* (the Pretender's agent in *England* in Queen *Anne*'s Reign) returning with her.

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ge.

The Queen of *Spain*'s reſentment did not end here. She reſolved the *French* ſhould meddle no more in the *Spaniſh* affairs, and offered to adjuſt her differences with the Emperor (for which the Congreſs of *Cambray* had been appointed) under the ſole mediation of *Great-Britain*. This offer was refuſed by King *George* upon many accounts. The Emperor was ſo far from ſeeking the ſole mediation of *Great-Britain*, with the ſame warmth as *Spain*, that he ſhewed ſuch a coolneſs on the occaſion, as not only indicated a jealouſy, but foretold an unſucceſsful iſſue in caſe it was aſſumed. Beſides, the accepting it, in order to gratify the paſſions of the Queen of *Spain*, muſt have diſobliged *France*, with whom, ever ſince the death of *Lewis* XIV, the *Britiſh* Court had contracted the ſtricteſt friendſhip. The ſame motive ſtill ſubſiſted, that had induced King *George* to enter into a reciprocal confidence with that Crown; the title of the Houſe of *Orleans* to that Monarchy in virtue of the treaty of *Utrecht*. The young King was as yet a minor, and unmarried, and the Duke of *Bourbon* Prime Miniſter of *France*, who ſolely guided the Helm, was next in reverſion to the Crown, after the young Duke of *Orleans*, then unmarried, and of a weak conſtitution. The coolneſs therefore of the Emperor, the engagement with *France*, and the proſpect of diſuniting for ever the Houſe of *Bourbon*, by means of the branches of *Orleans* and *Condé*, induced King *George* not to accept the ſole mediation at the hazard of loſing *France*, without any appearance of gaining, or, if gained, of keeping *Spain* one moment fixed to his intereſt or alliance. Upon the King's refuſal of the ſole mediation, the Emperor and Queen of *Spain* reſolved to adjuſt their differences by a private Negotiation. This was managed on the part of *Spain* by the Baron *de Ripperda*, a *Dutchman*, who had abandoned the Proteſtant Religion, and entered into the *Spaniſh* ſervice. The firſt treaty of *Vienna* was ſoon concluded, and ſigned the 30th of *April*, and, the next day, a treaty of commerce was alſo ſigned. It was urged, that, the Mediators having for ſeveral years in vain endeavoured to reconcile the Emperor and King of *Spain*, they reſolved to do it by themſelves without the intervention of any other power, eſpecially ſince *France* had affronted *Spain*, by ſending back the Infanta, and *England* had refuſed to continue her mediation at *Cambray* without *France* (2). 1725.

Treaty of Vienna.

By theſe treaties the Emperor acknowledges *Philip* V. as lawful King of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and promiſes not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of the Dominions ſecured to him by the treaty of *Utrecht*, nor to appropriate to himſelf any right to them. King *Philip* on his part renounces all his pretenſions to the Dominions in *Italy* and the *Netherlands*, adjudged to the Emperor by the treaty of *London*, in *July* 1722. The Emperor grants (without the conſent of the Empire) the inveſtiture of the Dukedoms of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, to the Queen of *Spain*'s eldeſt ſon, in caſe theſe Dukedoms ſhould be vacant for want of heirs; the determination of King *George* and the Regent of *France* in the treaty of *London*, that they are maſculine fiefs of the Empire, being taken for granted. *Spain* agreed to guaranty the ſucceſſion of the *Auſtrian* Dominions according to the *Pragmatic Sanction* (3). By the treaty of commerce, the Emperor's ſubjects were to have commercial advantages in *Spain*, to which no others were entitled: *Spain* was to guaranty the *Oſtend* trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and pay an annual ſubſidy of about four millions of pieces of eight.

The treaty of peace was not liable to any great objection, though the article, by which *Spain* agreed to guaranty the Succeſſion of the *Auſtrian* Dominions, according to the Pragmatic Sanction, gave ſome room to ſuſpect, it was

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(1) The *French* King being taken very ill, and in great danger of his life, by a fever, in *February* 1725, *N. S.* it alarmed the whole *French* Nation, and made them cry aloud for his marrying immediately after his recovery, to prevent the fatal conſequences of a civil war, in caſe of his dying without iſſue. It was thereupon ſuddenly reſolved in Council to ſend back the Infanta. Upon this unexpected turn the Court of *Spain* propoſed the ſole mediation to Mr. *Stanhope*, the *Engliſh* Miniſter at *Madrid*, which, as will be ſeen, was refuſed.

(2) It appears by ſtating and comparing the dates of theſe tranſactions, that the ſending back the Infanta, or the refuſal of the ſole mediation, could have no ſhare in the motives for Negotiating. The Courier, diſpatched from *France* to ſignify the reſolution of ſending back the Infanta, *March* 13, 1725, did not arrive at *Madrid* till the 19th, and King *George*'s anſwer, declining the ſole mediation, came to *Spain* the 24th of *April*, 1724, *N. S.* *Ripperda*'s full powers were ſigned in *November*, 1724; and the Court of *Madrid* received advice from him in *March*, 1725, that the principal articles were then agreed at *Vienna*. In conſequence of this agreement, the treaty of peace and friendſhip between the Emperor and *Spain* was ſigned at *Vienna* the laſt of *April*, and that of commerce the firſt of *May*, 1725. Now could the reſolution of ſending back the Infanta, which was not thought of in *France* till *March*, 1725, nor known at *Madrid* till the 19th of that month, be the occaſion of negociating at *Vienna* treaties of ſuch importance and long diſcuſſion, the principal articles of which were the very ſame month of *March* known at *Madrid* to have been agreed upon at *Vienna*? Or could the King's refuſal of the ſole mediation, which was not known at *Madrid* till the 24th of *April*, 1725, *N. S.* have poſſibly occaſioned the ſigning of treaties at *Vienna* the laſt of *April*, and firſt of *May*, 1725? To this it may be added, that the acceptance of the ſole mediation to accommodate the difference between the two Courts, who were already agreed in every reſpect, would have been as ridiculous and abſurd, as it is to imagine, that the declining of it could poſſibly be a motive for ſigning of treaties ſo injurious to the *States-General*, as well as to *Great-Britain*, when neither of them had given the leaſt reaſon for ſuch treatment.

(3) By the Pragmatic Sanction the order of Succeſſion to the Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria* is ſettled on the Emperor's heirs and ſucceſſors of either ſex, and declared to be a perpetual, indiviſible, and inſeparable feoffment to the primogeniture. This Pragmatic Sanction or perpetual law was publiſhed at *Vienna*, *December* 5, 1724.

1725. was to operate in favour of *Spain*. And therefore it did not alarm the other States, but it was not the ſame with the treaty of commerce, which was ſo much to the diſadvantage of *England* and *Holland*, particularly with regard to the privileges granted to the *Oſtend India* Company.

Private treaty between Spain and the Emperor.

But, beſides theſe treaties, King *George* had reaſon to ſuſpect that another, much more repugnant to the intereſt of *Great-Britain*, was alſo concluded. This ſuſpicion was afterwards confirmed, not only by ſome indiſcrete expreſſions of *Ripperda*, but by the moſt poſitive intelligence from different perſons, all capable of knowing the truth, and all concurring in the moſt material facts. By this third treaty, which was carefully concealed, it was declared, that the *Spaniſh* Miniſter having repreſented that the King of *Great-Britain* had promiſed the reſtitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, and that the King of *Spain* did inſiſt upon it, the Emperor would concur in employing force for reſtoring *Gibraltar* to *Spain*, if it could not be amicably effected. King *George* had moreover cauſe to believe, that ſeveral other points of ſtill more dangerous conſequence were ſettled between the Emperor and *Spain*, particularly that the two Archducheſſes ſhould be married to the Infants of *Spain*, and that means ſhould be taken for placing the Pretender on the Throne. This laſt article the King was informed of by a perſon of great rank, veracity, and credit, though the Emperor himſelf ordered his Miniſters to give, in his name, the moſt ſolemn denial of the fact. It muſt indeed be owned, that the Duke of *Bavaria* received likewiſe aſſurances equally ſtrong from the Miniſters of *Vienna*, that nothing had been tranſacted between the Emperor and the Court of *Madrid*, relating to the marriage of an Archducheſs to a Prince of *Spain*, though it was afterwards owned by the Imperial Miniſters, and the execution of it openly demanded by thoſe of *Spain*. And it may here be obſerved, that, if thoſe marriages had taken place, and the *French* King and the Prince of *Aſturias* at that time, both Princes of weak conſtitutions, had died without iſſue, it would have laid the foundation for the moſt formidable power ever known in *Europe*, by uniting together in one Sovereign all the Dominions belonging to the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*.

In conſequence of theſe treaties between the Emperor and *Spain*, great ſums, amounting to about a million ſterling, were remitted in ſix months, from the ſigning of them by *Spain*, to *Vienna*. The Court of *Vienna* gave immediately the neceſſary orders for an augmentation of their own forces, with thirty thouſand men, and took immediately into their pay thirty thouſand more. Negotiations were ſet on foot for engaging other powers in ſupport of their cauſe; and particularly *Ruſſia*, by her Acceſſion, was to furniſh thirty thouſand men.

Treaty of Hanover.

King *George*, juſtly alarmed at theſe proceedings, reſolved to take ſuch precautions, as were likely to defeat the pernicious deſigns of the new Allies. The Court of *Vienna* had behaved with uncommon coolneſs towards the Court of *London*, ever ſince the Acceſſion of King *George*. The Emperor, whether out of ſome old perſonal enmity to the King, or from his jealouſy of ſeeing a Proteſtant Prince of *Germany* become Sovereign of a powerful Nation, behaved with great indifference, and in a very contradictory manner, towards him on many occaſions. He refuſed to guaranty the Succeſſion in his Line, and denied him the inveſtiture of the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which he had a right to demand and expect, as a Purchaſer and Member of the Empire. To this may be added, the late erection and ſupport of the *Oſtend India* Company in violation of treaties, which greatly affected the *Britiſh* commerce to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and againſt which the whole Nation made loud complaints. Led by theſe motives, the treaty of *Hanover* was projected by King *George*, to check the ambitious views of the Emperor and King (or rather Queen) of *Spain*, who, from being irreconcileable enemies, ran into each other's arms voluntarily, tying themſelves down by treaty to the cloſeſt and ſtricteſt friendſhip. The King ſucceeded in his deſign, and a treaty was concluded in *September* between *England*, *France*, and *Pruſſia*, in the uſual forms of a defenſive Alliance, with a mutual guaranty to protect the reſpective Countries rights and privileges, thoſe of commerce in particular, which the parties enjoyed or ought to enjoy, as well out of as in *Europe*; which had a view to the *Oſtend* Company. There was nothing in the treaty that reflected directly or implicitly upon the conduct of any other power: Nor was there any expreſſion to be found in it, nor inference from it, or from the conſequent meaſures, to ſhew it was projected to increaſe the dominions and claims of the Electorate of *Hanover*, or to involve *Great-Britain* in the quarrels of that Electorate, or could give offence to any but thoſe who intended to offend. The treaty was to laſt fifteen years. There were three ſeparate articles: The firſt related to the affair of *Thorn*, and was an engagement to procure ſatisfaction for what had been done contrary to the treaty of *Oliva*. By the ſecond, the two Kings Electors engaged, in caſe the Emperor declared war againſt *France*, not only not to furniſh their quota of troops, but to act in concert with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. By the third, *France* conſented, that, if the Empire declared againſt her, the two Electors Kings might furniſh their quota, provided they furniſhed no more, and fulfilled their engagements to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

Thus was concluded the treaty of *Hanover*, which has been painted in more invidious colours, than any tranſaction during the Reign of King *George*.

In the mean time the Duke of *Bourbon* was removed from the Adminiſtration of affairs in *France*; having received, as he was preparing to follow the King to *Ramboüillet*, an order to go to *Chantilli*, his country ſeat, and there to ſtay till further orders. Preſently after, the Count *de St. Florentine*, Secretary of State, went to acquaint him, that the King had reſolved to take the Government into his own hands; which he did on the 10th of *June*, in a Council of State at *Verſailles*, to whom he made a ſpeech ſuitable to the occaſion. This revolution in the Miniſtry of *France* was generally ſuppoſed to be owing to the intrigues of the Court of *Spain*, who could never forgive the ſending back the Infanta, which they imputed to the influence of the Duke of *Bourbon* on the counſels of *France*. The Biſhop of *Frejus*, the young King's Preceptor, and afterwards Cardinal, had a great hand in this meaſure, in order to aſſume the poſt of

of Prime Miniſter himſelf; but he aſſured Mr. *Horace Walpole*, the *Britiſh* Ambaſſador at the Court of *France*, 'That the alterations in the Court of *France*, inſtead of making any in the meaſures taken with the King of *Great-Britain*, purſuant to the treaty of *Hanover*, would rather tend to the execution of that treaty.'

The King of *France* ſoon after married the Princeſs *Mary*, Daughter of *Staniſlaus*, once King of *Poland*; the contract for the marriage being ſigned by proxy in *July*.

The Duke of *Wharton*, who had acted with great extravagance and licentiouſneſs of all kinds in *England*, and ruined his eſtate there, having left his Country, went to *Vienna*, whence he proceeded to *Rome*, where he was introduced by the *Spaniſh* Miniſter to the Pretender, in whoſe houſe he was concealed for ſix days, and then poſted away to *Madrid*, where the Baron *de Ripperda*, his great and intimate friend, was now in high credit and favour. Thither he came with credentials from the Pretender; and, as a public mark of confidence in him, adorned with a Garter, and the title of *Northumberland*. King *George* being informed of theſe proceedings, ſent a letter under the Privy Seal to the Duke, commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return forthwith to *Great-Britain*. This letter being carried to *Madrid* by Mr. *Crew*, the Meſſenger, it was delivered, on the 31ſt of *June*, to the Duke in a coach, as he was paſſing through one of the ſtreets of the town; but, as ſoon as he was told the contents of it, he threw the letter out of the coach, and made great clamour at the executing a ſummons upon him by a *Britiſh* Officer of Juſtice, even in the ſight of his Catholic Majeſty's Palace. He likewiſe gave out, that he would preſent a memorial upon it to the King of *Spain*, and demand juſtice againſt the King's Meſſenger, who brought him the letter. Colonel *Stanhope*, the *Britiſh* Miniſter at *Madrid*, hearing of this, ſent his Secretary to the Marquiſs *de Paz*, to acquaint him with it. The Marquiſs promiſed to repreſent the matter to his Catholic Majeſty, and deſired the Secretary to return to him the next morning, when he aſſured him, that the King of *Spain* knew nothing of the memorial, but had been informed of what had paſſed with relation to the delivery of the letter of Privy Seal, and would not in any manner interpoſe his authority in oppoſition to that proceeding. The Duke, about that time, openly profeſſed himſelf a *Roman* Catholic, by making his public abjuration of the Proteſtant Religion; and, on the 23d of *July*, *N. S.* married one of the Ladies of the Queen of *Spain*'s Bed-Chamber, by whoſe intereſt he obtained the pay of a Lieutenant-Colonel.

The King, having ſettled affairs abroad, ſet out from *Hanover* on the 18th of *December*, *O. S.* and came to *Helvoet-Sluyce*, where Sir *John Norris* waited with the convoy and yatchts, and where he embarked on board the *Carolina* yatcht on *New-Year's-Day*, about one in the afternoon. Towards ſeven that evening there aroſe a moſt violent ſtorm with rain and hail, which ſeparated the ſhips one from another, except one man of war, commanded by Captain *Dancey*, who kept company with the King's yatcht, on board which was Sir *John Norris*. The tempeſt continued ſo high, and the ſea ſo boiſterous, for thirty-ſix hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmoſt danger. On the 3d of *January*, the yatchts and men of war were near *Dover*; and one of the yatchts, with ſome of the King's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more adviſeable, that the King ſhould land at *Rye*, where he arrived about noon. The King went immediately into the ſmall boat, the tide being down; and, as ſoon as he could reach a horſe, which Captain *Pigram* had brought him, he mounted it, rode by the wall, and over the new bridge. The Mayor, Mr. *Lambe*, and the Jurats, in their formalities, with the neighbouring Gentlemen, attended the King, who alighted at the Mayor's houſe, being ſaluted all the way with loud huzza's and acclamations. He was extremely fatigued, having eat nothing ſince the day he embarked. The Lord *Townſhend* and his Lady, who were in the *Mary* yatcht, kept company with the King, and with ſome difficulty landed at the ſame place. On the 4th of *January*, a meſſenger, diſpatched by the Lord *Townſhend*, arrived at the *Cock-pit*, with the agreeable news of the King's ſafe landing at *Rye*, from whence he intended to have ſet out for *London* on the 6th; but, the roads in that part of the Country being unſafe from the fall of ſnow, it was found neceſſary to give orders for the clearing of the ways; which done, the King began his journey the next day, and having croſſed the water from *Rye*, at a place called the *Point*, lay that night at *Hythe*, the next at *Sittingburne*; and on the 9th arrived in good health at *St. James*'s. 1725-26.

The fourth Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament.

On the 20th of *January* the Parliament met, when the King made the following ſpeech to both Houſes by the mouth of the Lord-Chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Have had ſuch frequent experience of the "wiſdom and zeal of this Parliament on "many important occaſions, that it is with plea-"ſure I now meet you again; and I make no "doubt, but that your endeavours for the good "and ſervice of your Country will be as ſuc-"ceſsful, as they have hitherto been.

"The diſtreſſed condition of ſome of our "Proteſtant Brethren abroad, and the Negotia-"tions and engagements entered into by ſome "foreign powers, which ſeem to have laid the "foundation of new troubles and diſturbances "in *Europe*, and to threaten my ſubjects with "the loſs of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous "branches of their trade, obliged me, without "any loſs of time, to concert with other powers "ſuch meaſures, as might give a check to the "ambitious views of thoſe, who are endeavour-"ing to render themſelves formidable, and put "a ſtop to the farther progreſs of ſuch danger-"ous deſigns. For theſe ends I have entered "into a defenſive Alliance with the moſt Chri-"ſtian King and the King of *Pruſſia*, to which "ſeveral other powers, and particularly the "*States-General*, have been invited to accede; "and I have not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of "their concurrence. This treaty ſhall in a ſhort "time be laid before you. By theſe means, "and by your ſupport and aſſiſtance, I truſt in "God, I ſhall be able not only to ſecure to my "own ſubjects the enjoyment of many valuable "rights and privileges long ſince acquired for "them by the moſt ſolemn treaties, but effectu-

"ally,

1725-26. " ally to preſerve the peace and balance of *Eu-*
" *rope*, the only view and end of all my en-
" deavours.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons.

" I have ordered the eſtimates for the ſer-
" vice of this year to be prepared and laid be-
" fore you, which, from an unwillingneſs I al-
" ways have to put my ſubjects to an extraordi-
" nary expence by any unneceſſary precautions,
" are formed upon the foot of employing no
" greater number of forces, than was thought
" neceſſary the laſt year; for which, if the Sup-
" plies you give, ſhall be fully and effectually
" raiſed, I ſhall be enabled to have a ſtrong
" fleet at ſea early in the ſpring. If the poſture
" of affairs ſhall at any time make it neceſſary
" to augment our maritime force, I confide ſo
" intirely in the zeal and affection of my Par-
" liament, that I aſſure myſelf you will enable
" me to make ſuch an addition to the number
" of ſeamen, as ſhall be found requiſite.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It is not to be doubted, but the enemies to
" my Government will conceive hopes, that
" ſome favourable opportunity for renewing
" their attempts may offer from the proſpect of
" new troubles and commotions. They are al-
" ready very buſy by their inſtruments and
" emiſſaries in thoſe Courts, whoſe meaſures
" ſeem moſt to favour their purpoſes, in ſollicit-
" ing and promoting the cauſe of the Pretender.
" But I perſuade myſelf, notwithſtanding the
" countenance and encouragement they may
" have received, or flatter themſelves with, the
" proviſion you ſhall make for the ſafety and
" defence of the Kingdom, will effectually ſecure
" us from any attempts from abroad, and ren-
" der all ſuch projects vain and abortive.
" When the world ſhall ſee, that you will
" not ſuffer the *Britiſh* Crown and Nation to be
" menaced and inſulted, thoſe, who moſt envy
" the preſent happineſs and tranquillity of this
" Kingdom, and are endeavouring to make us
" ſubſervient to their ambition, will conſider
" their own intereſt and circumſtances, before
" they make any attempt upon ſo brave a peo-
" ple, ſtrengthened and ſupported by prudent
" and powerful Alliances, and, though deſirous
" to preſerve the peace, able and ready to de-
" fend themſelves againſt the efforts of all ag-
" greſſors. Such reſolutions, and ſuch meaſures,
" timely taken, I am ſatisfied, are the moſt ef-
" fectual means of preventing a war, and con-
" tinuing to us the bleſſings of peace and proſ-
" perity."

Proceed-ings of the Commons. Addreſſes ſuitable to the ſpeech were preſent-ed by both Houſes, and the Commons proceed-ed to conſider of the Supply. The reduction of the four thouſand additional troops was again inſiſted on, and particularly by Mr. *Pulteney*, who now ſet himſelf up to oppoſe every motion of the Court; but, after a warm debate, the ſame number of land-forces 18,264 men, and the ſame proviſion for them, were voted. A motion by Mr. *Pulteney* for a Committee to ſtate the public debts, from the year 1714 to 1725, was rejected by 262 againſt 89. It was obſerved, that moſt of the Tories then in the 172- Houſe were againſt it.

The treaties of *Hanover* and of *Vienna* being *Debat-* laid before the Commons, they were debated by *the tr-* a full Houſe of 420 Members. No ſtranger *ties of* was admitted except the Earl of *Marchmont*, who *Hano-* had been a Plenipotentiary at *Cambray*. Mr. *and V-* *Horace Walpole*, Ambaſſador at the Court of *enna.* *France*, opened the debate with a long ſpeech, ſetting forth the ſtate of affairs in *Europe* from the peace of *Utrecht* to the preſent time. He took notice, 'That, ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, his conſtant care and endeavours had been to ſettle the balance of power on a ſolid foundation, and to preſerve and ſecure the tranquillity of *Chriſtendom*; to protect and defend the Proteſtant cauſe, and promote the honour and intereſt of his *Britiſh* ſubjects. That, with theſe great views, his Majeſty was become Mediator and Guarantee, both of the *Barrier Treaty* concluded in 1715, and of a Convention made in 1718, for the execution of that treaty, between the Emperor and the *States-General* of the *United-Provinces*. In the year 1716, his Majeſty concluded a defenſive Alliance with the Emperor; and, in 1717, another with the moſt Chriſtian King and the *States-General*; the genuine deſign of both which treaties was only to preſerve the public repoſe of *Chriſtendom*, eſtabliſhed by the peace of *Utrecht*, to guaranty the Succeſſion to the Crown of *Great-Britain* in the Proteſtant line. In order to fortify all theſe treaties, and to extinguiſh the war, the *Spaniards* had kindled in *Italy*, his Majeſty, in 1718, made a Convention with the moſt Chriſtian King, for propoſing ultimate conditions of peace between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, and between his Imperial Majeſty and the (then) King of *Sicily*. This Convention was, a few days after, followed by a treaty of Alliance between the Emperor, the King of *Great-Britain*, and the moſt Chriſtian King, which, by their Miniſters, was concluded at *London*, and ſigned on the 22d of *July* 1718, and in which the *States-General* were named as one of the contracting parties (upon a ſuppoſition that they would come into it) from whence this treaty was named the *Quadruple Alliance*. A few months after, the King of *Sicily* was admitted into this treaty; and at length the King of *Spain* himſelf was forced to accede to it, which was mainly owing to the generous aſſiſtance, which his *Britannic* Majeſty gave the Emperor in the *Mediterranean*. There remaining ſome points ſtill controverted between the Emperor and King of *Spain*, the ſame were referred to be amicably determined in a Congreſs, which was afterwards opened at *Cambray*, under the Mediation of his *Britannic* Majeſty and the moſt Chriſtian King. By reaſon of ſeveral difficulties induſtriouſly raiſed by the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, the great pains taken for three years by the Miniſters Mediators proved unſucceſsful, and at laſt the Congreſs was ſuddenly diſſolved, upon advice, that the Emperor and the King of *Spain* had ſecretly adjuſted the differences between them, and concluded a treaty of peace at *Vienna*. This unexpected event occaſioned no ſmall ſurprize, and raiſed jealouſies, which appeared to be the better grounded, when it was known, that the treaty of peace was ſoon followed by a treaty of commerce, the main deſign

-26. ſign of which was to ſupport and countenance the *Eaſt India* Company, ſome years before eſtabliſhed at *Oſtend*, by granting to the inhabitants of the *Auſtrian Netherlands* greater privileges, both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, than were ever granted either to the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*, which viſibly tended to the intire ruin of many valuable branches of our trade, and was contrary to ſeveral ſolemn treaties ſtill in force. His Majeſty, ever watchful for the intereſt of his *Britiſh* ſubjects, had cauſed lively repreſentations to be made againſt the treaty of commerce, both to the Emperor and King of *Spain*. At the Court of *Madrid*, theſe complaints were received with coldneſs; and at that of *Vienna*, with ſtiffneſs and haughtineſs, even to ſuch a degree, that the Imperial Miniſters did not ſtick to inſinuate, that, if his *Britannic* Majeſty perſiſted in his reſolution to take meaſures in oppoſition to the treaties of *Vienna*, his Imperial Majeſty would not only think himſelf diſengaged from the guaranty of the Proteſtant Succeſſion to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, but that the ſame might be attended with conſequences in relation to his Majeſty's Dominions in *Germany*. Theſe inſulting menaces made no impreſſion on his Majeſty's firmneſs, nor deterred him from his fixed reſolution of concerting with other powers ſuch meaſures, as might give a check to the ambitious views of thoſe, who endeavoured to render themſelves formidable. Theſe meaſures ſeemed to be the more neceſſary, becauſe there were juſt grounds to believe, that the unforeſeen reconciliation of the Emperor and King of *Spain* was owing to the conſtant view of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, of rendering the Imperial dignity hereditary in their family. In order to that, it might reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that the treaties of *Vienna* were to be cemented by a match between the Emperor's eldeſt Daughter and the *Infant Don Carlos*. It was eaſy to foreſee the conſequences of ſuch a marriage. For the iſſue male, that might come from it, might, in time, be poſſeſſed not only of all the hereditary Dominions belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and of the Imperial dignity, but alſo of all the Dominions of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; which would intirely overthrow the balance of power, and render the liberties of all the reſt of *Europe* very precarious. This ſuppoſition would appear more than probable to any one, who conſidered that there was ſcarce any other way of accounting, either for the King of *Spain*'s breaking through ſolemn treaties with *Great-Britain*, in favour of the Emperor's ſubjects in the *Netherlands*; or for the Emperor's forgetting ſo far the obligations he had to *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, as to enter into engagements to aſſiſt *Spain* towards the recovery of *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, and to perſiſt in ſupporting and countenancing the *Oſtend* Company, eſtabliſhed with no other view, than to deprive the ſubjects of the Maritime Powers of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade. In order to give a timely check to the further progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns, his Majeſty, in his great wiſdom, had entered into a defenſive Alliance with the moſt Chriſtian King and the King of *Pruſſia*, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the *States-General*, had been invited to accede. The *States* of *Holland* had already done it; and it was not to be doubted, but their example would ſoon be followed by the other *United-Provinces*. The main view of this Alliance was 1725-26.
to maintain and preſerve the public repoſe and tranquillity of *Chriſtendom*, and to ſecure to each contracting party the poſſeſſion of their reſpective Dominions and Territories, with the rights, immunities, and advantages, particularly thoſe relating to trade, which their ſubjects enjoyed, or ought, by treaties, to enjoy. And, as his Majeſty ever had a particular concern for the Proteſtant intereſt, ſo, out of his Royal and tender compaſſion for the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of our Proteſtant Brethren in *Poland*, his Majeſty had not only interpoſed his good offices in the moſt preſſing manner in their favour, but had taken the occaſion of the defenſive Alliance made at *Hanover*, to engage, by a ſeparate article, the moſt Chriſtian King and the King of *Pruſſia*, who, together with his Majeſty, are guarantees of the treaty of *Oliva*, to ſee it maintained and obſerved in its full extent, and to cauſe reparation to be made for what may have been done at *Thorn* contrary to that treaty. He concluded with an encomium upon his Majeſty's wiſdom, care, vigilance, ſteadineſs, and reſolution in the conduct of all theſe weighty and important affairs.'

Mr. *Walpole*'s ſpeech occaſioned a great debate. A Member having ſuggeſted, that it was to be ſuppoſed, the King of *Spain* did not ſeem to grant any further privileges to the Emperor's ſubjects in the *Netherlands*, than what had been granted to the *Engliſh*, and other moſt favoured Nations; he was anſwered by Colonel *Bladen*, who pointed to the ſecond article of the treaty of commerce of *Vienna*, whereby it was expreſsly ſtipulated, 'That the ſhips of war, and merchant-ſhips belonging to the contracting parties, or their ſubjects, ſhould be allowed full liberty to frequent the harbours, coaſts, and provinces of each other;' naming particularly the *Eaſt-Indies*, and without any exception as to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, or any reſtraint on the ſhips of war and merchant-ſhips, than not *to buy any thing beſides victuals and materials for repairing their ſhips*; which implied a permiſſion to vend their merchandizes for ready money; ſo it was manifeſt, that the ſubjects of the *Auſtrian Low-Countries* were allowed more extenſive privileges than ever had been granted to any other Nation, contrary to ſeveral treaties in force between the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*.

Colonel *Bladen* having cleared this important point, Mr. *Daniel Pulteney* made a long ſpeech, wherein having made his obſervations on moſt of the points mentioned by Mr. *Horace Walpole*, he inſinuated, that the ſubject-matter of this day's debate was of the greateſt importance, and therefore they ought maturely to conſider of it, before they came to any reſolution upon it. He was ſupported by Mr. *Shippen*, who raiſed the main objection to the treaty of *Hanover*, That it would engage the *Britiſh* Nation in a war for the defence of his Majeſty's Dominions in *Germany*, contrary to an expreſs proviſion made for the ſecuring our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, in the *act for further limitation and ſucceſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant line*; which, being the baſis and foundation of the preſent ſettlement, was become part of our Conſtitution, and therefore ought to be ſacred and inviolable. They were anſwered by Mr. *Pelham*, who urged, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation was not wholly and for ever to deprive his Ma-

1725-26. jesty's foreign Dominions of any assistance from this Nation; for, if so, his Majesty, in that respect, would be in a worse condition upon his Accession to the *British* Throne than he was before; but only to restrain the Sovereign, for the future, from engaging the Nation, at his pleasure, in a war for the defence of any Dominions not belonging to the Crown of *England*, *without the consent of Parliament*; to whom the Legislature wisely left to judge and determine, Whether such a war was just and necessary or no? Concluding, that, for his own part, he was fully of opinion, that, if, in the present juncture and circumstances of affairs, his Majesty's foreign Dominions should be attacked or insulted, this Nation ought to stand by and support his Majesty against all his enemies whatsoever. And therefore he moved, 'That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House for his great goodness in communicating the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, and the defensive Alliance between his Majesty, the most Christian King, and the King of *Prussia*. To express our just sense of his Majesty's concern for the balance of power in *Europe*, and the Protestant Religion; and above all our unfeigned gratitude for his earnest and seasonable care of the particular interests of his *British* subjects, by forming and entering into the defensive Alliance with the most Christian King and the King of *Prussia*, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous views and consequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the Emperor and the King of *Spain*; and to preserve the many valuable rights and privileges of this Nation against the fatal tendency of the said treaty of commerce, calculated for the intire destruction of the *British* trade, in breach of several solemn treaties now in force. To acknowledge his Majesty's prudence and resolution, in not letting any attempts or insinuations whatsoever divert his Majesty from consulting and steadily pursuing the true interest of these his Kingdoms; and to assure his Majesty, that, in justice and vindication of the honour and dignity of the *British* Crown, this House will effectually stand by and support his Majesty against all insults and attacks, that any Prince, or Power, in resentment of the just measures, which his Majesty has so wisely taken, shall make upon any of his Majesty's Territories and Dominions, though not belonging to the Crown of *Great-Britain* (1).'

This motion being at last approved by a majority of 285 against 107, the address was presented on the 19th of *February*, to which the King returned this answer:

Gentlemen,

'I return you my thanks for this particular mark of your duty, affection, and confidence in me. Your assurances not to suffer my foreign Dominions to be exposed or insulted, on account of the measures I have taken for the interest of these Kingdoms, will, I hope, be a means to 1725. preserve the peace and tranquillity of *Europe*. I have no views of ambition to gratify; I have no thought of aggrandizing myself, or extending any parts of my Dominions at the hazard and expence of the other; and, as my honour is the common cause and concern of my subjects, their particular interests shall, upon all occasions, be my constant care.'

The Lords took likewise into consideration the three treaties, which had been laid before them: The Lord *Townshend* opened the debate, and concluded with a motion much to the same purpose with that of Mr. *Pelham* in the House of Commons. He was seconded by the Duke of *Newcastle*, who acquainted the House with a remarkable passage out of a letter from Mr. *Stanhope*, his Majesty's Minister in *Spain*, 'That, in a private conversation, the Duke of *Ripperda* had not scrupled to own, that, besides what had already been communicated to him about the late treaties of *Vienna*, there were still some other secret articles, which in due time should be made public, whereby the contracting parties mutually engaged to assist each other with a certain number of troops, in order to support the *Ostend* Company, and to recover *Gibraltar*.' The Duke being asked, Whether he would produce that letter? He said, He had not the King's commands for it, but was only left at liberty to take notice of what he had mentioned. Upon this the Lord *Lechmere* observed, that no stress could be laid on an information, that did not come regularly and in form before the House: That besides it was usual with Ministers of State sometimes to drop things, that have no reality, in common conversation, only to sound those, with whom they negotiate. That, the treaties, that had been communicated to them, being a matter of the greatest importance, they ought to proceed in it with the utmost caution and matureſt deliberation; and therefore he was of opinion, they ought to take some time to consider of it, and adjourn the debate to another day. He was answered by the Earl of *Scarborough*; and, the question being put upon the motion for an address, it was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of 1.

Debate them in the House of Lords.

After this the Lord *Lechmere* stood up, and declared, 'That he would go as far as any Member of that illustrious Assembly, in vindicating the honour and dignity of the *British* Crown, and in supporting and defending his Majesty's Person and Government. That, as their present and future happiness depended, next under God, on the settlement of the Crown of these Realms on his Majesty and his Royal Issue, they ought to be extremely cautious of any the least derogation from the act of Parliament, by which that happy settlement was made; and therefore he was of opinion, and moved, that to the resolution for an address the following words be added:

This House not doubting but your Majesty, in your great wisdom and justice to these your Kingdoms,

(1) Mr. *Pulteney* spoke against this motion, and, among other things, said, 'That the Imperial Court's backwardness in granting the investiture for *Bremen* and *Verden*, might have been one of the motives to some late measures.' Upon this, Sir *Robert Walpole* assured the House, that the King might long ago have had the investiture, if he would have paid the exorbitant fees, that were demanded for it.

doms, will always preſerve to them the full and entire benefit of the proviſion made for the further ſecuring our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, by an act paſſed in the 12th and 13th years of the Reign of his late Majeſty King William III. *of glorious memory, whereby it is enacted, That, in caſe the Crown and Imperial Dignity of this Realm ſhall hereafter come to any perſon, not being a native of this Kingdom of* England, *this Nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any Dominions or Territories, which do not belong to the Crown of* England, *without the conſent of Parliament.* But this motion was rejected.

The addreſs, in ſubſtance the ſame with that of the Commons, was preſented by the Houſe of Lords in a body, on the 18th of *February*, and received the like anſwer.

On the 2d of *March*, a petition from *Richard Hampden*, late Treaſurer of the Navy, and Knight of the Shire for the County of *Bucks*, was preſented to the Commons by Sir *William Yonge*, for leave to bring in a bill, to impower the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury to compound with the Petitioner for his debt to the Crown (1). Sir *Robert Walpole* having acquainted the Houſe, that the King had given his conſent that they might do as they thought fit, the petition was taken into conſideration. It was ſaid by Mr. *Onſlow* the Speaker, and ſome others, 'That, out of regard to his antient family, and, in particular, in conſideration of his great-grandfather, *John Hampden*, who made a moſt noble and courageous ſtand againſt arbitrary power, in oppoſing *ſhip-money*, and fell the firſt victim in the glorious cauſe of liberty, they were for having ſomething done for his relations.' His wife and brother preſented petitions, ſetting forth the diſtreſs they would be reduced to, by the deficiency Mr. *Hampden* was charged, without relief from the Houſe. Theſe petitions occaſioning a debate, Sir *William Yonge* took notice, 'That Mr. *Hampden*'s deficiency had, in ſome meaſure, been occaſioned by a general calamity: That he had already done all that lay in his power to make it up: That, however, ſince neither his lady, nor his brother, had any ways been acceſſary to his misfortunes, it was unreaſonable and unjuſt to involve them in his offence and its puniſhment: That his real and patrimonial eſtate amounted to about 2200 *l.* a year, one full half of which was ſettled for a jointure to his wife, who brought him near 11,000 *l.* in marriage, beſides an annuity of 200 *l. per annum* during her life, for her ſeparate uſe; all which ſettlements ought to be ſecured to her: That either Mr. *Richard Hampden*, or his brother, may have iſſue male; and, in conſideration of the ſignal ſervices, at divers times, performed by their illuſtrious anceſtors, ſome proviſion ſhould be made for their poſterity out of the family eſtate.' And therefore he moved, that a bill be brought in for *veſting the real and perſonal eſtates of* Richard Hampden *in Truſtees, for making ſome proviſion for his wife and family, and for the better ſecuring the debt due from him to the Crown.* But Mr. *Clayton* and ſome other Gentlemen repreſented, that, if this affair went through the uſual tedious courſe of extents in the *Exchequer*, great part of Mr. *Hampden*'s eſtate would be conſumed in law-expences, ſo that the Crown would not get 200 *l.* a year out of it. And therefore they propoſed, that the eſtate ſhould be divided into two equal parts, one of which ſhould be allotted as a proviſion for his wife and family, and the other half immediately ſold off, towards ſatisfying the debt due from him to the Crown. Many Members ſhewed their approbation of this propoſal; but the Majority were for Sir *William Yonge*'s motion; and a bill was ordered to be brought in, which afterwards paſſed into a law. 1725-26.

Upon a petition of *Daniel Campbell*, Member of Parliament for *Glaſgow*, for ſatisfaction for his damages, by the Rioters in that City, a bill paſſed in his favour; and the ſatisfaction given him was laid upon the place, where the crime was committed, by an act for an impoſition of two pennies *Scots*, upon all ale and beer brewed in the City of *Glaſgow*. However, the malt-tax was thought ſo great a grievance in *Scotland*, that the Convention of the Royal Boroughs preſented an addreſs by *John Campbell*, Member for *Edinburgh*, in which, though they diſavowed the conduct of the *Glaſgow* men, they remonſtrated againſt that tax, *as a burthen too heavy for their Country to bear*; and afterwards petitioned the Commons concerning it; as did likewiſe the ſhires of *Renfrew*, *Bamff*, &c.

Campbell of Glaſgow voted ſatisfaction for his damages.

On the 24th of *March*, Sir *Paul Methuen*, Knight of the *Bath*, delivered the following meſſage from the King to the Houſe of Commons:

The King's meſſage for an extraordinary Supply.

'His Majeſty having nothing more at heart, than an earneſt deſire to ſecure to his own ſubjects the full and free enjoyment of their Trade and Navigation, and in the beſt manner to prevent and fruſtrate ſuch deſigns, as have been formed againſt the particular intereſt of this Nation, and the general peace of *Europe*, has found it neceſſary, not only to augment his maritime force, but to concert ſuch other meaſures, as may moſt effectually conduce to theſe deſirable ends: And, as theſe ſervices will require ſome extraordinary expence, his Majeſty hopes he ſhall be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of Parliament, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted and granted for the ſervice of this year, and to enter into, and make good ſuch engagements, as the circumſtances and exigency of affairs may require.'

This meſſage occaſioned a debate of ſix hours; but it was at laſt agreed to comply with it, by a majority of 270 againſt 89, and an addreſs to that purpoſe was preſented to the King.

This meſſage had not been communicated to the Houſe of Lords, though the King ſaid in it, that he hoped he ſhould be enabled, by the aſſiſtance of *his Parliament*, to increaſe the number of ſeamen already voted. Notice was taken of it, and the Earl of *Strafford* aſſerted, 'That the meſſage was unprecedented, and ſtruck at the antient privileges of the Houſe of Peers, who are the grand ſtanding Council of the Sovereign, the hereditary and perpetual Guardians of the liberties

(1) His debt was at firſt 95,256 *l.* but he had delivered in, by *South-Sea* ſtock, ſubſcriptions, and other ſecurities, about half the debt, ſo the remainder was about 48,000 *l.* His paternal eſtate was about 2000 *l.* a year.

1726. liberties and properties of the People, and, next the King, the principal part of the Legiſlature, and who therefore have a right to be conſulted in all matters of public concern.' He moved, therefore, 'That an addreſs be preſented to know, who adviſed his Majeſty not to ſend the ſame meſſage to the Houſe of Peers, as was ſent to the Houſe of Commons.' The Lord *Trevor* (who had been made Lord Privy-Seal on the 6th of *March*, in the room of the Duke of *Kingſton*) moved, that the further conſideration of that matter might be adjourned for a month. But the Lord *Lechmere* repreſented, 'That the ſubject-matter of this debate was of ſo great conſequence to his Majeſty's ſervice, to the honour of that noble and illuſtrious Aſſembly, to the antient conſtitution of Parliament, and to the proſperity and welfare of the Kingdom, that it ought not to be poſtponed at all, much leſs for ſuch a length of time, as amounted to a laying it intirely aſide. That it muſt be for the ſervice and ſupport of the Crown, upon all occaſions, to have the advice of both Houſes of Parliament; and as the meſſage in queſtion was only ſent to the Houſe of Commons, and there had not yet been any communication with their Lordſhips upon it, though it contained matters of the higheſt importance, it tended to undermine the very foundation of the Houſe of Peers, and of the antient Conſtitution of the Kingdom. That the rights of the people of *England* were, in ſome meaſure, invaded, whenever they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of that Houſe of Parliament, without whom no aid can be given to the Crown, nor any taxes laid upon the ſubjects. And therefore, if this debate ſhould be adjourned to ſo long a day, it might be inferred from ſuch a dilatory proceeding, that their Lordſhips were not as jealous of their own privileges, and of the rights and properties of the people, at this time, and as much determined to ſupport and defend them both, as any of their anceſtors and predeceſſors had formerly been. That it was the undoubted, inherent, and fundamental right of the Houſe of Peers to alter and amend all money-bills, which came from the Commons; and, though in ſome late inſtances the Commons had diſputed that right, yet the Lords had never failed to maintain and aſſert it. That, according to antient uſage, all demands of Supply ſhould come from the Throne in the Houſe of Peers; and therefore all other methods are unparliamentary, new, and dangerous to the Conſtitution.' All theſe aſſertions were corroborated with ſeveral precedents upon record, which he cauſed to be read. He was anſwered by the Lords *Onſlow* and *Townſhend*; who were replied to by the Lord *Bathurſt*, who took notice, 'That the appellation of Parliament being given to the Commons, and ſeparately from the Lords, was intirely new and unprecedented. That this was ſo far from being the language of former times, that, though of late the Commons took upon them to begin all money-bills, yet there was a time, when they were ſo inconſiderable, as to apply to the Lords, to deſire them to provide money for the public ſervice. That, if, at this time, the Lords ſuffered themſelves to be overlooked in this manner, they might come at laſt to be voted uſeleſs, as they had formerly been. And therefore, leſt any miſtake of this kind ſhould be attended with ſuch ill conſequence, as to encourage evil Miniſters hereafter to a total neglect of the Houſe of Peers, he was of opinion, that proper notice ſhould be taken of it immediately, inſtead of deferring the further conſideration of it for a month.' The Earl of *Scarborough* ſaid, 'He did not deny, that the Peers have a right to be adviſed with in all matters of importance, and to give their conſent to money-bills. But, in the caſe before them, it ſeemed needleſs to ſend the meſſage in queſtion to their Houſe, becauſe their Lordſhips had implicitly given their conſent to the augmenting the number of ſeamen, in their addreſs of thanks, wherein the augmentation was hinted at. As to what had been ſuggeſted, that formerly the Commons applied to the Lords to provide money for the public ſervice, the reaſon of it was, becauſe, at that time, none had any money to give but the Lords, moſt of the lands being then in their hands; whereas, ſince the Reigns of *Henry* VII and *Henry* VIII, the caſe is very much altered; and therefore they ought not to conſider, how things were formerly, but how they are at preſent, and ſo act as they find them.' After ſeveral other ſpeeches the affair was put off for a month, by 69 voices againſt 31. When the month was expired, it was again adjourned for a fortnight, and the Houſe was moved, 'That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, repreſenting the fatal conſequences which muſt happen to this Kingdom, when any advice ſhall be given to the Crown, whereby the counſel and aſſiſtance of this Houſe ſhall not be aſked, at the ſame time that the counſel and aſſiſtance of the Houſe of Commons ſhall be aſked, in matters which concern the peace and ſafety of this Kingdom; and moſt earneſtly to beſeech his Majeſty, that he will for the future diſcourage all ſuch counſels as ſhall tend, in ſo unwarrantable and dangerous a manner, to the deſtruction of the rights of this Houſe.' But this addreſs was rejected.

Among the bills paſſed this Seſſion were theſe two: An act for building a bridge over the *Thames*, from the town of *Fulham* in *Middleſex*, to the town of *Putney* in *Surrey*.

An act for preventing frivolous and vexatious arreſts. By this act, no perſon ſhall be held to ſpecial bail on any proceſs from a ſuperior Court where the cauſe of action ſhall not amount to 10 *l.* nor from any inferior Court under 40 *s.* In ſuch caſes the Plaintiff ſhall not arreſt the body of the Defendant, but ſhall ſerve him perſonally with a copy of the proceſs.

The buſineſs of the Seſſion being over, the King diſmiſſed the Parliament with the following ſpeech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Cannot in juſtice put an end to this Seſſion, without returning you my hearty "thanks for the many inſtances you have given "me of your duty and affection to my Perſon "and Government, and of your zeal to maintain the honour and true intereſt of this King-"dom.

"The ſpirit and reſolution you have ſhewn "on this important occaſion, when our moſt "valuable rights and privileges have been ſtruck "at, are highly becoming the weight and au-"thority of a *Britiſh* Parliament: And the ſteps "that have been taken abroad, in ſupport of "the

1726. " the meaſures entered into againſt this Nation,
" muſt convince every body of your wiſdom
" and prudence in endeavouring to put an early
" ſtop to the further progreſs of them. I hope
" the precautions, you have enabled me to take,
" will be ſufficient, in conjunction with my
" Allies, to defeat the deſigns, which have
" been formed againſt us; and that the Pro-
" moters of them, when they have fully weighed
" their own circumſtances, and better conſidered
" thoſe of the ſeveral powers united in defence
" of the tranquillity and liberties of *Europe*,
" will find it their own intereſt to preſerve the
" peace, and think it moſt ſafe and prudent to
" deſiſt from their dangerous ſchemes.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" I return you my particular thanks for the
" Supplies, which you have ſo chearfully and
" effectually raiſed; and you may be aſſured,
" that they ſhall be faithfully applied to the
" uſes, for which you intended them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The conſtant employment of my thoughts,
" and the moſt earneſt wiſhes of my heart,
" tend wholly to the ſecuring to my ſubjects
" their juſt rights and advantages, and to the
" preſerving to them, and to all *Europe*, the
" enjoyment of a ſafe and honourable peace.
" And I muſt not conclude, without giving
" you the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that the particu-
" lar confidence, you have placed in me, ſhall be
" made uſe of in ſuch manner only, as may
" moſt effectually conduce to the attaining thoſe
" good and great purpoſes."

The Supplies, raiſed during this Seſſion of Parliament, were immediately employed in fitting out three different ſquadrons; one of ſeven men of war, deſigned for the *Weſt-Indies*, under the command of Vice-Admiral *Hoſier*; another of twelve or more ſhips of the line, for the *Mediterranean*, under the command of Sir *John Jennings*, Admiral of the White; and a third, deſigned for the *Baltic*, under the command of Sir *Charles Wager*, Vice-Admiral of the Red, and Sir *George Walton*, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips and two fire-ſhips.

The Court of *Great-Britain* had evident proofs, that nothing could influence the Emperor and King of *Spain* to terms of reaſon, but to ſhew a vigorous ſpirit againſt a very pernicious or ſuſpicious part of the treaty of *Vienna*. And as all appearances convinced the Miniſtry, that nothing could ſo effectually guard againſt approaching evils, as the diſpatching ſufficient ſquadrons of ſhips to ſeveral places, they did with all poſſible diligence fit out the forementioned ſquadrons.

The ſquadron ſent to the *Baltic* was to prevent very great evils in thoſe parts, there being no room to doubt, that the *Czarina*'s real view was to go with a fleet to *Stockholm*, and, under a pretence of demanding the uſe of the Ports, and the aſſiſtance of *Sweden* for the recovery of *Sleſwick* to the Duke of *Holſtein*, actually to dethrone the King of *Sweden*, and make that Nation dependent on *Muſcovy*. It was therefore judged of the utmoſt importance to prevent this. Accordingly, about the end of *April*, Sir Charles Wager, with his ſquadron, came to an anchor in the road of *Copenhagen*; and, on the 25th of that month, had an audience of the King of *Denmark*. On the 2d of *May* he ſailed to *Stockholm*, where, eight days after, he had an audience of the King of *Sweden*, being introduced by Mr. *Poyntz*, the *Britiſh* Envoy Extraordinary. A ſquadron of *Daniſh* men of war having joined the *Britiſh* ſquadron, the united fleet became ſo formidable, that the Court of *Ruſſia* thought proper to ſuſpend the fitting out their large ſhips, and only to equip ſome frigates; and the land-forces, which had been drawn together near *Peterſburg*, in order to be put on board the *Ruſſian* fleet, were ſent to work on the *Ludoga* canal, and the fortifications at *Cronſlot*. That Court was under the greateſt uneaſineſs, and immediately gave orders for reinforcing the garriſons of *Wibourg*, *Cronſlot*, *Revel*, and *Riga*. Mean while, Sir *Charles Wager*, having been joined by the *Naſſau* and *Port-Mahon* on the 20th of *May*, ſailed from *Elſenal* near *Stockholm* the 25th, and arrived, the 29th, near the Iſland of *Nargen*, three leagues from *Revel*, and, the next morning, ſent an Officer with a letter to Lieutenant-General *Wulcoffe*, who commanded at *Revel*, and ordered the *Port-Mahon* to ſail to *Cronſlot*, having on board Mr. *Barnet*, one of his Lieutenants, by whom he ſent his Majeſty's letter to the *Czarina*, incloſed in a packet to Admiral *Apraxin* (1). In this letter, which was dated the 11th of *April*, his Majeſty obſerved, 'That as the *Czarina*'s great preparations both by ſea and land for war, in a time of peace, could not fail of giving Him, as well as his Allies in thoſe parts, great and juſt cauſe to be alarmed; ſhe would not be ſurprized, that he had ſent a ſtrong ſquadron into the *Baltic*, to obviate any danger, that might enſue from ſo extraordinary an armament.' He laid before her the ſeveral inſtances he had given of a ſincere diſpoſition to eſtabliſh a firm and laſting friendſhip with the Crown of *Ruſſia*; but that his intentions had been diſappointed by the delays of that Court; and he expreſſed his ſurprize, 'that, while he was carrying on amicable Negotiations, and had not given the leaſt provocations on his part, meaſures were taken at her Court in favour of the Pretender, and great encouragement to his Adherents. After what, ſays he, we have now ſet forth, your Majeſty will not be ſurprized, that we, being indiſpenſably obliged to provide for the ſecurity of our Dominions, to perform our engagements with our Allies, and to maintain the public tranquillity in the *North*, which ſeems to be very much in danger from your Majeſty's late preparations, have thought it neceſſary to ſend a ſtrong fleet of our men of war into the *Baltic*, and that we have given orders to our Admiral, who commands it, to endeavour to prevent freſh troubles in thoſe parts, by hindering

1726. *Sir* Charles Wager *ſails to* Ruſſia.

(1) The Czar of *Muſcovy* died the 28th of *January* 1725-6, and was ſucceeded by the Empreſs *Catherina* his wife.

1726. hindering your Majesty's ships from coming out, in case that you persist in your resolution to put your fleet to sea, to execute the designs, which you may have in view. But, as it is our firm intention to live in peace and friendship with your Majesty, we wish, from the bottom of our heart, that your Majesty, seriously reflecting upon the true interest of your subjects, would permit them to enjoy the blessings of that peace, which they purchased at the expence of so much blood and treasure, under the conduct of his late Majesty; and that, rather than enter into measures, which must inevitably plunge *Russia* into a war, and the whole *North* into confusion, your Majesty would please to give your people and all mankind convincing proofs of your inclination for peace, and of your good disposition to live in quiet with your neighbours.' The *Czarina*, in her answer dated *June* 15, declared her surprize at not receiving the King's letter till the very instant his fleet appeared on her coasts, and after it had cast anchor before *Revel*, 'since it had been more agreeable to the custom established among Sovereigns, and more consistent with the amity, that had so long subsisted between her Kingdoms and the Crown of *Great-Britain*, had his Majesty thought fit to expostulate with her about the umbrage he might have conceived from her armament; and to expect her answer thereupon, before he advanced to so offensive a step. That then his Majesty might have been assured by her, that it was so far from her thoughts to disturb the repose of the *North*, that, on the contrary, all her cares and attention were wholly bent on the security and preservation of it, both for the time present, and time to come, as being more concerned than his Majesty, in preventing whatever might indanger that tranquillity.' That, with regard to what was charged upon her, in relation to the Pretender, it 'was a frivolous and stale accusation, made use of as it had heretofore been, as the main pretence for all the unkind steps taken against her.'

Sir *Charles Wager* remained in his station near *Revel* till *October*, when, the year being so far advanced, and he having intelligence from *Petersburg* and *Cronslot*, that the *Russian* gallies were laid up in their winter harbour, and their fleet not in a condition to put to sea, he sailed from the bay of *Revel* for the coast of *Denmark*, and arrived at *Copenhagen* the same month. From thence, after a stay of a few days, he sailed for *England*, where he safely arrived in *November*.

Sir John Jennings *put to sea.*

Sir *John Jennings*, with his squadron, which was furnished with a considerable number of land-forces and artillery, visited the coasts of *Spain*, and shut up the ports of that Kingdom. His orders were to cruise between *Cadiz* and Cape *St. Vincent*, to intercept the Galleons, and to assist *Gibraltar*, in case of a siege, with the land-forces on board his fleet, and to annoy the enemy to the utmost. But he did no damage on the coast of *Spain*, and only caused alarms, and protected the trade of *Great-Britain*.

Hosier *sails to the* West-Indies.

Vice-Admiral *Hosier*'s squadron was inferior to those of Sir *Charles Wager* and Sir *John Jennings*; but he was authorized to join to his fleet all the ships he could meet with in the *West-Indies*; and his orders were to prevent the Galleons from sailing out of the *Spanish* ports there; or, if they should come out, to seize them, and bring their cargoes untouched to *England*. He arrived at the *Bastimento*'s off *Porto-Bello*, in the beginning of *June*; but, ten days before his arrival, an advice-boat from *Spain* brought orders for putting on shore the money on board the Galleons, said to be twenty-six millions of pieces of eight, and sending it back to *Panama*.

These measures were taken against *Spain*, in resentment of the engagements, which that Court had entered into with the Court of *Vienna*, to the prejudice of *Great-Britain*, and the designs formed in favour of the Pretender, by the instigation of the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Wharton*, and Earl *Marischal*, who were then at *Madrid*. But the Duke *de Ripperda*, who had been the principal Agent in forming and concluding the treaty of *Vienna*, and the Author of the violent counsels against *Great-Britain*, was of a sudden dismissed, on the 14th of *May*, from all his employments, though allowed a pension of 3000 pistoles for his subsistence. The pretended cause of his disgrace was the embezzlement of the finances (of which he was Superintendant) to the value of four millions. The Duke, upon his receiving the King of *Spain*'s decree for dismissing him from his posts, went immediately to the House of Monsieur *Vandermeer*, the *Dutch* Ambassador; but, not thinking himself safe there, *Vandermeer* carried him in his coach to the house of Colonel *Stanhope*, the *British* Ambassador, whose protection he begged and obtained. The King being informed of this, caused the Ambassador's house to be surrounded by two hundred grenadiers. The next day Colonel *Stanhope* had an audience of the King, and gave him an account of what had happened in relation to the discarded Minister, which the King did not seem to disapprove; and the grenadiers were called off from his house, on a promise from him, that the Duke *de Ripperda*'s person should be forthcoming; and sixty guards were posted in the streets leading to Colonel *Stanhope*'s house, to take him, if he should attempt to make his escape. But on the 25th of *May*, *N. S.* the King appointed *Don Lewis Cuellar*, one of the Alcades of his Court, assisted by *Don Francis Valansa*, Adjutant-General of the Life-guard, to enter Colonel *Stanhope*'s house, and take from thence the Duke *de Ripperda*, and convey him to the Castle of *Segovia*, with a sufficient guard; which was done. But this violation of the law of Nations, in forcibly entering the house of an Ambassador, was justly complained of by the Court of *Great-Britain*, who ordered the letters and papers, which passed between the Ministers and Ambassadors of both Courts upon this occasion, and upon Sir *John Jennings*'s coming with his fleet on the coast of *Spain*, to be published. Among these papers is a memorial of Colonel *Stanhope* to the King of *Spain*, dated *Sept.* 24, 1726, in which he observes, that the King his Master was surprized, that the King of *Spain* should not know the reasons, and be sensible of the necessity, which obliged his Majesty to send the fleet under Sir *John Jennings* to the coast of *Spain*; 'considering, says he, the engagements, into which some of the most considerable powers of *Europe* have of late entered, and of which his Majesty has complained so often and so loudly. The naval armaments and equipments, which have been made in most of the ports of *Spain*; the preparations of war, and the motions

ons of a conſiderable number of *Spaniſh* troops towards that part of their coaſt, which lies neareſt and moſt convenient for executing an enterprize on his Majeſty's Dominions; the great hopes of the Emiſſaries and Adherents of the Pretender, who have publicly boaſted of the aſſiſtance they ſhould receive from thoſe parts; the confidence they had in it, and which has appeared clearly in the pernicious and indiſcreet conduct of ſome among them, who have been lately received and favoured at *Madrid*: This, joined with the intrigues, which have been carried on with the *Muſcovites*, and the reaſons his Majeſty has to ſuſpect the ill deſigns, upon which the three ſhips were ſent laſt year from *Peterſburg* to *Cadiz*, and thence to *St. Andero*; the knowledge his Majeſty had laſt winter, by the avowal of the Miniſter of *Spain*, that there was an offenſive Alliance between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, and that, by one of the articles of that Alliance, it was ſtipulated to uſe open force to get *Gibraltar* reſtored to the King of *Spain*, a place, which his Majeſty poſſeſſes by virtue of ſo juſt a right; the great Subſidies, which have been furniſhed to the Imperial Court, and which are not ſeen to be ſettled by an Alliance, that has yet been made public; the notorious infractions, which the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſtes* have for a long time made, with reſpect to the commerce and navigation of his Majeſty's ſubjects in the *Weſt-Indies*, infractions, which have been ſo often complained of without the leaſt appearance of ſatisfaction or reparation: Theſe things, joined together, are ſufficient to exhibit clearly the reaſons, which have induced his Majeſty to take the meaſures he judged proper, and to equip the ſeveral fleets, which have put to ſea; and his Majeſty's ſubjects would have had juſt cauſe to complain, had not care been taken for the ſecurity of the Kingdom, and of their rights and properties, which they ſaw threatened and in danger.'

In *Auguſt*, the *States-General* ſigned their acceſſion to the treaty of *Hanover*, after having been diſſuaded by the Imperial and *Spaniſh* Miniſters not to do it, and preſſed to come into that of *Vienna*. Though the Emperor had not ſucceeded with the *States*, he found means to detach, in great meaſure, the King of *Pruſſia* from his engagements with the Allies of *Hanover*. The conduct of his *Pruſſian* Majeſty, in this inſtance, as a Proteſtant and Son-in-law of King *George*, could hardly be defended. It was thought he propoſed ſome extraordinary advantages from his deſertion of the Allies of *Hanover*, and cloſing with thoſe of *Vienna*; one part of which advantages was probably to be ſupported by the Emperor, in making ſome conqueſt upon the Dominions of *Hanover*. However that be, he made a treaty with the Emperor, which gave great jealouſy to the friends of the treaty of *Hanover*. By this treaty the King of *Pruſſia* engaged in a new contract, not very conſiſtent with the apprehenſions of the *Hanover* Allies, of the Emperor's power and projects; ſince the King of *Pruſſia* was to guarantee the order of Succeſſion in the hereditary Dominions in the heirs female, in default of male iſſue; while, on the other hand, the Emperor obliged himſelf to uſe his endeavours to obtain from all thoſe, who had pretenſions to the Duchies of *Juliers* and *Bergues*, a ceſſion of their rights in favour of his *Pruſſian* Majeſty.

The treaty of *Hanover* was attended with the greateſt difficulties, and a prodigious but unavoidable expence. Of this *Sweden* was an inſtance. All the ſummer preſſing and repeated applications were made by the *Britiſh* and *French* Miniſters at *Stockholm*, to induce the Court of *Sweden* to accede to the treaty of *Hanover*. And no leſs pains were taken by the *Ruſſian* and *Auſtrian* Miniſters, to procure his *Swediſh* Majeſty's acceſſion to the treaty of *Vienna*. But that wiſe Prince reſolved to leave the determination of ſo important an affair to the General Dyet of the States of *Sweden*. The *Holſtein* faction in *Sweden* were ſpirited in their oppoſition to this acceſſion, by Count *Freytag*, the Imperial Ambaſſador, and the Ambaſſador of *Ruſſia*; but that did not hinder the *States* ſigning it, as well as the King of *Sweden*. 1726.

During theſe Negotiations, *Spain*, incenſed to the laſt degree, made great preparations for war. A camp of about twenty thouſand men was formed at *St. Roch* near *Gibraltar*, and all the neceſſaries for a ſiege were provided. Preparations were likewiſe made at ſea; four thouſand ſailors were landed; ſeveral men of war were come to *Cadiz*, and as many more, as could be, were bought. The pretence was, to rebuild the Caſtle of *Old Gibraltar*, though ſome greater deſign was very viſible.

In theſe circumſtances the Parliament of *Great-Britain* met, on the 17th of *January*. The King opened the Seſſion with a very long, lively, and pathetic ſpeech, but, at the ſame time, extremely offenſive to the Princes of whom mention was made. The ſpeech was as follows: 1726-27. *The fifth Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament of King George.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Acquainted you laſt year with the treaties " of peace and commerce concluded between " the Emperor and the King of *Spain*. As " that ſudden and unaccountable conjunction " gave, at the firſt appearance, juſt grounds of " jealouſy and apprehenſion to the neighbouring " powers of *Europe*, and the ſubſequent " proceedings and tranſactions in thoſe two " Courts, and the ſecret and offenſive Alliances " concluded between them about the ſame time, " have laid the foundations of a moſt exorbitant " and formidable power, and are ſo directly levelled againſt the moſt valuable and darling " intereſts and privileges of this Nation, that " we muſt determine either tamely to ſubmit to " the peremptory and unjuſt demands of the " King of *Spain* in giving up *Gibraltar*, and " patiently to acquieſce in the Emperor's uſurped and extended exerciſe of trade and com- " merce, or muſt reſolve to be in a condition to " do ourſelves juſtice, and to defend our undoubted rights againſt thoſe reciprocal engage- " ments, entered into in defiance and violation of all national faith and the moſt ſolemn " treaties.

" I have likewiſe received information from " different parts, on which I can intirely depend, that the placing the Pretender upon " the Throne of this Kingdom is one of the " articles of the ſecret engagements: And if " time ſhall evince, that the giving up the trade " of this Nation to one power, and *Gibraltar* " and *Port-Mahon* to another, is made the price " and reward of impoſing upon this Kingdom

1726-27. " a Popiſh Pretender: What an indignation
" muſt this raiſe in the breaſt of every Proteſ-
" tant *Briton!*

" Nor were theſe fatal combinations confined
" to thoſe parts of the world alone, but they
" extended themſelves into *Ruſſia*; and, had not
" the deſigns of that Court againſt ſome of
" their neighbours been prevented, by the ſea-
" ſonable arrival of our fleet in thoſe ſeas, a way
" had been opened for invading thoſe King-
" doms, and giving a powerful aſſiſtance to any
" attempt to be made from other quarters.

" Such circumſtances would not ſuffer Me and
" my Allies, among whom there has been and
" is the moſt perfect harmony, union, and con-
" cert, to be idle ſpectators, and regardleſs of
" our own ſafety, and the common cauſe of
" *Europe*; for which purpoſe his moſt Chriſ-
" tian Majeſty has been at a great expence, this
" laſt year, in augmenting his forces; and the
" *States-General*, ſenſible of the imminent dan-
" ger, have not only acceded to the defenſive
" Alliance concluded at *Hanover*, but have come
" to ſtrong and ſeaſonable reſolutions for an
" extraordinary augmentation of their forces
" both by ſea and land. The Acceſſion of
" the Crown of *Sweden* is in ſuch a forward-
" neſs, and the Negotiations with the Crown
" of *Denmark* are ſo far advanced, that we may
" reaſonably depend upon the ſucceſs and good
" effect of them.

" This ſhort view of the preſent poſture of
" affairs will, I am confident, not only ſecure to
" Me the ſupport and aſſiſtance of my Parlia-
" ment, in carrying on this great and neceſſary
" work, in conjunction with my Allies, but
" juſtify the meaſures hitherto taken, and the
" expences already made.

" The confidence, you repoſed in me laſt
" year, has been made uſe of for the benefit of
" the Public: And as the chief article of ex-
" ceeding has, by my equipping and ſending to
" ſea three conſiderable ſquadrons, fallen upon
" the head of the Navy, I am perſuaded the ne-
" ceſſity of the ſervices, and the ſecurity, ad-
" vantage, and glory, that has accrued to this
" Nation from thoſe ſquadrons, will ſufficiently
" ſpeak for themſelves, as long as both friends
" and foes, with joy and concern, confeſs they
" have ſeen and felt the effects of the naval
" power of *Great-Britain.*

" It is not to be wondered at, that the Prin-
" ces engaged in theſe enterprizes are very
" much diſturbed to ſee their projects rendered
" abortive. The King of *Spain*, impatient of
" the diſappointments he has met with, can no
" longer diſguiſe that enmity to us, which for
" ſome time he has only waited for a favourable
" opportunity to declare. He has now ordered
" his Miniſter reſiding here to depart immedi-
" ately from this Country, leaving a memorial,
" that is little ſhort of a declaration of war,
" wherein he again demands and inſiſts upon
" the reſtitution of *Gibraltar*. He does not
" himſelf deny the offenſive Alliance, nor his
" engagements to ſupport the *Oſtend* Company.
" He makes my recalling thoſe ſquadrons,
" which his conduct has put me under a neceſ-
" ſity of ſending to the *Weſt-Indies*, and the
" coaſt of *Spain*, the condition of any further
" correſpondence between the two Crowns; and,
" ſuppoſing the continuance of my fleets abroad
" to be actual hoſtilities, threatens to repel 172
" them with force, to the utmoſt of his power.

" But, not content with theſe menaces, in-
" ſults, and infractions of treaties, his Catho-
" lic Majeſty is now making preparations to at-
" tack and beſiege *Gibraltar*; and in order to
" carry on that ſervice, or to cover another de-
" ſign, has aſſembled a great body of troops
" in that neighbourhood. But as the preſent
" ſtate and condition of that garriſon, with the
" reinforcements I have ordered thither, give
" me little cauſe to apprehend, or my enemies
" to hope for ſucceſs in that undertaking, the
" certain and undoubted intelligence I have, that
" it is now reſolved to attempt an invaſion upon
" theſe Kingdoms in favour of the Pretender,
" by an imbarkation from the coaſts of *Spain*,
" gives me reaſon to believe, that, though the
" ſiege of *Gibraltar* may probably be under-
" taken, the public, avowed, and immenſe pre-
" parations made for that purpoſe are chiefly
" calculated to amuſe the world, and to diſ-
" guiſe the intended invaſion, which I am ſurely
" informed has been for ſome time agreed to
" be the firſt ſtep and beginning of the long
" premeditated rupture.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" Theſe conſiderations muſt awaken in you
" all ſuch a ſenſe of our common and imme-
" diate danger, as will, I doubt not, inſpire you
" with a zeal and chearfulneſs in raiſing the Sup-
" plies neceſſary for the defence of your Coun-
" try, and for making good our engagements
" with our Allies.

" I received too much ſatisfaction from the
" happineſs of my people in their full enjoy-
" ment and future proſpect of peace, eaſe, and
" proſperity, not to be ſenſibly affected with
" theſe new convulſions, and the unavoidable
" neceſſity I am under of aſking larger Supplies
" of my people, and of deſiring to be enabled
" to make ſuch an augmentation of my forces
" by ſea and land, as the preſent exigency of my
" affairs requires.

" I will order the proper eſtimates to be laid
" before you, and ſuch treaties as I have made
" with foreign Princes for the hire of foreign
" troops: And as the expence, I was laſt year in
" a particular manner intruſted to make, has
" amounted to no inconſiderable ſum, and the
" public utility may again require the like ſer-
" vices to be performed, I hope you will again
" repoſe the ſame truſt and confidence in me.

" It is with great pleaſure, that I ſee the time
" ſo near approaching, when ſuch a conſiderable
" addition will be made to the ſinking fund.
" Let all, that wiſh well to the peace and quiet
" of my Government, have the ſatisfaction to
" ſee, that our preſent neceſſities ſhall make no
" interruption in the progreſs of that deſirable
" work of gradually diſcharging the national
" debt. I hope therefore you will make a
" proviſion for the immediate application of
" the produce of the ſinking fund to the uſes,
" for which it was ſo wiſely contrived, and to
" which it ſtands now appropriated.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have had no thoughts of making any ac-
" quiſitions

" quiſitions to any parts of my Dominions. My " whole care and concern has been to preſerve " and maintain the undoubted rights and privi- " leges of my people; and therefore all my " meaſures have been preventive and defenſive. " But, ſuch endeavours being now rendered im- " practicable, vigorous reſolutions, and a ſpeedy " execution of them, can alone put an effectual " end to the dangers, that ſurround us. How- " ever hazardous and deſperate the enterprizes " formed againſt us may appear to be, your be- " ing aſſured, that they are reſolved upon, will, " I am perſuaded, be ſufficient to prevail upon " you, to put yourſelves in a condition to re- " ſiſt and defeat them.

" If preſerving a due balance of power in " *Europe*; if defending the poſſeſſions of the " Crown of *Great-Britain*, of infinite advantage " and ſecurity to our trade and commerce; if " ſupporting that trade and commerce againſt " dangerous and unlawful incroachments; and " if the preſent Eſtabliſhment, the Religion, " Liberties, and Properties of a Proteſtant peo- " ple, are any longer conſiderations worthy of " the care and attention of a *Britiſh* Parliament. " I need ſay no more to incite my loyal and " faithful Houſes of Parliament to exert them- " ſelves in the defence of all that is dear and va- " luable to them."

The zeal and indignation raiſed by this ſpeech was ſo great, that, in the addreſſes of thanks, words were wanted to expreſs the deep reſentment at the inſults offered the King, at the invaſions of the moſt valuable branches of trade, at the deſigns formed againſt the Nation, and to applaud the wiſe meaſures taken by the King, to prevent the deſtructive deſigns againſt the liberties of *Europe*. However, when the addreſs was moved for in the Houſe of Commons, it was oppoſed by Mr. *Pulteney* and others. They urged, 'That the matter of peace and war is of the greateſt weight that can fall under their conſideration: That, as his Majeſty's ſpeech contained many points of the higheſt moment and importance, ſo no doubt his Majeſty, in his great wiſdom and goodneſs towards his people, expected, on this occaſion, not only the ſupport, but likewiſe the advice of that Houſe: That, in order thereto, they ought maturely to deliberate on thoſe ſeveral heads, which could not be done, before ſeveral papers were communicated to them, that ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to ſtate ſome facts relating to thoſe weighty matters: That the motion, as it was drawn up, implied an approbation of meaſures taken to prevent dangers; which ſeemed prepoſterous, before they knew either what thoſe meaſures were, or whether thoſe dangers were real: That therefore they ought, for the preſent, to content themſelves with returning his Majeſty the moſt humble thanks of the Houſe, for his moſt gracious ſpeech, with aſſurances of ſupporting his Majeſty in all juſt and neceſſary meaſures; and appoint a day for taking the ſpeech into conſideration.' To this it was anſwered in general, 'That delays were often dangerous, and might be fatal in the preſent ſituation of affairs, which required vigorous and ſpeedy reſolutions, both for the encouragement of our Friends, and the perfecting ſome Alliances, that were already in great forwardneſs, and for the diſcouragement of our Enemies, who had already blocked up *Gibraltar*, and threatened it with a ſiege: That the meaſures, that had been taken, were but a conſequence of the laſt year's reſolution, which the Houſe had come to, after a full examination and mature conſideration of the ſtate of affairs, then laid before both Houſes by his Majeſty: But that, however, ſuch an addreſs, as was propoſed, did not preclude a further inquiry into thoſe matters.' As the promiſe of reſtoring *Gibraltar* was mentioned in ſome of the ſpeeches, Sir *Robert Walpole* ſaid, 'That, ſuch a promiſe not having been made, while he had the honour to be in the Adminiſtration, he could ſay nothing to it: That, if ſuch a promiſe was ever made, he durſt aver, that it was conditional, and made void and invalid by the King of *Spain*'s refuſing to comply with the conditions, on which it was made; and that, whenever the performance of that promiſe was mentioned to him, as inſiſted on by the King of *Spain*, he always delivered it as his fixed and poſitive opinion, *That* Gibraltar *could not be given up without the conſent of Parliament*.' After the debate, the addreſs was carried by 251 againſt 81. 1726-27.

Supplies.

The Commons, purſuant to the King's deſire in his ſpeech, applied themſelves to the affair of the Supplies. It was unanimouſly reſolved to grant 20,000 ſeamen, and to augment the land-forces to 26,383 men. To defray the expence of the fleet and army, Sir *Robert Walpole* propoſed a tax of four ſhillings in the pound on land. This was oppoſed by ſome Members, who alledged, That it was more eligible to apply the produce of the ſinking fund towards the preſent occaſions; but the land-tax was voted (1).

Debates on the King's Speech.

The warmeſt debate this Seſſion was in the Houſe of Lords, on the 24th of *January*, all the Peers in *London* having been ſummoned to attend. In a Grand Committee, of which the Lord *de la War* was Chairman, the Clerk was directed to read the titles of the papers that had been laid before the Houſe, conſiſting chiefly of letters and memorials between the Miniſters of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, and the act of acceſſion of the *States* to the *Hanover* treaty. This done, the debate was opened by the Lord *Bathurſt*, whoſe ſpeech, and the Lord *Townſhend*'s anſwer, were as follows: The Lord *Bathurſt* began

(1) The whole Supply of this laſt year of King *George* was as follows:

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Jan. 24. For 20,000 ſeamen	1,040,000	0	0
— 26. For 26,383 land-men	885,494	9	4
— For garriſons in the Plantations, *Minorca*, *Gibraltar*, &c.	157,637	6	5
— For ext. expences not provided for	30,750	19	5
Feb. 2. For the Office of Land-Ord.	100,000	0	0
— For the Ordinary of the Navy	199,071	7	8
— 14. For half-pay Officers	60,000	0	0
— For *Chelſea* Hoſpital out-penſioners	4,847	2	0
— For arrears to the Landg. of *Heſſe*	50,000	0	0
— For 12,000 *Heſſians*	170,000	0	0
— For deficiency of funds	160,306	17	5
March 21. For making good the deficiency of the general fund	54,196	7	9
	2,998,104	11	•

1726-27. gan with taking notice, 'With what caution and circumſpection the *States-General* had acted in this whole affair. That they had not fully and intirely acceded to the treaty of *Hanover*, ſince they had formally and expreſsly excuſed and diſcharged themſelves from the *general guarantee of the treaties of* Weſtphalia *and* Oliva, *in which*, they ſaid, *they were never engaged*. And, as to the buſineſs of *Thorn*, *they had only promiſed to employ their friendly offices for obtaining a reaſonable ſatisfaction*. So that they acceded only upon account of the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of *Munſter*, *for preſerving and maintaining their rights with reſpect to commerce*; whereas, by the treaty of *Hanover*, *Great-Britain* and *France* ſtood engaged to guarantee to the *Dutch*, not only the 5th and 6th articles of the peace of *Weſtphalia*, but likewiſe the barrier treaty, and the treaty of *Oliva*, in favour of the Proteſtants of *Germany*. And thus, in ſhort, the *Dutch* having engaged themſelves to nothing, what they had done, did not deſerve the name of *acceſſion*, the rather becauſe they had made it an expreſs condition, that their *act of acceſſion* ſhould be *approved and ratified* by the King of *Great-Britain*, the moſt Chriſtian King, and the King of *Pruſſia*. But, though this laſt Potentate was one of the principal contractors in the treaty of *Hanover*, yet, no mention being now made of him, he could not tell what to make of it. That it ſeems his Miniſter had refuſed ſigning the *act of acceſſion*, probably upon account of the *Dutch* excuſing themſelves from the general guaranty. But, let his reaſons for receding from his engagements be what they would, his example might be of dangerous conſequence; for by a letter from the Duke *de Bournonville*, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter at *Vienna*, it appeared, that they were not without hopes at the Imperial Court, that *France* might thereby think herſelf diſengaged from the *Hanover* Alliance; in which event *Great-Britain* alone muſt bear the burden of an expenſive war with two of the greateſt Potentates in *Europe*. That, the *Dutch* receiving far greater advantages than *Great-Britain*, from the *Eaſt-India* trade, and conſequently being more concerned than we in the ſuppreſſion of the *Oſtend* Company, they ought, at leaſt, to bear an equal ſhare with us in the expences of this war, and guarantee to us the poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*, in the ſame manner, as *Great-Britain* guarantees to them their barrier. That, after all, he did not ſee any juſt reaſon for a rupture with *Spain*. That indeed the Duke *de Ripperda* might have dropped ſome indecent and indiſcreet expreſſions; but he was known to be a hot-headed man; and Princes have a right to diſavow the indiſcretions of their Miniſters, which the King of *Spain* had done in a moſt ſolemn manner, with relation to *Ripperda*. That it was well known, that violent Miniſters do many unaccountable things. And, if their idle talk and fooliſh expreſſions were a juſt foundation for war, Nations would ever be at daggers drawing. That, for ſome time paſt, the Emperor had been treated here very cavalierly by ſome perſons; and that, in the memorial the Marquiſs *de Pozzobueno* left behind him, at his departure, it was ſuggeſted, *That the violent ſtate, to which affairs are now reduced, is owing to the Miniſters of* England. That, in the ſame memorial, mention is made of a *poſitive promiſe* made by the King of *Great-Britain* for the reſtitution of *Gibraltar*; which could not be ſuppoſed to be ſaid without any foundation; and therefore it would be highly neceſſary to inquire, whether, in reality, ſuch a promiſe was ever made; and whether any thing like it was mentioned in the treaty concluded at *Madrid*? That, let that matter ſtand how it would, all poſſible methods of an amicable accommodation ought, in his opinion, to be tried before they engaged in a war, which, in our preſent circumſtances, might be attended with very dangerous conſequences. That the Nation is loaded with a debt of above fifty millions. But, though they are told of a ſinking fund applied to the gradual diſcharge of that heavy burden, yet it was more to be wiſhed than expected, that the operation of that wiſe contrivance ſhould ſuffer no interruption by the exigences inſeparable from a war. That one of our beſt Mathematicians has foretold, that, if ever *England* raiſes above five millions in a year, it will infallibly be exhauſted and ruined in a few years. Now if, at this juncture, we ſhould enter upon a war, and not meddle with the ſinking fund, according to the ſcheme of thoſe in the Adminiſtration, they muſt be obliged to raiſe, at leaſt, ſeven millions a year upon the people of *England*; the conſequence of which was obvious and glaring to any one, who admitted the principle of that great Mathematician. That, in ſome of the papers laid before the Houſe, mention was made of great ſums of money diſtributed in divers places, to bring ſome meaſures to bear. That, for his own part, he had touched neither *Spaniſh* nor *Engliſh* gold. He was neither a *Spaniard*, nor a *Frenchman*, but a true *Engliſhman*, and, as long as he had the honour to ſit in that Houſe, he would ſpeak and act for the good of his Country. That therefore he would ſum up all he had ſaid, with earneſtly deſiring their Lordſhips ſeriouſly to conſider the matter before them, which was of the laſt conſequence and importance to the whole Nation. What (ſaid he) can we get by a war, if it be a ſucceſsful one? I will ſay it in one word, *nothing*. What can we loſe, if it be unproſperous? I will ſay it in one word, in a ſyllable, *all*."

This ſpeech was anſwered by the Lord *Townſhend*, who ſaid, 'That the treaty of *Hanover*, being purely defenſive, had made no alteration in the treaties ſubſiſting before, either between the contracting Powers, or other Princes and *States*. That the true aim and intention of this Alliance was a reciprocal guaranty for the protecting and maintaining the Dominions and Countries, both in and out of *Europe*, whereof each of the Allies was actually poſſeſſed at the time of the ſigning this Alliance. So that, by acceding thereto, the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *France* became guarantees of the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of *Munſter*, by which the *Dutch* are intitled to excluſive rights and privileges of trade in the *Eaſt-Indies*. But that this guaranty was reciprocal between *Great-Britain* and the *States-General*, ſince, by the treaty of 1667, *Spain* had granted to *England* the ſame rights and privileges, which the *Dutch* enjoyed by the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of *Weſtphalia*. That therefore the ſuppreſſing of the *Oſtend* Company, which manifeſtly invaded thoſe excluſive rights and privileges, was become a common cauſe between us and the *Dutch*. That our concern therein is almoſt equal to theirs; ſince our *Eaſt-India* trade brings about 300,000*l*. a year

-27. a year into the Cuſtoms; which being part of the general mortgage, if ſo conſiderable a branch of trade ſhould be loſt, that yearly ſum would be taken from the ſinking fund. That by former treaties *Great-Britain* was guarantee to the *Dutch* for their barrier in the *Netherlands*, as reciprocally, by the ſame treaties, they were guarantees to *Great-Britain* for the Proteſtant Succeſſion. So that, in thoſe reſpects, we ſtood no more engaged to them, than they to us. That, indeed, by their act of acceſſion to the *Hanover* Alliance, the *States-General* exempt themſelves from the general guaranty of the treaties of *Weſtphalia*, and *Oliva*, to which they never ſtood engaged; but, nevertheleſs, by the ſame act, *they engage themſelves to employ, jointly with* Great-Britain, *and* France, *their friendly offices for obtaining a reaſonable ſatisfaction and reparation, as to the infractions, which might have been made in the treaty of* Oliva; which is as much as the contracting powers have engaged themſelves to by the firſt ſecret article of the treaty of *Hanover*, and is indeed as little, as the Proteſtant Potentates could do, in commiſeration of the ſeverities lately exerciſed againſt the Proteſtants of *Thorn*. That, as to the idle talk and indecent expreſſions of Duke *de Ripperda*, they were not alledged as a juſt foundation for a rupture with *Spain*, but only as pregnant and corroborating indications of an offenſive Alliance between that Prince and the Emperor, of which there were ſuch convincing proofs, as left no room to doubt it. That, as to the ſecret article of that Alliance in favour of the Pretender, his Majeſty had received from ſeveral parts ſuch poſitive and concurring informations, that, if the ſafety of the State permitted to lay thoſe advices before the Houſe, they would no more queſtion the certainty of ſuch an article, than if they had been preſent at the ſigning of it. But he hoped that illuſtrious Aſſembly would not think any of his Majeſty's ſervants, who had the honour to ſit amongſt them, ſo audacious, as to tell them downwright untruths, or to preſume to impoſe upon their Lordſhips, by alledging facts of ſo great importance, without ſufficient vouchers. That, as to the other articles of the ſecret offenſive alliance, relating to the ſupporting of the *Oſtend* Company, and the reſtitution of *Gibraltar*, the King of *Spain* and his Miniſters were ſo far from denying them, that, on the contrary, they did not ſcruple publicly to avow and juſtify them. That therefore his Majeſty could not, in prudence, but take early and proper meaſures to oppoſe an Alliance, ſo directly levelled againſt his Crown and Dignity, and invaſive of moſt valuable rights and privileges acquired to his ſubjects by the moſt ſolemn treaties. That, at the ſame time, notwithſtanding theſe high provocations, his Majeſty ſhewed his inclination and diſpoſition to an amicable accommodation; and, with this view, it was intimated to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, that, if the Emperor would remove the *Oſtend* Company to *Trieſte*, or any other place in his Dominions, which did not heretofore belong to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, *Great-Britain* would quietly acquieſce. But inſtead of accepting this propoſal, thoſe two Courts not only ſeemed reſolved to ſupport the *Oſtend* trade, but *Spain*, in the memorial lately preſented by the Marquiſs *de Pozzobueno*, inſiſted on the ſpeedy reſtitution of *Gibraltar*, by virtue of a pretended poſitive promiſe, that exiſts no where; which put his Majeſty and the whole Nation under the neceſſity of a vigorous ſelf-defence.'

1726-27.

After theſe and ſeveral other ſpeeches, particularly by the Lord *Bingley*, who was anſwered by the Lord *Carteret*, it was reſolved (by 98 againſt 25) 'That it fully appears to this Committee, upon conſideration of his Majeſty's ſpeech, and the letters and memorials laid before the Houſe, by his Majeſty's order, That the meaſures, his Majeſty has thought fit to take, were honourable, juſt, and neceſſary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements, entered into in favour of the Pretender; for preſerving the Dominions belonging to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, by ſolemn treaties, and, particularly, thoſe of *Gibraltar*, and the Iſland of *Minorca*; and for maintaining to his people their moſt valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of *Europe*.'

Againſt this reſolution, a proteſt was entered by ſeventeen Lords; and the Lord *Lechmere* moved for an addreſs to the King, 'to make new and preſſing inſtances with his *Pruſſian* Majeſty, and his other Allies, in ſuch manner as the preſent critical and dangerous juncture requires.' But this motion was rejected, which occaſioned another proteſt.

Proceedings of the Commons.

Mean time the Commons addreſſed the King for the acceſſion of the *States* to the treaty of *Hanover*, and for copies of the memorials, letters, anſwers between the *Britiſh* Miniſters and the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*. Some puſhed matters farther, and moved for a copy of the memorial preſented by Mr. *Pointz* to the King of *Sweden*, the 4th of *June* 1726, and alſo for the ſecret offenſive article between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, but both theſe motions were rejected. As the Court of *Spain* had perſiſted in the reſtitution of *Gibraltar*, purſuant to a promiſe made to that purpoſe, it was moved for an addreſs for the declaration, letters, or engagements, which, in the Marquiſs *de Pozzoboeno*'s letter to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, of the 21ſt of *December* laſt, is aſſerted to be a *poſitive promiſe* (1). This motion was ſupported

(1) The paragraph in the letter relating to *Gibraltar* was as follows:

'But as to what was then declared to Mr. *Stanhope* by word of mouth, and in writing, that the good correſpondence and friendſhip with *England* depended abſolutely on the ſpeedy reſtitution of *Gibraltar*; I cannot avoid confirming it anew to your Excellency, by order from the King my Maſter, as a declaration moſt juſtly founded, inſiſting on that reſtitution, after the King of *Great-Britain*, had on this point given, as he did give, a poſitive promiſe; beſides that, on the other hand, the Ceſſion, which his Majeſty made precedently of that place, is become null, becauſe of the infractions made in the conditions on which it was permitted that the *Engliſh* garriſon ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*; ſeeing that, contrary to all the proteſtations made, they have not only extended their fortifications, by exceeding the limits preſcribed and ſtipulated, but what is more, contrary to the expreſs and literal tenor of the treaties, they receive and admit the *Jews* and *Moors*, in the ſame manner as the *Spaniards*, and other Nations confounded and mixed, contrary to our Holy Religion;

1726-27. ported by Mr. *Pulteney*, and oppoſed by Sir *Robert Walpole*, who did not diſown, 'That ſuch a promiſe might indeed have been made in a former Adminiſtration: But this he was ſure of, that, if there was ſuch a promiſe, it was upon certain conditions, which not having been performed within the limited time, it was thereby become invalid: And as for the declaration, or letter, the communication of which was inſiſted on, the ſame was altogether impracticable and unprecedented, the private letters of Princes being almoſt as ſacred as their very perſons.' After a debate, this motion was alſo rejected by a majority of 204 againſt 97. After this, the Lord *Morpeth* moved 'for an addreſs for copies of all ſuch memorials or repreſentations to his Majeſty from the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as did induce him to ſend the ſquadron the laſt year into the *Baltic*.' This motion was oppoſed by Mr. *Horace Walpole*, who, in a long ſpeech, juſtified all the ſteps that had been taken by *Great-Britain*, ſince his Majeſty's Acceſſion (particularly from the opening of the Congreſs at *Cambray*) to preſerve the balance of power, the peace of *Europe*, and the tranquillity of the *North*; and with this laſt view to prevent the *Czarina*'s deſigns againſt *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in favour of the Duke of *Holſtein*. Mr. *William Pulteney* anſwered this ſpeech; but, the queſtion being put upon the Lord *Morpeth*'s motion, it paſſed in the negative by a majority of 196 voices againſt 79.

In the account how the money given for the ſervice of the laſt year was diſpoſed of, there was an article of the ſum of 125,000 *l.* charged in general terms, as iſſued out for other engagements and expences, over and above ſuch as were therein ſpecified. Upon this it was reſolved to addreſs the King for an account of the diſpoſition of that money; in anſwer to which the Houſe was told, 'That the ſum mentioned in the addreſs was iſſued and diſburſed, purſuant to the power given to his Majeſty by Parliament, for neceſſary ſervices and engagements, of the utmoſt importance to the trade and navigation of this Kingdom, and the tranquillity of *Europe*; and which require the greateſt ſecrecy; and therefore a particular account of the diſtribution of it cannot poſſibly be given, without a manifeſt prejudice to the Public.'

Mr. *Pulteney*, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, 1726 ſaid, 'That, when the Commons, in the laſt Seſſion, reſolved to make good all ſuch expences, as ſhould be for the ſecurity of trade and navigation, and for the preſervation of the peace of *Europe*, they did not diveſt themſelves of their undoubted right of being acquainted with the diſpoſition of public money: That, if they gave up ſo eſſential a right, that Houſe would become altogether uſeleſs, or ſerve only blindly to approve of and regiſter the acts and deeds of the Miniſters: That he did not, in the leaſt, doubt the diſburſement of the 125,000 *l.* for neceſſary ſervices: But that, if they were ſatisfied with ſuch a general account, the ſame might, in future Reigns, prove a very dangerous precedent, and ſerve to cover embezzlements of the public treaſure.' Then he moved for a further addreſs for an account of that ſum. But the queſtion was carried againſt addreſſing, by 235 againſt 110; and, inſtead of it, it was reſolved without a diviſion, 'That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return his Majeſty the thanks of this Houſe, for his great care and wiſdom, in taking ſuch ſteps, and entering into ſuch engagements, as his Majeſty thought would beſt conduce to the ſecuring of the trade and navigation of this Kingdom, and to the preſervation of the peace of *Europe*; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that this Houſe, placing an intire confidence in his Majeſty's goodneſs and regard for the true intereſt of his people, will ſtand by and ſupport his Majeſty in all ſuch further meaſures, as his Majeſty ſhall find neceſſary and expedient for preventing a rupture, for the honour and advantage of theſe Kingdoms.'

The King's ſpeech was examined in other places Pa as well as in the Parliament. The Court of ma *Vienna* took great offence, and paſſed ſevere cenſures upon it. The Imperial Reſident at *London* was ordered to preſent a bold memorial to the King, and afterwards to publiſh it to the whole Nation, as an appeal to the People againſt their Sovereign. With it was publiſhed Count *Zinzendorff*'s letter to *Palms*, which was ſtill more injurious than the memorial (1).

The King had the ſatisfaction to ſee this me- cen morial highly reſented by the Parliament. Both Par Houſes joined in an addreſs, expreſſing their in- mo dignation

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Religion; not to mention the frauds and continual contrabands which are carried on there, to the prejudice of his Majeſty's revenues.'

(1) The memorial was as follows:

Moſt Serene and Potent King,

'As ſoon as the ſpeech, made by your Majeſty to the Parliament of *Great-Britain* now aſſembled, came to the knowledge of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, my moſt gracious Maſter; he was ſtruck with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, that your Majeſty could ſuffer yourſelf to be prevailed upon to declare from the Royal Throne, to that moſt renowned Nation, in a manner hitherto unheard of, as certain and undoubted facts, ſeveral things, ſome of which are ſtrained in that ſpeech to a wrong ſenſe, ſome are intirely diſtant from the intentions of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty; and laſtly (which affect much more ſenſibly than all the reſt) ſome things abſolutely void of all foundation.

For as to what regards the peace, concluded at *Vienna*, with the moſt ſerene King of *Spain*, who can forbear being aſtoniſhed, that this very peace, which is built on the Quadruple Alliance, ſigned at *London*, and other treaties contracted with your Majeſty, as its ſolid and ſole foundation; and, for the obtaining of which peace, your Majeſty, together with your Allies, waged ſo bloody, ſo long, and ſo glorious a war, and took yourſelf ſo much pains to procure, ſhould now be alledged by your Majeſty as a juſt ground of complaint, and ſhould be made uſe of as a pretence for theſe things, which hitherto your Miniſters have been doing in all parts, to the great detriment of the Emperor and the Empire, and the public tranquillity, and ſhould be repreſented by your Majeſty to the *Britiſh* Nation, with ſo much animoſity againſt the Emperor and King of *Spain*, as a violation of treaties.

After complaining of the peace made at *Vienna*, complaint is likewiſe made of the treaty of commerce entered into with *Spain*, which is calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the ſubjects of both parties, which is agreeable to the law of Nations, and to the cuſtoms of all people in amity with each other; which can in no reſpect be of any prejudice to the *Bri-*
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dignation at the affront offered to his Majeſty, by the memorial of Mr. *Palms*, and at his inſolence in diſperſing the ſame throughout the Kingdom: Aſſuring, that this audacious manner of appealing to the people, and turning a memorial into a ſeditious libel, was a proceeding that created in them the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation.

'The endeavouring (ſays the Addreſs) to inſtil into the minds of any of your faithful ſubjects the leaſt diſtruſt or diffidence in your Majeſty's moſt ſacred Royal word, or to make a diſtinction betwen your Majeſty and your People, is an attempt as vain as preſumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits, and important ſuccours (confeſſed to have been received from *Great-Britain*) gratitude, affection and eſteem for this Nation, will be beſt manifeſted, by doing honour to the King, whom the People honour, and juſtice to the People, whoſe rights and privileges the beſt of Kings is now defending, againſt the invaſions and incroachments made upon them.' Beſides this addreſs, the Lord *Townſhend* ſent a letter in the King's name to the Emperor's Reſident, ordering him forthwith to depart the Kingdom.

About the ſame time Monſieur *de Chavigny*, the *French* Miniſter at the General Diet of *Ratisbon*, preſented a declaration to the Diet, affirming that the preparations, which were making in *France*, were only for the preſervation of peace: That the guarantee of the treaty of *Munſter*, in favour of the *States*, did not any way concern the *Germanic* body: That, far from deſigning to invade the territories of *Germany*, the King of *France* on the contrary would exert himſelf to preſerve their rights and privileges: That the report, as if his Ambaſſador at the Port had ſollicited the *Turks* to come to reſolutions againſt the peace of the Empire, was a calumny: That he would faithfully obſerve the treaty of *Weſtphalia*: And hoped for a ſuitable return by the like ſentiments and diſpoſitions.

The Imperial Commiſſioners at the Diet were highly offended at this declaration, which was not regiſtered according to cuſtom, and they publiſhed a few days after an Imperial decree, full of invectives againſt the ſteps taken by the Courts of *Great-Britain* and *France*, particularly againſt his *Britannic* Majeſty's ſpeech to his Parliament. Mr. *Le Heup*, the *Britiſh* Miniſter at *Ratiſbon*, delivered the next day to the Diet a declaration of the ſame import with *Chavigny*'s, which raiſed a great ferment among the Imperialiſts, who loudly complained, 'That this ſecond declaration was manifeſtly intended as a perſonal inſult to his Imperial Majeſty, ſince it was preſented in open defiance of his decree againſt the firſt.' But to this it was anſwered, in behalf of the *Britiſh* Miniſter, 'That he was not to take any public notice of his Imperial Majeſty's decree; and that ſuch decrees, in what form or ſtile ſoever, cannot divert or interrupt foreign Miniſters in the exerciſe of their functions, directed to the States of the Empire, and not to the Emperor; nor in the execution of the orders they may, at any time, receive from their reſpective Maſters.' The Imperial Miniſters at *Ratiſbon* made alſo a terrible outcry againſt an expreſſion in the *Engliſh* and *French* Envoys memorials, wherein they call the charge againſt the Kings their Maſters, as if they had endeavoured to excite the *Ottoman* Port againſt the Emperor, by no ſofter a name than that of Calumny; which was ſo warmly reſented, that the Imperialiſts gave out, There could be no reconciliation between the Emperor and the King of *Great-Britain*, till ſatisfaction was made for that affront. 1726-27.

Sweden accedes to the treaty of Hanover.

The King at this time had the ſatisfaction of hearing the King of *Sweden*'s Acceſſion to the treaty of *Hanover*. This Acceſſion was ſigned the 14th of *March*, at *Stockholm*. The King of *Sweden* was to furniſh, when the caſe of the Alliance ſhould happen, three thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe: His guarantee was not to reach beyond the limits of *Europe*: The ſtipulated troops were not to be employed in *Italy* or *Spain*: His engagement was only with *Great-Britain* and *France*. The main point was the ſecret article, by virtue of which the two Kings to ſhew their friendſhip to his *Swediſh* Majeſty, were

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tiſh Nation, whether we regard the ſituation of the Countries, or the particular nature of the trade, and which is not in the leaſt repugnant to the treaties made with *Great-Britain*. So that, if this treaty be conſidered with a mind free from prejudice, and from all deſign of inflaming the Nation, there will remain no pretence to ſay, that this treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a Nation for which his Imperial Majeſty has the greateſt affection and eſteem, and whoſe glorious exploits and important ſuccours no time will efface out of his memory.

The other head of complaint, which contains ſuch things as are void of all foundation, relates principally to that imaginary Alliance, which in the ſpeech is called offenſive, and is there ſuppoſed to have been made againſt your Majeſty, between the Emperor and King of *Spain*. But it will not only appear how groundleſs and frivolous this ſuppoſition is, from the offer lately made by his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, of entering into a Convention, *De ſe mutuo non Offendendo*, but will be entirely refuted by the conſideration of the tenor of the treaty of Alliance and Friendſhip itſelf made with the Crown of *Spain*, and communicated in its whole extent to your Majeſty when it was proper; from the words of which, whether the leaſt ſhadow or appearance of an offenſive Alliance can be drawn, is ſubmitted to the judgment of the whole world.

Another part of the complaint relates to the ſecret articles made in favour of the Pretender, whereof your Majeſty aſſerts that you have certain and undoubted informations, by which articles it ſhould have been agreed to ſet the Pretender on the Throne of *Great-Britain*. With what view, on what motive, and to what purpoſe, theſe informations, founded on the falſeſt reports, were repreſented to the people of *Great-Britain*, is not only eaſy to be underſtood by his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty, but is obvious to the meaneſt capacity. But ſince the inviolable dignity and honour of ſuch great Princes cannot ſuffer, that aſſertions of this nature, intirely unſupported by truth, ſhould be advanced from the Royal Throne to the whole Nation, and to all Mankind; his ſacred Imperial and Catholic Majeſty has expreſsly commanded me, that I ſhould declare to your Majeſty, and to the whole Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, how highly he thinks himſelf affronted thereby, ſolemnly affirming, upon his Imperial word, that there exiſts no ſecret article nor convention whatſoever, which contains, or can tend to prove the leaſt tittle of what has been alledged.

But that the ſecret deſigns, which lie concealed under a conduct till this time unheard of, may more manifeſtly appear, it muſt be obſerved, that the time is purpoſely taken for doing this, when a Negotiation is on foot at *Paris*, for compoſing the differences which

1726-27. were to pay at *Hamburgh*, *Amſterdam*, or *London*, as *Sweden* ſhould direct, the ſum of 50,900 *l.* ſterling for three years, or the value thereof, according to the *Exchange*, in half-yearly payments. In return for this mark of their friendſhip, the King of *Sweden* was to hold in readineſs another body of 7,000 foot, and 3,000 horſe, to be employed where the caſes of the Alliance ſhould render it neceſſary. Provided however, that, when their *Britannic* and moſt Chriſtian Majeſties ſhould require the ſervice of theſe 10,000 men, they ſhould be in their pay, and liable to be recalled when *Sweden* ſhould be in any real or imminent danger.

Treaty with Denmark.

The King of *Denmark* did not accede in form to the treaty of *Hanover*, but ſigned an Alliance the 16th of *April*. The King of *Denmark* promiſed to keep on foot 24,000 men, ready to march upon the firſt advice of the motion of the *Muſcovites*, or of any other troops that ſhould come to attack *Sleſwick*, and diſturb the peace of *Lower Saxony*: The *French* King promiſed to pay to his *Daniſh* Majeſty 350,000 Rix-dollars for four years, payable quarterly at *Hamburgh*. As ſoon as the *Daniſh* army ſhould march, the King of *France* was to take 12,000 men into his pay: His *Britannic* Majeſty was to hold in readineſs 12,000 men to join the 24,000 *Danes*, when they began to march, and to ſend a ſquadron of ſhips to cover the *Daniſh* coaſts upon the firſt advice of the motions of the *Muſcovite* fleet. The *French* King was to hold in readineſs at leaſt 30,000 men to march or make diverſions where it ſhould be needful, and his *Britannic* Majeſty engaged to have likewiſe in readineſs another body of at leaſt 12,000 men for the ſame purpoſes. If the King of *Pruſſia* ſhould be attacked for refuſing paſſage to the *Muſcovites*, the contracting Kings were to join their armies in his defence. By the ſecret articles, the King of *Denmark* was not to diſpoſe of any troops contrary to the intereſt of the two Kings. If the *French* King ſhould deſire to employ the 12,000 men in his pay, for affairs not relating to *Denmark*, but only to his own ſervice, or that of the treaty of *Hanover*, in ſuch caſes they ſhould be allowed for the ſervice of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. As the *Muſcovites*, in order to trouble the peace of the Empire, muſt penetrate through *Poland*, his *Poliſh* Majeſty was to be acquainted with the meaſures taken to hinder their coming into the Empire, and invited to ſtop the paſſes the *Muſcovites* would take in his territories.

Convention with Heſſe Caſſel.

A Convention had likewiſe been made the laſt year with the Prince of *Heſſe*, by which he was to hold in readineſs, for the ſervice of *Great-Britain*, eight thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. He was to maintain theſe troops at his own charge for two years. As the *Landgrave* had not ſo many troops on foot, and was to be at a great expence in levying what was wanted, as well as in remounting the cavalry, the King promiſed to pay him 75,000 *l.* ſterling after the ratification of the Convention, and 50,000 *l.* in the *February* following, or before, in caſe the troops ſhould be required. For the ſubſidies, pay, and ſubſiſtance of theſe forces, when they ſhould ſerve, they were to be ſettled according to the treaty made at *London* in 1725. *France* came not into this treaty, ſo the whole expence fell upon *England*.

As theſe treaties were very expenſive, an opportunity was taken, when the Commons were debating, on the malt-bill, to have it moved by Mr. *Scroope*, Secretary of the Treaſury, 'That a clauſe of appropriation ſhould be received, impowering the King to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences and engagements as had been, or ſhould be made before the 25th of *December* next, in concerting ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the ſecurity of trade and navigation, and reſtoring the peace of *Europe*.' Upon this aroſe a very long and warm debate. It was ſaid, in ſupport of the motion, 'That his Majeſty was ſo unwilling to put his ſubjects to any extraordinary expences, that he had demanded no more Supplies this Seſſion, than what he thought abſolutely neceſſary for the ſervice of the year: But, in the preſent poſture of affairs, ſome unforeſeen accidents might require a further expence, for which no eſtimate could now be made, becauſe ſome treaties, his Majeſty thought fit to enter into, were not yet finiſhed. Therefore they ought to enable him to anſwer ſuch contingencies. That the Houſe had ſeveral times repoſed the ſame confidence in him, which he had never abuſed: And what was now aſked was only for a ſhort time.' On the other hand it was urged, 'That the asking and granting Supplies without an eſtimate was unparliamentary: That the clauſe moved for was inconſiſtent with that part of the bill, which forbids the iſſuing of the Supplies thereby granted to any other purpoſes than thoſe ſpecified, and rendered ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wiſdom of all Parliaments had thought a neceſſary ſecurity againſt the miſapplication of it: Which was the more to be feared, becauſe no proviſion was made to oblige any perſon

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have ariſen without any fault of his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty; which Negotiation ſufficiently ſhews how much his Imperial and Catholic Majeſty is at all times inclined to peace, and to the religious obſervation of his treaties.

As to what is ſaid of *Gibraltar*, and concerning the ſiege thereof, under which in the ſpeech it is inſinuated, as if ſome other deſign was concealed; the hoſtilities notoriouſly committed in the *Indies*, and elſewhere, againſt the King of *Spain*, in violation of treaties, ſeem to have given a very juſt occaſion to the King of *Spain*, for attempting that ſiege. But, as to the intentions and engagements of the Emperor upon that article, it is eaſy to ſee what they are, by the treaty abovementioned, which has been communicated.

As to what is ſaid in the laſt place, concerning the *Oſtend* trade, which the goodneſs of the Catholic King induced him to favour (being bound by no treaty) after he had been apprized of the juſt reaſons for the eſtabliſhment of it, various expedients for a compoſition have been propoſed, not only at the *Hague*, but even lately at *Paris*, leſt this harmleſs method of providing for the ſecurity of the barrier ſhould prove an obſtacle to the common friendſhip of neighbouring powers.

Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his ſacred Imperial and Catholic Majeſty require, that they ſhould be expoſed to your Majeſty, to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, and to the whole World. And his ſacred Imperial Majeſty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done him by theſe many imputations.'

In the Collection of Jacob Tonson Esq^r.

J. Houbraken sculps. Amst. 1748.

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perſon to account for any money, that ſhall be diſpoſed of, by virtue of the power in this clauſe. That vaſt ſums had already been granted, which appeared ſufficient to anſwer any occaſions, as far as their preſent views could reach; and, if any unexpected emergency ſhould demand a further Supply, that might be provided for in the uſual manner, when neceſſity required. That this might be done with leſs inconvenience, and with leſs danger of miſapplication, than by ſuch a delegation of almoſt a dictatorial authority to the Miniſters. That this Parliament had already given ſo many inſtances of their zeal and affection for his Majeſty, that there could be no room to doubt of their readineſs to make good whatever he ſhould expend in concerting ſuch meaſures, as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the advantage and intereſt of his people. That ſuch an unlimited and abſolute power ought never to be given in a free Government, but upon occaſions of evident neceſſity, when the very being of the Government is in imminent danger. That the repoſing a confidence in the Crown in the diſpoſition of ſuch immenſe ſums of money, as by the advice of unthrifty Miniſters may be expended, might be attended with great prejudice to the properties of the Subjects, and great danger to our moſt excellent Conſtitution, which cannot be preſerved but by a ſtrict adherence to thoſe eſſential Parliamentary forms of granting Supplies only upon eſtimates, and of appropriating the ſame to ſervices and occaſions publicly avowed and judged neceſſary. That the departing from theſe excellent methods would by degrees render Parliaments altogether uſeleſs. That the precedents alledged to juſtify this clauſe were far from being full to the point, and ſatisfactory; and, if they were, ought not to be followed, leſt clauſes of the ſame nature might become ſo frequent, as in time to lodge in the Crown, and in the Miniſters, an abſolute and uncontroulable power of raiſing money upon the people, which by our wiſe Conſtitution is, and with ſafety can only be, lodged in the whole Legiſlature.' The debate being ended, Mr. *Scroope*'s motion was carried by a majority of 225 againſt 109; and the clauſe was added to the malt-bill; which, being ſent up to the Lords, occaſioned the like debate there as in the Houſe of Commons, but was at laſt carried by a majority of 76 againſt 20 (1). 1727.

Motion for raiſing part of the Supply in the coal-tax.

Two days after it was moved by Sir *William Yonge*, 'That, towards the Supply granted to the King, the ſum of 370,000 *l.* ſhould be raiſed by loans on *Exchequer* bills, to be charged on the ſurplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reſerved for the diſpoſition of the Parliament.' This motion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, and particularly by Mr. *Pulteney* and Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*. They objected, 'That, by ſeveral votes and acts of Parliament, all the exceedings or ſurpluſes of public funds were to be applied towards the leſſening of the public debts, or to the increaſe of the ſinking fund. That this diſpoſition could not be altered without wounding public credit, which was already extreme low, ſince the taking off any part of the mortgage could not but leſſen the ſecurity of the debt. That it was ſomewhat ſtrange, ſuch a motion ſhould be made by thoſe very perſons, who had the honour of being in the Adminiſtration, who could not have forgot, what his Majeſty had ſo ſtrongly recommended from the Throne, at the opening of this Seſſion, *That the produce of the ſinking fund might be immediately applied to the uſes, for which it was ſo wiſely contrived, and to which it now ſtands appropriated.* And that this motion was ſtill the more ſurpriſing, after the large vote of credit, the Houſe had ſo lately come to.' To all this it was anſwered, That the ſurpluſes in coals could not be deemed a part of the ſinking fund, ſince they had never been appropriated, but were reſerved for the diſpoſition of Parliament. Upon which the motion was carried by a majority of 209 againſt 82 (2).

On

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(1) It may here be obſerved, that theſe *clauſes of appropriation* have been by ſome late Writers confounded with votes of credit, which are of a very different nature. *Votes of credit* were frequent in King *William*'s firſt war, and when, at the beginning of a Seſſion, money was wanting, for providing for the ſervices of the next year, before the Supplies were granted, or any money-bills could paſs, the Commons came to *votes* that gave the Crown a power to borrow money to a certain ſum, and at a certain rate, to be repaid out of the firſt Supplies to be granted that Seſſion: Theſe were properly *votes of credit*, upon which money was advanced before the Supplies were granted or raiſed by act of Parliament.

But a clauſe of appropriation is not a power given to borrow or raiſe money by a *vote* of the Houſe of Commons, but a power given, by authority of the Legiſlature, and by act of Parliament, to apply or diſpoſe of ſome part of the Supplies (raiſed by law) to particular uſes or ſervices, not ſpecified in the eſtimates or reſolutions of Supplies, at the diſcretion of the Crown, upon future emergencies, or ſuch ſervices, as, by the nature of them, cannot properly, or without danger of rendering them ineffectual, be explained or laid before a Houſe of Commons.

There are many inſtances of this method of granting money; particularly in the year 1706, a latitude is given in the clauſe of appropriation of the Supplies of that year, 'to pay ſums due upon treaties made or to be made, and other charges of the war, for any time before or till the 25th of *December* 1706, which method was continued ſeveral years ſucceſſively.'

This is a method, no doubt, that ought not to be wantonly or frequently practiſed. The grounds and foundation, upon which ſuch a confidence ſhould be allowed, ought to ariſe from a ſuppoſition, that ſervices may occur that are unforeſeen, and therefore could not be provided for; that opportunities may offer which may be unexpected and ſudden, but very eſſential and deciſive; that there are ſervices, which, by the nature of them, muſt be kept ſecret, becauſe, by being divulged, they would be diſappointed; and that there are ſervices which equally require the greateſt ſecrecy, from the circumſtances and ſituation of the perſons with whom you tranſact, and this ſecrecy muſt equally extend to future times, as well as preceding times. There are, for inſtance, Princes, whoſe ſituation will not permit them to enter at once into offenſive engagements, till a ſafe opportunity ſhall preſent, who will, in the mean time, be induced to accept private ſubſidies and ſupplies, to put themſelves in a condition to declare, when called upon.

(2) As the affair of the coal-tax has been miſunderſtood and miſrepreſented, it may not be improper to put it in a clear light. In order to this it muſt be obſerved, that the *ſinking fund* conſiſts of the ſurpluſes of the *aggregate fund*, the *South-Sea fund*, and the *general fund*, and of theſe only *. In the act of 1 *Geo.* I. which eſtabliſhes the *aggregate fund*, it is enacted, 'That all other public monies which after *Michaelmas*, 1715, ſhall

* See p. 535, 536.

1727. On the 15th of *May*, the King put an end to the Seſſion, with this his laſt ſpeech to both Houſes:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Acquainted you, at the opening of this " Seſſion, with the dangers which threaten- " ed this Kingdom, and the peace and liberties " of *Europe*. I am now to return you my " thanks for the zeal and diſpatch, with which " you have proceeded upon the ſeveral points " I then recommended to your care; for the " confidence you have repoſed in me; and for " the aſſurances you have given me of your " ſupport and aſſiſtance, in vindication of my " honour, and in the maintenance and defence " of the undoubted rights and privileges of " this Nation, ſo openly and notoriouſly in- " vaded and attacked.

" The ſiege of *Gibraltar* proves, beyond all " diſpute, the end and deſign of the engage- " ments entered into by the Emperor and the " King of *Spain*; but the preparations I had " made for the defence of that place, and the " bravery of my troops, will, I doubt not, " convince them of the raſhneſs and folly of " that undertaking. However, the love of " peace has hitherto prevailed upon me, even " under this high provocation, to ſuſpend, in " ſome meaſure, my reſentments; and, inſtead " of having immediate recourſe to arms, and " demanding of my Allies that aſſiſtance, which " they are engaged and ready to give me, I " have concurred with the moſt Chriſtian King " and the *States-General*, in making ſuch over- " tures of accommodation, as muſt convince all " the world of the uprightneſs of our intenti- " ons, and of our ſincere diſpoſition to peace, " and demonſtrate to whoſe ambition and thirſt " of power the calamities of a war are to be 17 " imputed, if theſe juſt and reaſonable propoſi- " tions are rejected. In the mean time, I have " the pleaſure to acquaint you, that the Crown " of *Sweden* has acceded to the treaty of *Ha- " nover*, and that the Convention between Me, " his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the King of " *Denmark*, is actually ſigned.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" The vigour and chearfulneſs you have " ſhewn in raiſing ſo effectually, and upon ſuch " eaſy terms, the neceſſary Supplies for the " ſervice of the current year, are not only in- " ſtances of your zeal and affection to me, but " demonſtrate the eſtabliſhed credit, power, and " ſtrength of this Kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It would have been a great ſatisfaction to " me, if, before your ſeparation, I had been able " to ſpeak to you more poſitively, and with " greater certainty, upon the preſent poſture and " ſtate of affairs. But, as you have now diſ- " patched the public buſineſs, and as the ſeaſon " of the year requires your going into your re- " ſpective Countries, I chuſe rather to put an " end to this Seſſion, than to keep you any " longer together unneceſſarily. The provi- " ſions you have made, and the perfect union " and harmony between Me and my Allies, " will, I hope, enable me, by the Divine Aſ- " ſiſtance, either to withſtand and defeat the " deſigns of our enemies, if their conduct ſhall " bring upon us the neceſſity of a war; or to " improve the bleſſings of peace, if peace can, " with juſtice, honour, and ſecurity, be ob- " tained."

By

ſhall come into the *Exchequer*, not being appropriated or appointed to any uſe by any act of Parliament *made*, or *to be made*, ſhall be ſet apart and applied to, and for the uſes by the preſent act declared, as likewiſe the overplus monies of the yearly ſum of 700,000 *l. per ann.* eſtabliſhed for the King's Civil Liſt. By virtue of theſe clauſes, the ſurplus of the Civil Liſt revenues, and all public monies remaining in the *Exchequer*, not appropriated by any act *made*, or *to be made*, were part of the *aggregate fund*; but, as they were left to be appropriated by any acts *to be made*, as well as *made*, and any ſurplus, at that time ariſing from the *aggregate fund*, was made diſpoſeable for the public uſe by Parliament, it is evident that any public debts and revenues which were not in themſelves part of any of the three capital funds, the ſurpluſes whereof conſtitute the *ſinking fund*, as they might be carried to the *ſinking fund*, as long as they remained unappropriated, ſo they might be diſpoſed of to any other uſe or ſervice by authority of Parliament. Now it will appear, upon examination, that the coal-duty made no part of the *ſinking fund*. By the 9th of Queen *Anne*, the coal-duty was granted from *Sept.* 28, 1716, to *Sept.* 28, 1724, and made a fund for building fifty new Churches, *&c.* By 1 *George* I, the duty is continued for another year, to provide for the Miniſters of the fifty new Churches. By 5 *George* I, the duty is farther continued, and a fund of 21,000 *l.* is granted for thirty-two years, for raiſing 360,000 *l.* for building Churches, *&c.* with an an intereſt of 4 *l. per cent*; and another fund of 30,559 *l.* was created, for raiſing 500,000 *l.* by a lottery; and the further ſum of 21,325 *l.* was applied, for compleating the Supplies granted that Seſſion. It is there enacted, 'That all the ſurplus-money of the coal-duty, which ſhould, at the end of any quarter, remain, during the ſaid thirty-two years, after the aforeſaid ſum ſhould be diſcharged, *ſhould be reſerved for the diſpoſition of Parliament, and ſhould not be diſpoſed of to any uſe, but by authority of Parliament, and according to ſuch future acts, as ſhould be paſſed for that purpoſe.*' This then was the ſtate of the coal-duty in the year 1719: It was charged with two funds of 21,000 *l. per annum*, and 30,559 *l.* 14 *s. per annum*, when the produce of it was eſtimated at 70,000 *l. per annum*, which made a proviſion for the diſpoſing the ſurplus neceſſary. This tranſaction was in 1719: The *ſinking fund* was eſtabliſhed in 1716; but, if it had been the ſenſe of the Parliament, that the coal-duty, or any ſurplus of it, had belonged to the ſinking fund, the proviſion for the diſpoſition of the ſurplus had been unneceſſary, or the direction, that is given by the act of Parliament, had been an invaſion of the ſinking fund; but we ſee in 1719 (in the infancy of the ſinking fund, when it wanted aſſiſtance) 521,325 *l.* taken out of the coal-duty for the ſervice of the year, and *the ſurplus reſerved for the future diſpoſition of Parliament*, which is an expreſs exception of this ſurplus out of the *ſinking fund*, becauſe, by the act eſtabliſhing the *aggregate fund*, this ſurplus might have been carried to that fund, and conſequently into the *ſinking fund*, which it is plain this reſtriction was purpoſely inſerted to prevent, and to leave it to the diſcretion of future Parliaments, to make ſuch uſe of this ſurplus, as they ſhould from time to time think moſt conducive to the public good. Thus Mr. *Pulteney* and Sir *Joſeph Jekyll*'s objections, founded on the coal-duty's being part of the ſinking fund, and thoſe of others ſince, are entirely groundleſs.

(1) The

By this ſpeech it appears that, notwithſtanding the preparations for war, as well by the Allies of *Hanover*, as by thoſe of *Vienna*, overtures of accommodation had been made. All had declared, that the preſervation of the tranquillity of *Europe* was the end of their armaments. This the Court of *Spain* did, at the ſame time that the ſiege of *Gibraltar* was ordered. The *Condé de las Torres*, Captain-General of the King of *Spain*'s forces in *Andaluſia*, opened the trenches before *Gibraltar* the 11th of *February*. He had an army of about twenty thouſand men, and was well provided with artillery of all ſorts, with ammunition, and warlike ſtores, proportioned to the ſtrength of the place, and the bravery of the garriſon, which the *Spaniards* expected would lengthen the ſiege. Colonel *Clayton*, Lieutenant-Governor of the place, had troops and neceſſaries ſufficient for defence, till Supplies could come from *England*, for which due preparations had been made. Upon the repeated advices, that the *Spaniards* were preparing for the ſiege of *Gibraltar*, ſix men of war, the *Kent*, *Lenox*, *Berwick*, *Royal Oak*, *Portland*, and *Tyger*, were fitted out with all expedition. With theſe ſhips, and three regiments, *Newton*'s, *Diſney*'s, and *Anſtruther*'s, Sir *Charles Wager* ſailed in *January*. When the ſiege was begun, Colonel *Stanhope*, the *Britiſh* Ambaſſador in *Spain*, having received the paſſports, he had demanded of King *Philip*, ſet out from *Madrid* for *Bayonne*, in his way to *England*, having given the *Britiſh* Merchants in that Kingdom ſuch timely notice to take neceſſary precautions for ſecuring their effects, that, when orders came to the *Spaniſh* Governors to ſeize them, theſe Merchants ſuffered no conſiderable loſs by that ſeizure. In the beginning of *March*, Colonel *Hayes*'s and Colonel *Middleton*'s regiments of foot were put on board the tranſports at *Portſmouth*, and ſailed for *Gibraltar*, under convoy of the *Torbay*, Captain *Haddock*, and the *Poole* fireſhip, Colonel *Clayton*'s regiment was about the ſame time, ordered to imbark in the river of *Thames*, and a draught of ten companies out of the firſt regiment of foot-guards was made by lot (1).

The Earl of *Portmore*, Governor of *Gibraltar*, notwithſtanding his advanced age, having been a Colonel near forty years, reſolved to repair to his Government, and embarked at *Portſmouth*, 1727. on board the Prince *Frederick*, appointed with the *Falmouth* (two ſeventy gun-ſhips) to convoy the tranſports, on which the detachment of the guards and *Clayton*'s regiment were embarked. All theſe forces arrived at *Gibraltar* the beginning of *April*, as did likewiſe five hundred men from *Minorca*, who with the garriſon formed a body of ſix thouſand men, the greateſt part of whom incamped on the South point without the town, while the reſt did duty within, and were relieved from the camp. The beſiegers threw a great quantity of bombs into the place, which did the leſs damage, as moſt of the houſes were empty by the deſertion of the old inhabitants. The garriſon had ſtore of ſalt proviſions from *England* and *Ireland*, and of freſh from *Barbary*; for which purpoſe a frigate was ordered to be continually going to and from *Tetuan* and *Tangier*. Sir *Charles Wager*, having cauſed the ammunition and warlike ſtores, with twenty-four pieces of cannon, to be put on ſhore, ſailed from *Gibraltar* to cruize with the *Torbay*, *Sterling-Caſtle*, *Burford*, *Kent*, *Royal Oak*, *Canterbury*, *York*, and *Poole* fireſhip, leaving there the *Tyger*, *Wincheſter*, *Lyme*, *Solebay* bombſhip, *Thunder* bombſhip, *Cruzier* and *Hawk* ſloops; which were joined by the *Portland* and *Durſley* galley; the *Colcheſter* and *Swallow* being ordered to *Port-Mahon* to be cleaned. In this diſpoſition of defence the ſiege of *Gibraltar* gave little pain to the *Engliſh*, either at home or abroad; while the *Spaniards*, in the proſecution of it, for four months loſt above half their army by ſlaughter, ſickneſs, and deſertion.

Preparations againſt the Emperor.

About the ſame time the Court of *Vienna* having ſhewn a diſpoſition to begin the war in the *Netherlands*, by attacking the *Dutch* barrier, the King ordered an augmentation of thirty companies of foot, and that the ten thouſand auxiliaries, which *England* was obliged by treaty to ſend to the aſſiſtance of the *States*, ſhould hold themſelves in readineſs for embarkation (2).

A fleet to the Baltic.

As the King of *Sweden* had acceded to the treaty of *Hanover*, Sir *John Norris* was ſent with a conſiderable fleet to the *Baltic*, to ſupport him in this new Alliance, ſo diſagreeable to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Ruſſia*. The *Engliſh* being joined by a *Daniſh* ſquadron, the *Ruſſian* Court thought fit to put a ſtop to the equip-

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(1) The lots fell on thoſe of

Colonel *Price*,
Colonel *Haſtings*,
Colonel *Pearſon*,
Colonel *Meyrick*,
Colonel *Duncombe*,
Colonel *Inwood*,
Colonel *Treby*,
Colonel *Brown*,
Colonel *Oughton*,
Colonel *Williamſon*.

The whole detachment to be under the command of Colonel *Guiſe*, Major in the ſaid regiment.

Of theſe, Colonel *Treby* reſigned his commiſſion, and was ſucceeded by Colonel *Onſlow*; Captain *Stanhope*, of the ſaid regiment, alſo laid down his commiſſion, and was ſucceeded in it by Mr. *Parker*.

(2) Of this number were Colonel *Campbell*'s, Major General *Gore*'s, Brigadier *Churchill*'s, and Major-General *Honeywood*'s Dragoons; and two Battalions of guards commanded by Colonel *Robinſon*, and Colonel *Robinſon*'s, Colonel *Kirke*'s, Colonel *Harriſon*'s, Earl of *Deloraine*'s, Sir *James Wood*'s, Lord *Tyrawley*'s, Colonel *Pocock*'s, Colonel *Murray*'s, and Colonel *Grove*'s regiments of foot. This body of forces were to be commanded by the Earl of *Orkney*, Commander in chief, the Duke of *Argyle*, General of the foot, the Lord *Cobham* and the Earl of *Stair*, Lieutenants-General. The Earl of *Deloraine* and *Philip Honeywood*, Major-Generals; Sir *James Wood*, Colonel *Pocock*, Colonel *Kirke*, Colonel *Kerr*, and the Earl of *Scarborough*, Brigadiers-General.

1727. equipment of their fleet, which was no more talked of after the death of the *Czarina*, on the 17th of *May*, about the time of Sir *John Norris*'s arrival in the *Baltic*.

Preliminary articles agreed on.

The Court of *France*, being equally concerned with *England* to prevent a war, augmented their troops, and formed incampments for the exerciſe of their militia. But, as the *Hanover* Alliance was only defenſive, it did not exclude *France* from a mediation, which tended to adjuſt all the differences of the ſeveral parties. Accordingly, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty undertook that office, which was conducted by the Duke of *Richlieu*, his Ambaſſador at *Vienna*. The Duke, in concert with the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters, drew up a project of accommodation, which was ſent to the Emperor and the King of *Spain*. This ſcheme conſiſted of eight articles, which were to ſerve as preliminaries for a general Congreſs. The Emperor did not think proper to reject it, but formed a counter-project, which he ſent to the Allies of *Hanover*. The Allies, judging it not ſatisfactory, formed their laſt reſolution, in which they declared, they could make no alteration. The Emperor, preſſed by the Duke of *Richlieu*, accepted at laſt of the ſcheme, conſiſting of the twelve following articles:

I. His Imperial and Catholic Majeſty having no other view, than to contribute to the public tranquillity of *Europe*, and obſerving, that the commerce of *Oſtend* has given birth to jealouſy and uneaſineſs, conſents, that there ſhall be a ſuſpenſion of the Charter of the *Oſtend* Company, and of all Traffic between the *Auſtrian Netherlands* and the *Indies*, during the term of ſeven years.

II. All rights or poſſeſſions ſhall remain intire to ſuch of the contracting powers, as enjoyed them by virtue of the treaties of *Utrecht*, *Baden*, and the Quadruple Alliance, or the treaties and Conventions made before the year 1725, which regard neither the Emperor nor the *States-General*. But if any change has been made with relation to the ſaid poſſeſſions; or if, in conſequence of thoſe Conventions, ſomewhat has not been executed, the change, that has happened, or the points, which have not been executed, ſhall be diſcuſſed and decided in the future Congreſs, according to the tenor of the Treaties and Conventions.

III. Conſequently all the privileges of commerce in *Europe*, *Spain*, and the *Indies*, grounded upon treaties, and formerly enjoyed by the *Engliſh* and *French* Nations, and by the Subjects of the *States-General*, ſhall be reſtored upon the ſame foot, and ſettled in the ſame manner they were, particularly by the treaties preceding the year 1725.

IV. The powers of the *North* ſhall be invited and deſired by their reſpective Allies, not to have recourſe to hoſtilities; but, on the contrary, to embrace all reaſonable methods of accommodation; and that, until the opening of the Congreſs hereafter mentioned, wherein all the reſpective differences ſhall be diſcuſſed, the contracting powers ſhall not contribute to any hoſtilities directly or indirectly, under any colour or pretence whatever, which may diſturb the preſent ſtate of affairs in the *North*; but, on the contrary, they ſhall engage to act in concert, to put an end to hoſtilities, if any ſhould be commenced.

V. All hoſtilities whatſoever, if any ſhould happen, ſhall inſtantly ceaſe after the ſigning of the preſent articles; and with reſpect to *Spain*, eight days after his Catholic Majeſty ſhall have received the articles ſigned. The ſhips, which ſailed from *Oſtend* to the *Indies* before this Convention, the names whereof ſhall be given in a liſt on the part of his Imperial Majeſty, may return freely and ſafely from the *Indies* to *Oſtend*; and, if any of theſe ſhips be detained or taken, they ſhall be reſtored *bona fide*, with their cargoes. The galleons alſo ſhall be permitted to return to *Spain* unmoleſted, in firm confidence, that his Catholic Majeſty will, with regard to the effects on board the galleons and the flotilla, deal in the ſame manner as uſual in all times of liberty. In conſequence of this, the *Engliſh* ſquadron, commanded by Admiral *Hoſier*, ſhall depart as ſoon as poſſible from *Porto-Bello*, and all other ports of *America* belonging to the King of *Spain*: He ſhall even return with his ſquadron into *Europe*, that the ſubjects of his Catholic Majeſty in the *Indies* may be free from all further apprehenſions and uneaſineſs. The commerce of the *Engliſh* in *America* ſhall be carried on as formerly, according to the treaties. Moreover, the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Dutch* ſquadrons, which may appear upon the coaſts of *Spain*, or on thoſe of the States of his Imperial Majeſty, at the time when this preſent ceſſation of hoſtilities commence, ſhall depart thence as ſoon as poſſible, that the inhabitants of thoſe coaſts may henceforth be rid of all diſturbance and fear. Neither ſhall thoſe ſhips be permitted to undertake any thing directly or indirectly againſt the ſaid Port.

VI. This ceſſation of hoſtilities ſhall continue as long as the ſuſpenſion of the Charter granted to the *Oſtend* Company, *viz.* ſeven years, that the jarring intereſts may be reconciled in that time, and peace ſettled on a more firm foundation.

VII. If, after the ſigning of theſe preliminaries, any troubles or hoſtilities ſhould happen between the ſubjects of the contracting powers, whether in *Europe* or the *Indies*, under what pretence ſoever it may be, they ſhall join together to get reparation of the damage or prejudice their reſpective ſubjects have ſuſtained.

VIII. If theſe articles are accepted and ſigned, a Congreſs ſhall be opened in four months, reckoning from the day of ſigning at *Aix la Chapelle*, wherein the reſpective rights of all the contracting powers, and thoſe invited to it, ſhall be examined, diſcuſſed, and ſettled.

IX. The Plenipotentiaries, that ſhall be named, ſhall have in their retinue no more than two Gentlemen, two Pages, and ſix Footmen, that they may be ſooner ready for their journey, and to avoid pomp and expence.

X. The

1727. X. The Plenipotentiaries ſhall inſiſt on no ceremonial, but follow the regulations ſettled at the Congreſs of *Cambray*, to obviate all diſputes relating to rank: However, each ſhall have liberty left to proteſt.

XI. The ſeveral Powers ſhall earneſtly recommend to their reſpective Plenipotentiaries, to avoid any thing trifling, that may in any wiſe retard the Congreſs.

XII. The ratification of theſe preliminary articles ſhall be exchanged in the ſpace of two months, or ſooner, if poſſible, reckoning from the day of ſigning.

Theſe articles were firſt ſigned at *Paris*, the 20th of *May*, by the Miniſters of the *Hanover* Alliance, and afterwards at *Vienna*, by the Miniſters of the Emperor and the King of *Spain*.

ication of arms at altar elſe-re. The Emperor punctually executed the firſt of theſe articles, and ratified the preliminaries within the time agreed on. Though *Aix la Chapelle* was appointed for the place of Congreſs, it was afterwards transferred to *Cambray* for the conveniency of the Miniſter of *France*, whoſe preſence was neceſſary at that Court. The King of *Spain* alſo executed in part what concerned him; he gave orders for ſuſpending all further attacks againſt *Gibraltar*, and all hoſtilities againſt the *Engliſh* elſewhere. This was an honourable way of abandoning a ſiege, which laſted four months without ſucceſs; nor had it done much execution among the *Engliſh*, for they loſt in all but three hundred and ſeventy-three men. The ſuſpenſion of arms was ſigned the 23d of *June*, *N. S.* But, when the ſiege was on the point of being entirely raiſed, and the preliminaries to be ratified in form, *Spain* ſtarted new difficulties, and urged new pretenſions. The *Spaniards* inſiſted, that a temporary ſuſpenſion of arms did not imply an actual raiſing of the ſiege of *Gibraltar*; and that the reſtitution of the *Prince Frederick*, the *South-Sea* ſhip (taken at *la vera Cruz*, before *Spain* was in war with *England*) was not mentioned or included in the articles, whereas the *Engliſh* demanded both, by virtue of the preliminaries. Upon this hoſtilities began again between the ſhips of the two Nations, and Sir *Charles Wager* continued to cruize on the coaſts of *Spain*, after the ceſſation of arms at *Gibraltar*. And what was very remarkable, whilſt he was looking out with ſeven ſhips for the *Spaniſh* Galleons (which were ſaid to be coming home) thirteen *French* men of war (ſix from *Breſt*, and ſeven from *Toulon*) ſuddenly came and anchored before *Cadiz*, of which ſquadron Admiral *Wager* had received no intelligence either from *London* or *Madrid*. As therefore he had no notice of their coming, all communication with the *French* fleet was forbid. However, after many cavils and delays, the preliminary articles were at laſt ſigned at *Madrid*, on the 24th of *February*, above eight months after the death of King *George* I, by the Miniſters of the Emperor, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and the *States*, which opened the way to the Congreſs (1). 1727.

Death of King George I. King *George* had not viſited his *German* Dominions theſe two years, and therefore, ſoon after the breaking up of the Parliament, he prepared for his journey to *Hanover*, where he thought

(1) To bring down theſe matters to the preſent time, it may be obſerved, that means were found to detach *Spain* from the Emperor, and a treaty was concluded at *Seville*, *Nov.* 9, *N. S.* 1729, between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*. By this treaty Commiſſaries were to be appointed to examine at the Court of *Spain*, and decide about the captures on both ſides, among which were reckoned the ſhips taken by the *Engliſh* fleet in 1718. That inſtead of neutral garriſons (as agreed to in the Quadruple Alliance) *Spaniſh* garriſons ſhould be introduced into *Leghorn*, &c. for preſerving the Succeſſion of Don *Carlos*. This it was that induced the Queen of *Spain* to come into a treaty, which gave great offence to the Emperor, as it put an end to his ſubſidy from *Spain*, of about a million ſterling a year. He thundered out complaints againſt it at all the Courts of *Europe*, and particularly by a commiſſorial decree, directed to the Diet of *Ratisbon*. But it was to no purpoſe, for the treaty of *Seville*, with regard to the Emperor, and all other States, and the balance of power, varied in nothing from the Quadruple Alliance, but in ſubſtituting ſix thouſand *Spaniſh* inſtead of ſo many neutral troops, for aſſerting the eventual Succeſſion of the Infant of *Spain* to the Grand Duke's Dominions, to which the Emperor had agreed. However, the *Britiſh* Court offering to guarantee the *Pragmatic Sanction*, or the Emperor's ſettlement of his hereditary Dominions, on his eldeſt daughter, on his failure of iſſue male (which was thought neceſſary to preſerve the balance of power) the Emperor was at laſt pacified. This produced the ſecond treaty of *Vienna*, *March* 16, 1731, between the Emperor and *Great-Britain*, in which the *States* were included. By it the order of the Succeſſion, ſettled by the Emperor, was guaranteed by *Great-Britain* and the *States*; the commerce and navigation to the *Eaſt-Indies* were to ceaſe in the *Netherlands*, except two ſhips for once from *Oſtend*: A tariff or new treaty concerning trade, and the rule of impoſts relating to the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, was to be ſettled by Commiſſaries at *Antwerp*: The introduction of *Spaniſh* garriſons into *Leghorn*, &c. was agreed to by the Emperor. Thus the Queen of *Spain* was pacified by the variation of neutral troops, and the Emperor was contented, by guarantying his Succeſſion. The concluſion of theſe treaties gave hopes of a laſting tranquillity: But the death of the King of *Poland* ſoon put an end to theſe hopes. The Emperor, in conjunction with *Ruſſia*, eſpouſed the quarrel of the Elector of *Saxony*, and ſupported an unfair election of a King forced upon a free Nation. This being oppoſed by *France*, a war broke out between their Imperial and moſt Chriſtian Majeſties, in which *Great-Britain* and the *States* ſtood neuter, as they did alſo in the differences which aroſe between *Spain* and *Portugal*. But, though *Great-Britain* and the *States* were not engaged in theſe diſputes, they were both obliged to guard againſt events, which had a good effect. Our naval armaments ſtruck terror into *France* and *Spain* alternately. The *French* durſt not venture to the *Baltic* to relieve *Dantzick*, whilſt our navy rid in the *Downs*, nor the *Spaniards* to inſult, much leſs attack *Portugal*, whilſt our fleet lay in the *Tagus*. At laſt, in order to adjuſt all differences between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, the famous *Convention* was tranſacted by Sir *Robert Walpole*, but meeting with oppoſition was laid aſide, and the preſent war with *Spain* enſued, which has brought on a war alſo with *France*.

1727. thought to enjoy the fruit of his labours in peace, or continue his endeavours for the good of the common cauſe. Having appointed the Lords Juſtices for the Adminiſtration of the Government, he embarked at *Greenwich*, on board the *Carolina* yatcht, the 3d of *June*, attended by the Earl of *Ilay* and the Lord *Townſhend*. The King landed, on the 7th, at *Vaert* in *Holland*, where he lay that night. The next day he proceeded on his journey to *Hanover*; and, on the 9th of *June*, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at *Delden*, in all appearance in perfect health. He ſupped there very heartily, and eat an orange, but no melon, as was reported; and, having reſted well that night, ſet out from *Delden* about four the next morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to ſtop, in order to make water, and perceiving, that one of his hands hung motionleſs, ſaid, *I cannot move this hand.* Monſieur *Fabrice* rubbed it with both his, but to no effect; upon which he called the Surgeon (who followed on horſeback) who rubbed it alſo with ſpirits. In this interval the King's mouth and eyes began to move ſtrangely, and his tongue to ſwell, ſo that he could not ſpeak. The Surgeon, taking it for an apoplectic fit, opened a vein, and the King recovered his ſpeech, ſo as to ſay, *Haſten to* Oſnabrug; but immediately fell into a ſlumber in *Fabrice*'s arms. As the violent motion of the coach could not keep the King awake, *Fabrice* aſked the Surgeon, What he thought of him? Who anſwered, he deſpaired of his life. *Fabrice* ordered him to take care of him, and rid poſt himſelf from the laſt ſtage to *Oſnabrug*, to prepare the Duke of *York*, the King's Brother, for ſuch unexpected news. The King, being arrived there about ten, was immediately carried to bed, where he continued ſpeechleſs and in agonies till two o'clock in the morning, on *Sunday* the 11th of *June*, when he expired in the 68th year of his age, and 13th of his Reign; and was interred at *Hanover*, among his Anceſtors (1).

Motraye's Travels, Vol. III.

His circumſtances and character.

Thus died *George* the Firſt, who may truly be conſidered as more fortunate in more important circumſtances of his life and affairs, than any Prince of the laſt or preſent century. This good fortune, which is often the reward of virtue, and as often the effect of prudence, attended him as well before as after his Acceſſion to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. The eſtabliſhment of the Electoral dignity in his Family, was a work which, though begun by his Father, was reſerved for him finally to accompliſh. A large acceſſion of dominion fell to him by his ſucceeding to the Dukedom of *Zell*, whereby he became one of the greateſt Princes of *Germany*, and by far the moſt powerful perſon that ever ſtood next heir to the *Britiſh* Throne. The Duchy of *Bremen* and the Biſhoprick of *Oſnabrug* conſiderably ſtrengthened his intereſts in the Empire, and gave an additional weight to the Proteſtant cauſe.

But his good fortune appeared in nothing ſo remarkable as in the removal of thoſe ſeemingly invincible obſtacles to his Succeſſion to the Crown of theſe Kingdoms. Queen *Anne* had high notions of Hereditary Right; and, in the latter part of her Reign, ſlaviſh doctrines in ſupport of the indefeaſibleneſs of that right, were avowed in numerous addreſſes. Preparations were made for the execution of purpoſes well underſtood, though not expreſſly avowed. The Miniſters, and all, who had been the ſure ſupports of the *Hanover* Succeſſion, had been diſgraced. Many favourable conceſſions were made to our often defeated enemies, who both by intereſt and inclination were the protectors and friends of the Pretender. The Adminiſtration of affairs was committed to the moſt daring and determined, and the Nation deluded into madneſs for deſtruction. But, amidſt theſe apprehenſions and dangers, the Queen's ſudden and unexpected death gave the fortunate Elector of *Hanover* an eaſy and unmoleſted Acceſſion to the Throne. 17

King *George* did not labour under King *William*'s firſt diſadvantages. His and their Country's enemies were well known, and could with no colour of right demand confidence and power. After ſtrong profeſſions of ſubmiſſion and loyalty, many actually entered into Rebellion; and greater numbers wiſhed it ſucceſs. The murmurings and complaints, which were occaſioned by the diſgrace of the General and Miniſtry, who had raiſed the credit and glory of the Nation to an height before unknown, had been reſented as unpardonable affronts to the Royal Prerogative: And yet, when the Succeſſor removed thoſe, from whom he had received many indignities, and of whoſe meaſures and deſigns to defeat him of his Royal dignity, he had many and undoubted proofs, this was repreſented as extreme partiality and injuſtice; and in public, and on the moſt ſolemn occaſions, it was pleaded as a juſt provocation to Rebellion, and all puniſhments of the Authors of ſo much miſchief and miſery were oppoſed under the pretence of being acts of inhumanity and cruelty.

There are many circumſtances not publicly known, which, if brought to the light, would demonſtrate the King's extraordinary good fortune in defeating the Rebellion. Beſides what broke out in the *North*, the aſſociations and preparations in the *South* and the *Weſt* were great and numerous. Caution, fearfulneſs, and delay prevented the execution of meaſures, which could hardly have failed of proving fatal to the Government. Such a multitude of enemies in ſo many places would have divided the troops, and have rendered the army inſignificant in the defence of the whole. The march of part of the Rebels into *England*, their trifling at *Preſton*, and their ſpeedy defeat were of unſpeakable advantage, by effectually diſcouraging inſurrections in many other places; whereas a few days march further would have very

(1) His wife, the Princeſs *Sophia Dorothy*, died *November* 2, 1726, at the Caſtle of *Ahlen*, in the Electorate of *Brunſwick*, where ſhe had been confined many years. She was daughter and heireſs of the Duke of *Zell*, born in 1666, and married in 1682.

very much ſwelled their numbers, and given them a dangerous ſtrength.

But nothing could be more fortunate to the King than the death of *Lewis* XIV. of *France*. From him the Rebels would have received all ſorts of Succours and Supplies. Bigotry and revenge animated the whole *French* Nation with unanimous zeal for the ſucceſs of the Pretender. And even a minority, a conteſted regency, and the probable need, which the Regent might have of our ſupport, did not prevent all aſſiſtance. However, thoſe circumſtances proved a powerful reſtraint; and the ſituation of the neighbouring Nations was an eminent ſecurity to this reign. The utmoſt degree of averſion and jealouſy ſubſiſted between the Regent of *France* and the Court of *Madrid*; which was properly improved by deſtroying the growing naval power of *Spain*; and our ſurprizing and complete advantage in this affair utterly diſappointed the vaſt deſigns of an able and enterprizing Miniſter.

The Invaſion and Rebellion, in 1719, are the leſs remembered, becauſe not one perſon ſuffered death on that account. The *Spaniſh* fleet with five thouſand ſoldiers ſuffered ſo much in a ſtorm, as to be obliged to return home; but about four hundred of them landed in *Scotland*, where they were joined by a conſiderable body of *Highlanders*, but were ſoon defeated, by an inferior number of the King's forces.

The King of *Sweden*'s death was far from being the leaſt conſiderable of many favourable events; for, had that implacable Monarch lived, his deſigns againſt *Denmark* would probably have ſucceeded; and then he would have had full leiſure and opportunity for tranſporting his hardy troops into *Scotland*.

But, on the other hand, how great and uncommon ſoever the King's good fortune was in removing all obſtructions, and firmly eſtabliſhing himſelf in the Throne, it was not without ſome allay. Had his Succeſſion taken place before the change of the Miniſtry, and the diſgrace of the General, it would have been infinitely more happy, not only for the nation but for the laſting tranquillity and liberties of *Europe*. *France* would then have been compelled to give up the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. By advantages in trading to the Dominions of *Spain*, in *Europe* and *America*, and by ſeveral conceſſions, we ſhould have had ample means of repairing the loſſes ſuſtained in a long and expenſive war. The Houſe of *Bourbon* had been reduced within their proper bounds, and ceaſed to have been the terror and ſcourge of their neighbours.

To this may be added, that King *George* came to a people, who had been corrupted both in their political and religious notions, and had been taught an averſion to our natural Allies, and to all foreign Proteſtants, while an eſteem and affection for *France*, and a tenderneſs for many doctrines of popery had been infuſed into them with great ſucceſs; and theſe prejudices had indiſpoſed the Nation to ſubmit to a Proteſtant Prince, while the dangers from a popiſh one were not attended to. The advantages likewiſe of a proſperous war, and many valuable branches of commerce had been given up or neglected; and the revenue was loaded with a very heavy debt. The Authors of theſe calamities had the art and aſſurance to impute the conſequences of them to the King and his Miniſters; and their peace-making had left *Europe* in ſuch a ſtate, and their principles infected the Nation to ſuch a degree, that a good body of regular troops was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſafety of the Nation; and yet this was exclaimed againſt as inſlaving it. 1727.

The moderate and ſure methods of diſcharging the public debts which had been offered, having been neglected, the *South-Sea* ſcheme took place to the great misfortune and diſgrace of this Reign, as well as of the Nation in general; and though men of all parties and degrees upon this occaſion equally renounced common ſenſe and honeſty, yet they transferred the whole blame from themſelves to the Government. But whatever miſtakes or misfortunes happened, they cannot juſtly be imputed to the King, whoſe integrity and good deſigns were eminent and undoubted, and his reſolution to govern agreeably to our laws and conſtitution ſteady and unalterable; though the beſt underſtanding, and the beſt diſpoſition are not always ſecure from the arts of bold and ambitious men.

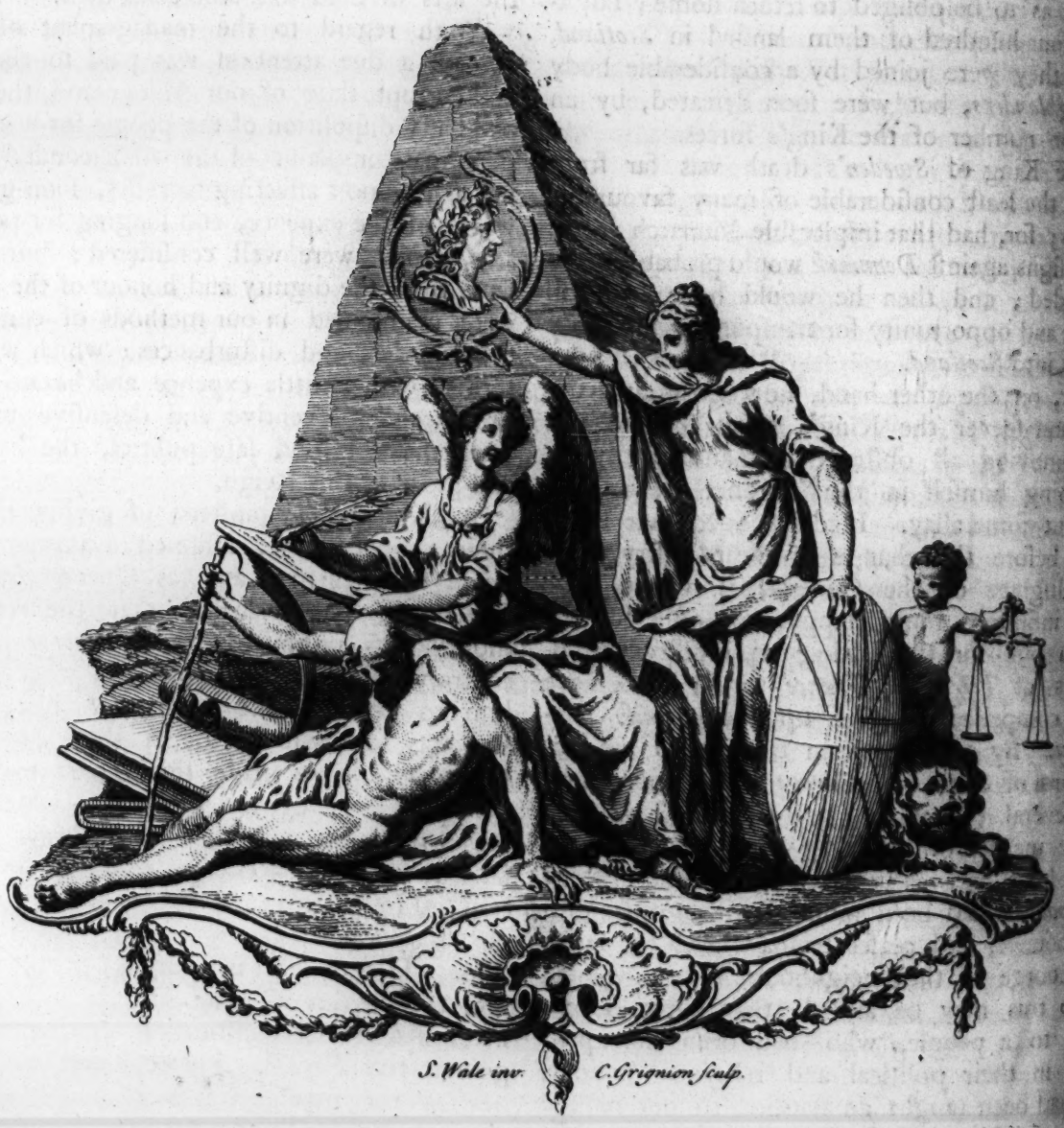
With regard to the management of affairs abroad, a due attention was paid to the feeble and corrupt ſtate of our Allies; and the eager and haſty diſpoſition of the people for war, their perpetual complaints of the wiſeſt conduct, cavilling at the moſt affecting ſucceſſes, ſoon growing weary of the expence, and longing for peace on any terms, were well conſidered; but at the ſame time the dignity and honour of the Nation were maintained in our methods of compoſing the diſorders and diſturbances; which was performed with as little expence and hazard as poſſible; and preventive and defenſive meaſures were the wiſe and ſafe politics, the happineſs and glory of this Reign.

As King *James*, inſtead of giving the laws their proper courſe, aſſumed a power to diſpenſe with them: and as Queen *Anne* was flattered into a perſuaſion that the regal authority was unlimited. King *George* on the contrary, deſired no power but what enabled him to promote the welfare of his ſubjects, and was too wiſe to deem thoſe his friends who would have made their court to him by the profeſſion of an obedience which they never practiſed, and which has always proved fatal to thoſe Princes who have put it to the trial. He had given a proof of his ſovereign virtues before he exerciſed them in this Nation. His natural inclination to juſtice led him to rule his *German* ſubjects in the ſame manner that our conſtitution directed him to govern the *Engliſh*. He regarded civil liberties as the natural rights of mankind, and therefore indulged them to a people who pleaded no other claim to them than his known goodneſs. The conſiſtency of his behaviour was ſuch that he inflexibly purſued thoſe meaſures which appeared the moſt juſt and equitable. As he was moſt prudent in laying proper ſchemes, he was no leſs remarkable for his ſteddineſs in accompliſhing what he had once concerted. To this uniformity and firmneſs of mind which appeared in all his proceedings,

1727. ceedings, the ſucceſſes that attended him were chiefly owing. His martial virtues were no leſs conſpicuous than his civil, though for the good of his ſubjects he ſtudied to decline all occaſions of military glory. He had acquired great reputation in his younger days, in *Hungary* and the *Morea*, when he fought againſt the *Turks*, as well as in *Germany* and *Flanders*, where he commanded againſt the diſturber of the peace of *Europe*. And, as if perſonal courage was an hereditary virtue of his family, three of his brothers fell glorioufly in the field, fighting againſt the enemies of their country, and his ſon (his preſent Majeſty King *George* II.) fought with the bravery of his father at the battle of *Audenarde*, when the ſons of *France* and the Pretender fled before him.

As to his more private virtues, He was of a grave, eaſy, and calm temper, and generous upon all occaſions; and the ſerenity and benignity of his mind diſcovered themſelves in his countenance, and captivated the love and veneration of all, who approached him.

The End of the Reign of GEORGE I.



S. Wale inv. *C. Grignion ſculp.*

A MAP OF THE KINGDOMS OF SPAIN and PORTUGAL *from the latest & best* Observations, *For* Mr Tindal's *Continuation of* Mr Rapin's History.

R.W. Seale delin. et sculp.

Capital Cities. *Universities.*
Large Towns. *Forts.*
Archbishopricks. *Castles.*
Bishopricks. *Battles fought by ye English.*

Miles of Great Britain, 60 to a Degree.
10 20 30 60 90 120

Spanish Leagues, 17½ to a Degree.
5 10 15 20 25 30 35

10 Degrees West from London. 8 6 2 0 2 4

THE ATLANTIC OCEAN
THE BAY OF BISCAY
PART OF FRANCE
GULF OF LYONS
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GULF OF CADIZ
GULF OF CARTAGENA
GULF OF ALICANTE
Straits of Gibraltar
AFRICA
PORTUGAL
GALLICIA a Kingdom
ASTURIA a Principality
LEON a Kingdom
ESTREMADURA
ENTRE MINHO
TRALOS
DOURO
MONTES
BEIRA
ENTRE TAJO
ALENTEJO or
GUADIANA
ALGARVE a King
CASTILE a Kingdom
CASTILE a Kingdom
LA MANCHA
ANDALUSIA a Kingdom
ARRAGON a Kingdom
CATALONIA a Principality
MURCIA a Kingdom
VALENCIA
GASCOGNE
LANGUEDOC
ROUSSILON
Pyrenean Mountain
I. MAJORCA
MINORCA I.
YVICA I.
FORMENTERA I.
Lisbon
Cape St Vincent
C. de Ortegal
C. Finisterre
C. de Palos
C. de Gata
C. Trafalgar
C. St Martin
C. Mora
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Tangier
Cadiz
Malaga
Seville
Granada
Murcia
Carthagena
Alicante
Valencia
Barcelona
Perpignan
Toulouse
Bayonne
Bilboa
Madrid
Salamanca
Toledo
Cuenca
Zaragoza
Tarragona
Girona
Palafugel
Collioure
Ter R.
Ebro R.
Douro R.
Tajo R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Guadalquivir
Guadalmacar
Xagere
Saltes R.
Almazgen
Lagos Bay
Amacon d'Ouro
Isla dos Cazes
Godas
Lagos
Faro
Tavira
Castro Marim
Ayamonte
Huelva
Sanlucar
Xeres de la Frontera
Arcos
Medina Sidonia
Lucena
Tarifa
Vegel
Algeziras
Gibraltar
Straits of Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
Alcazar
Tetuan
Penon de Velez
Penon de Helena
Velicena
Almeria
Motril
Adra
Orgiva
Jaen
Baeza
Guescar
Cacorla
Ubeda
Bilches
Segura
Murcia
Lorca
Carthagena
Alicante
Elche
Denia
Altea
Xativa
Valencia
Sagunto
Morella
Penifcola
Tortosa
Tarragona
Barcelona
Girona
Palafugel
Collioure
Perpignan
Rosas
Ter R.
Ebro R.
Tudela
Tarazona
Soria
Burgos
Logrono
Vitoria
Pamplona
Bilboa
Bayonne
Dax
Bayonne
Tarbes
Oleron
Pau
Mauleon
Orthez
Mont de Marsan
Bordeaux
Blaye
Bourg
Libourne
Agen
Cahors
Rodez
Mende
Alais
Nismes
Montpellier
Beziers
Narbonne
Carcassone
Toulouse
Condom
Auch
Castres
Alby
Vabre
Canal
Rieux
Mirepoix
Foix
Puycerda
Urgel
Balaguer
Lerida
Fraga
Huesca
Jaca
Sanguesa
Estella
Logrono
Calahorra
Tudela
Tarazona
Daroca
Teruel
Albarracin
Cuenca
Huete
Alcaraz
Chinchilla
Almanza
Requena
Valencia
Xativa
Denia
Altea
Alicante
Elche
Orihuela
Murcia
Lorca
Carthagena
Segura
Cazorla
Baeza
Jaen
Ubeda
Bilches
Guadix
Granada
Almeria
Motril
Adra
Orgiva
Velez Malaga
Malaga
Marbella
Ronda
Estepa
Osuna
Antequera
Seville
Carmona
Ecija
Cordova
Andujar
Baylen
Martos
Alcala la Real
Priego
Montilla
Aguilar
Lucena
Antequera
Archidona
Loja
Alhama
Granada
Guadix
Baza
Velez el Blanco
Velez Rubio
Vera
Mula
Murcia
Lorca
Carthagena
Alicante
Elche
Orihuela
Guardamar
Denia
Altea
Xativa
Valencia
Sagunto
Morella
Penifcola
Tortosa
Tarragona
Barcelona
Girona
Palafugel
Collioure
Perpignan
Rosas
Ter R.
Ebro R.

A MAP OF ITALY

with its KINGDOMS, STATES &c.
from the latest & best Observations.
For Mr Tindal's *Continuation of* Mr Rapin's History.

EXPLANATION.

- Capital Cities.
- *Archbishopricks.*
- *Bishopricks.*
- *Universities.*
- *Castles.*
- P. *Principality.*
- D. *Dukedom.*
- R. *Republick.*

Italian & British Miles, 60 to a Degree.
10 20 30 60 90 120
German Leagues, 15 to a Degree.
5 10 15 20 25 30

R.W. Seale del. et sculp.

A NEW
and CORRECT MAP of the
Seven
UNITED PROVINCES
Drawn
from the most approved
Maps and Charts;
the whole being regulated by
Astronomical Observations.
By Eman: Bowen.

English Miles 60 to a Degree

THE
NORTH SEA
OR
GERMAN
OCEAN

PART OF
FLANDERS

Long.d East from London

Continuation of Mr Rapin's History

3

A New & Correct Map of the Netherlands or Low Countries

Drawn from the best Authorities and most approved Modern Maps, the whole being regulated by Astron.l Observat.ns

By Eman.l Bowen

NB. The Dutch Barrier Towns (according to the Treaty concluded at Antwerp 1715) are distinguish'd thus

Longitude East from London

Continuation of M.r Rapin's History

4

A CORRECT MAP of the North East part of GERMANY. Containing the Electorates of SAXONY & BRANDENBURG, and the Duchies of SILESIA, MECKLENBURG, POMERANIA &c. Drawn from the best Authorities, and adjusted by Astron.l Observations. By Eman.l Bowen.

English Miles 60 to a Degree

5 10 15 20 25 30 40 50 60

BALTIC SEA

RUGEN I.

D. OF HOLSTEIN

PART OF MECKLENBURG

LOWER SAXONY

M. and EL. OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG

D. OF MAGDEBURG

PR. OF ANHALT

D. & EL. OF SAXONY

UPPER SAXONY

MARCHE OF MEISSEN

SAXE GOTHA

THURINGIA

VOIGTLAND

FRANCONIA

PALAT. of Luchtenberg

BAVARIA

MARCHE OF BRANDENBURG

UPPER LUSATIA

LOWER LUSATIA

DUCHY OF GLOGAW

DUCHY OF BRESLAW

SILESIA

PART OF POLAND

G. OF DANTZIG

P. OF PRUSSIA

PART OF POLAND

PART OF HUNGARY

BOHEMIA

P. OF POMERANIA

Hamburg, Lawenburg, Lunenburg, Hannover, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Halberstat, Anhalt, Stolberg, Wirtemberg, Eisleben, Naumburg, Leipsig, Meisen, Dresden, Gotha, Eisenach, Erfurt, Coburg, Hennebourg, Rambut, Schweinfurt, Bamberg, Pegnitz, Lubeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Gadebusch, Ratzeburg, Malchow, Waren, Tribsees, Stargard, Wittemburg, Perleberg, Havelberg, Salzwedel, Osterburg, Gardelegen, Zerbst, Barby, Aschersleben, Quedlinburg, Halberstat, Oschersleben, Wolfenbuttel, Helmerstadt, Northausen, Dunderstat, Eichsfeld, Schwartzburg, Mulhausen, Tresurt, Smalkalden, Henneburg, Schwartzburg, Saltza, Roda, Altenburg, Gera, Weida, Zeitz, Naumburg, Merseburg, Weissenfels, Lutzen, Leipsig, Torgau, Wurtzen, Strelen, Meisen, Dresden, Pirn, Chemnitz, Zwickau, Schonburg, Plauen, Graitz, Oelsnitz, Pegra, Culmbach, Raconitz, Pilsen, Tadtaus R., Elbe R., Saltza R., Mein R., Weimar, Leutenberg, Sonnenberg, Schonburg, Buchlen, Berlin, Potsdam, Brandenburg, Spandau, Cotbus, Lubben, Luckau, Dahme, Sternberg, Crossen, Frankfort on Oder, Landsberg, Driesen, Waldenberg, Friedberg, Morin, Berlin, Stettin, Griffenhagen, Griffenberg, Pyritz, Dam, Stargard, Massen, Cotnow, Newgarte, Falkenberg, Nornberg, Drahem, Regenwalde, Landecke, Erydland, Sabin, Pyrsa, Wronki, Sternburg, Meseritz, Bentschin, Zullichau, Crossen D., Kastyan, Naumburg, Priestad, Beutin, Glogaw D., Sprottau, Balkowitz, Koben, Strinau, Luben, Moldau, Lignitz D., Goldberg, Neumarc, Sagan, Sigersdorf, Görlitz, Budissen, Bautzen or Budissen, Liebau, Greiffenburg, Lehn, Janer D., Striega, Cantz, Olmutz, Schweidnitz D., Freyburg, Reichenbach, Schmidberg, Breslaw D., Brieg, Oppelen Pr. to Poland, Grottkau, Nakel, Tarnowitz, Wiasel, Leschnitz, Neissa, Glatz, Nauro de, Munsterberg D., Olsce D., Bernstad, Namslau, Smorgo, Trachenburg, Hermstad, Mohrsholm, Wartenburg, Pransnitz, Wolaw D., Rosenberg, Brunitka, Schurgast, Zuckmanterff, Little Glogau, Ratibor, Leobschut, Jegerndorf, Troppau D., Troppau, Freudental, Rubenick, Mistowitz, Micklowitz, Bierum, Cracow, Oderberg, Sora, Pleßa Bar, Freystat, Testhen D., Bilitzkon, Skoczow, Jablunka, Fulnec, Oder R., Oder, Neustat, Olmutz, Carpathian Mts., Crudin, Elbe R., Prague, Konigingretz, Caslau, Buntzel, Molnick, Lobositz, Aussig, Tetschen, Leutmeritz, Mouth of the Oder, Divenow Port, Usedom I., Wollin I., Usedom, Wollin, Lawenburg Fr., Smolsin, Lupow, Rugenwalde, Stolpe, Stolpe R., Butow, Pautske, Mirchow, Dantsick, Weixel R., Braunsburg, Elbing, Marienburg, Dirschow, Stargat, Hamerstein, Bublitz, Neu Stettin, Tempelburg, Pyritz, Costin, Colberg, Belgard, Griffenberg, Tramin, Treptow, Divenow, Usedom I., Wollin I., Rugenwalde, Stolpe, Lupow, Butow, Lawenburg, Smolsin, Pautske, Mirchow, Dantsick, Weixel R., Braunsburg, Elbing, Marienburg, Dirschow, Stargat, Hamerstein, Bublitz, Neu Stettin

GERMAN OCEAN

PART OF THE UNITED PROVINCES

ZUYDER ZEE

NETHERLANDS

BISHOPK OF LIEGE

D. OF CLEVES

COUNTY OF MARK

D. OF JULIERS

D. OF BERG

D. OF Cologne

C. OF EMBDEN

C. OF DIEPHOLT

C. OF HOYA

D. OF CALENBERG

D. OF ZELL

D. OF LUNENBURG

D. OF BRUNSWICK WOLFENBUTTEL

D. OF VERDEN

D. OF BREMEN

ELECTORATE OF HANNOVER

D. OF HOLSTEIN

D. OF SAX LAWENBURG

PART OF MECKLENBURG

P. OF BRANDENBURG

UPPER SAXONY

LOWER SAXONY

WESTPHALIA

LANDGRAV. OF HESSE CASSEL

LANDGRAV. OF HESSE DARMSTAT

WATERAW

FULD AB.

SAXE GOTHA

BISHOPK OF PADERBORN

BISHOPK OF HILDESHEIM

C. OF LIPPE

C. OF SCHAUMBERG

C. OF HENBURG

P. OF TRIER

A CORRECT MAP OF the North West part of GERMANY containing WESTPHALIA & LOWER SAXONY including the Electorates of BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG or HANNOVER & COLOGNE Landgrave of HESSE Duchies Holstein Juliers &c with the Bishopricks of Munster Osnaburg &c Drawn from the best Authorities and adjusted by Astron.l Observations By Eman. Bowen.

English Miles 5 10 20 30 40

Longitude East from London

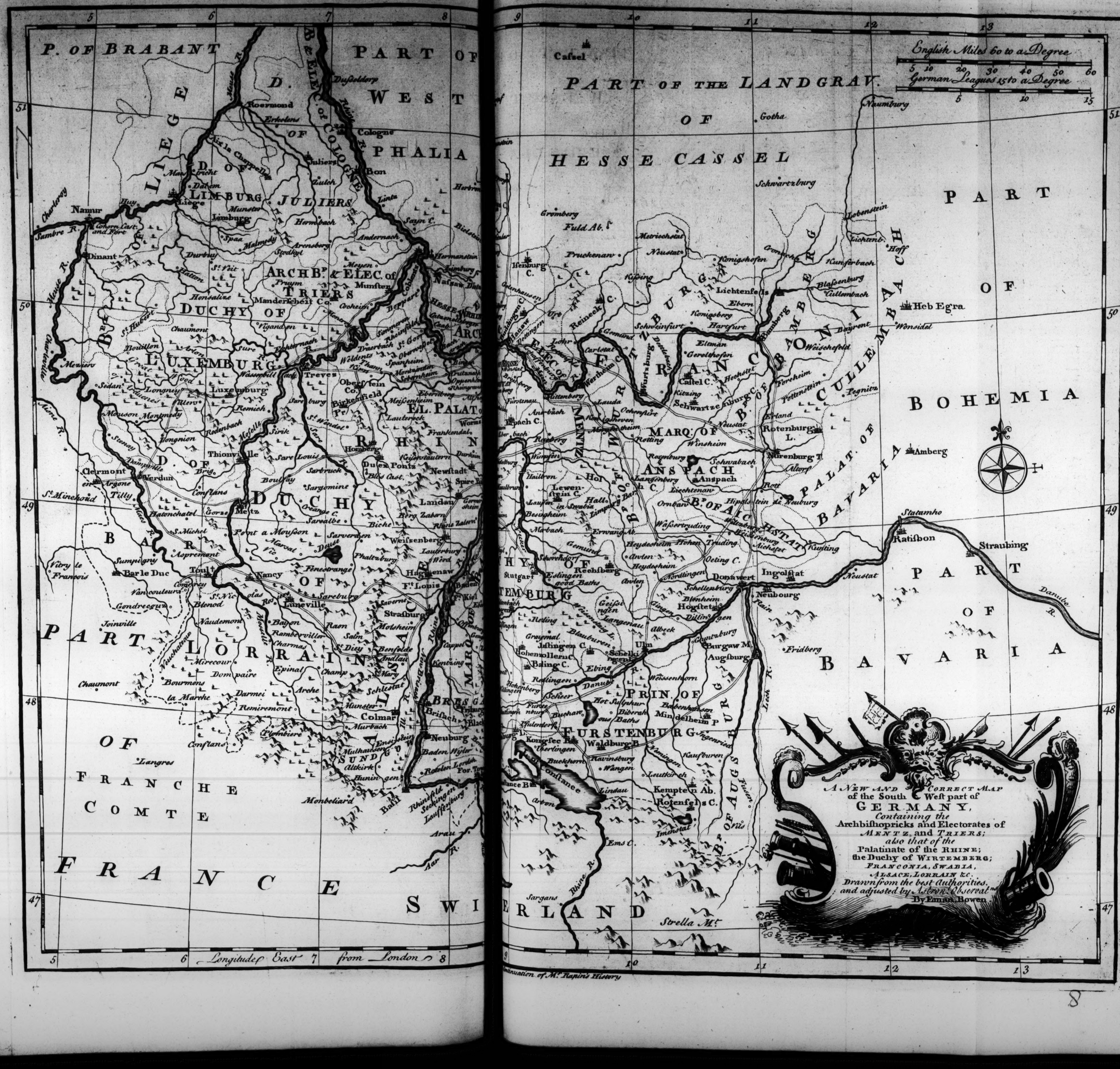
For Mr. Tyndal's Continuation of Mr. Rapin's History.

6

A Correct Map of the South East part of GERMANY; including the Electorate of Bavaria, Arch Bishop & of Saltzburg & Kingdom of Bohemia. ALSO, the QUEEN of HUNGARY's Hereditary Dominions in the Empire; viz: Austria, Moravia, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Trent, Tirol &c. Drawn from the best Authorities, and adjusted by Astron. Observat.s By Emanl. Bowen

Continuation of M.r Rapin's History

7


English Miles 60 to a Degree
5 10 20 30 40 50 60
German Leagues 15 to a Degree
5 10 15
P. OF BRABANT
PART OF
D. OF LIEGE
WEST
PHALIA
B. & ELEC. of COLOGNE
LIMBURG
JULIERS
Namur
Liege
Dinant
Cologne
Bonn
Duſſeldorp
Roermond
Aix la Chapelle
ARCHB.P & ELEC. of TRIERS
DUCHY OF LUXEMBURG
Luxemburg
Treves
Manderscheit Co.
Chaumont
Bouillon
Sedan
Longwy
Montmedy
Thionville
Clermont
Verdun
Argone
Tilly
St. Minehould
Metz
Conflans
Hatenchatel
Toul
Nancy
Bar le Duc
Sumpigny
Vitry le Francois
Joinville
Vaudemont
Mirecourt
Dompaire
Bourmont
la Marche
Darnei
Remiremont
Epinal
Arche
Champ
Bayon
Raon
Rambervillers
Charmes
Mutzig
Saverne
Strasburg
Molsheim
Benfelde
Andlau
Schlestat
Munster
Colmar
Murbach
Brisach
Neuburg
Baden Hyler
Rhinfeld
Seckingen
Lauffenburg
Arau
Aar R.
Monbeliard
Langres
FRANCHE COMTE
FRANCE
SWI
DUCHY OF BAR
LORRAIN
ALSATIA
BRISGAU
SUNDGAU
Cassel
PART OF THE LANDGRAV. OF HESSE CASSEL
Gotha
Naumburg
Schwartzburg
Grimberg
Fuld Ab.s
Fruckenaw
Neustat
Metriechstat
Henburg C.
Kipping
Reineck C.
Lichtenfels
Ebern
Königshofen
Königsberg
Schweinfurt
Hartfurt
Carlstat
Elsaw
Gerolthofen
Wirtzburg
ELEC. of FRANCONIA
Hochstet
Castel C.
Schwartzenburg
Rotenburg L.
Neustat
MARQ. OF ANSPACH
Anspach
Lewenstein C.
Hall in Swabia
Ornbau
B. OF ALTHAUSTAT
Hipoltstein
Neuburg
Wassertrudingen
Heydesheim
Hohen Trudingen
Oeting C.
Rechsberg
Stutgard
Esslingen good Baths
Nordlingen
Donawert
Ingolstat
Neustat
Ratisbon
Straubing
Statamho
Neuburg
Fridberg
Augsburg
Burgaw M.
Ulm
Schelkingen
Hohenzollern C.
Baling C.
Ebing
Weissenhorn
Danube R.
PRIN. OF FURSTENBURG
Waldburg B.
Kempten Ab.
Rotenfels C.
Imenstat
Lindau
Ravinsburg
Wangen
Constance
Ems C.
Rhine R.
Sargans
Strella Mt.
ERLAND
BOHEMIA
PART OF BAVARIA
Heb Egra
Amberg
Danube R.
Lech R.
A NEW AND CORRECT MAP of the South West part of GERMANY, Containing the Archbiſhopricks and Electorates of MENTZ and TRIERS; also that of the Palatinate of the RHINE; the Duchy of WIRTEMBERG; FRANCONIA, SWABIA, ALSACE, LORRAIN &c. Drawn from the best Authorities, and adjusted by Astron. Observat.ns By Eman.l Bowen
5 6 Longitude East 7 from London 8 9 10 11 12 13
Continuation of M.r Rapin's History

8

A Map of North America

With the European Settlements & whatever else is remarkable in y^e West Indies, from the latest and best Observations.

R. W. Seale delin. et sculp

9

A Map of South America

With all the European Settlements & whatever else is remarkable from the latest & best Observations.

R. W. Seale delin et sculp.

Explanation.

European Cities ..... ▲
and Towns ..... ●
Indian Towns ..... ★
Forts & Castles ..... ■
Silver & Gold Mines ..... ▲

Degrees East from London: 270, 280, 290, 300, 310, 320, 330

Degrees West from London: 100, 90, 80, 70, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20

The Tropick of Capricorn

The Equinoctial Line

NORTH SEA

PART OF NEW SPAIN

PART OF NORTH AMERICA

THE WESTERN OCEAN

THE PACIFICK OCEAN

SOUTH SEA

ATLANTICK OCEAN

SOUTHERN OCEAN

TERRA FIRMA

NEW GRANADA

CASTILLA DEL ORO

VENEZUELA

GUIANA

AMAZONES

This Country and its Inhabitants are very little known.

UNKNOWN PARTS

BRASIL

LA PLATA

PARAGUAY

TUCUMAN

PATAGONIA

TERRA DEL FUEGO

GALLAPAGOS ISLANDS

Cape Horn

Discover'd by la Maire the first that passed this way to the South Sea, 1616

Sandwich Land Discovered 1670.

A correct CHART of the BALTICK or EAST SEA from the Sound to Petersburg

From the latest and best Observations for Mr Tindal's Continuation of Mr Rapin's History.

EXPLANATION.
- Imperial CITIES.
- *CITIES and*
- Great Towns.
- *Small Towns and*
- *Villages.*
- *Castles.*

BOTHNIA
GULF OF FINLAND
SWEDEN
NYLAND
CARELIA
PART OF RUSSIA
UPLAND
SUDERLAND
GOTHLAND
SMALAND
BLEKING
SCHONEN
HALLAND
BOHUSLAND
EAST SEA
BALTICK SEA
THE
PART OF POLAND
PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
GULF OF LIVONIA
LIVONIA
LETTENLAND
COURLAND
SAMOGITIA
INGRIA
EASTLAND

Bothnia, Bay of
Helsingia
Finland
Nyland
Carelia
Upland
Suderland
Gothland
Smaland
Bleking
Schonen
Halland
Bohusland
Baltick or East Sea
Part of Poland
Prussia
Pomerania
Gulf of Livonia
Livonia
Lettenland
Courland
Samogitia
Ingria
Eastland

Biornesborg
Ladoga Lake
Kexholm
Raumo
Kilax
Lick
Nykyrk
Tofsaal
Wimo
Lehumanki
Kumito
Aland I.
Elefsuncker
Kokar
Stockholm
Meller Lake
No. Talge
Aker
So. Talge
Nykoping
Norderkoping
Suyderkoping
Schelsuyr
Westerwyck
Subuy
I. Wrouenbergh
Flujerby
Stickholm
Wen
Monsteras
Schenckenes
Calmar
Hofmestergrund
Berckerhaven
Christianople
Ahuys
Carlshamn
Carlscroon
the Rocks
Calmar Sound
Mohleby
Oestenby
South Bank
Hamarhaus
Borgholm I.
Sandricyck
Nax
Rottum
Bornholm
Ertholm
Brouwers Rif
Moon I.
Falster I.
Ryoehn I.
Wick
Sagard
Wyck
Kuygh
Oder R.
Camin
Legenort
Colberg
Coslin
Stolpe
R. Stolpe
Rugenwolde
Pepper R.
Gardborg R.
Retfort
Lebe
Pautzke
Oliva
Danzig
Hall
Stromstadt
Oudevalla
Kongel
Turholm
Babus
Gottembourg
Hising
Winder
Kongsbake
Monsterfond
Warberg
Buyhus
Walkenberg
Falkenberg
Harplinge
Halmstat
Laholm
Badstedt
Turkouv
Engelholm
Helsingburg
Elsingborg
Landscroon
Landen
Somerhaven
Malmoe
Drelborck
Kilsted
Roskild
Copenhagen
Elsineur
Helsingor
Lagenes
Hasselin
Skelfor
Nestued
Stroby
Slagen
Waringbourg
Moon I.
Roode Sand
Femeren I.
Grevenbrot
Cysnar
Travemunde
Dobern
Rostock
Wismar
Rhinitze
Bordt
Stralsund
Gripswald
Eldena
Wolgast
Pene R.
Ukersmunde
Stettin
Oder R.
Swinemund
Frayhaven
Southern
Camin
Stettin
Hela R.
Pernau
Sorgholm
Arensburg
Pater Noster
Oseli I.
Reeck
Verder
Hoom Sound
Somneburg
Hondsmyck
Honds Oort
Paden
Hapsal
Castle of Moon Sound
Lehal
Dagoe I.
Dager Oort
Reval
Reval Bay
Wolf Oort
Bricken
Bricklom
Karels
Wrangers
P. Wrangers
Eckholmsgrund
I. Tuttery
Rutzersgrund
Hogeland
Rutzersare
Woesenburg
Tolesburg
High Land of Narva
Narva
Juvagorod
Narva R.
Ruggen
Pernau
Salis, or Lemsael
Querenkaw Cast.
Teydera R.
Dunemund
Riga
Dwna R.
Mytha R.
Lyba
Lyba C.
Upiise R.
Haligaw
Palangen
Memel
Sweenberge
Curish Nerung
Curish Haff
Ruse
Ruse R.
Kauke R.
Labiau
Brusteroort
Lockestee
Frischausen
Koningsberg
Brandeburg
Balty, or Balga
Heiligapeil
Frawerburg
Elbing
Wyck
Abrick
Domesnes
Runen
Kyn
Lyser Oort
Anger munde
Windaw
Wata R.
Doemberg
Kouvernyck
Allemagen Castle
Caveren
Steen Oort
Driaelgrond
Sprabre Oort
Faro Sound or Strait
Varsound
Westergard
Wisby
Gotland I.
Hombory
Bofnick
Po. Karl
No. Bank
Keninge garde
Wiborg
I. Rochel
Biorko I.
Lumalai
Neruo
Ritzart I.
Petersburg
Neva R.
Peterhof
Caleopa
Ruttsari
Ceporio
Inga R.
Castran
Fagre
Telling Rock
Rocks of Lugsa
Rocks of Jusoan
Fore Horlin
Southern
Ekholmen
Kobben
Helsingfors
Borgo
Pernia
Fromal
Kymen R.
Rasslamborg
Hamina
Olsby
Fredrics Verlax
Cotsenyst
Lac Ladoga
Wiborg Bay
Lac Saima
Elefsburg
Esbo
Helsinga
Kirkfleet
Esbra
Lugsa
Lugsa R.
Biorno
Elkio
Ekenes
Raseborg
Ingo
Kumito
Lehumanki
Wimo
Tofsaal
Nykyrk
Lick
Kilax
Raumo
Esmojoki
Biornesborg
Ladoga Lake
Kexholm
Aland I.
Elefsuncker
Kokar
Stockholm
Meller Lake
No. Talge
Aker
So. Talge
Nykoping
Norderkoping
Suyderkoping
Schelsuyr
Westerwyck
Subuy
I. Wrouenbergh
Flujerby
Stickholm
Wen
Monsteras
Schenckenes
Calmar
Hofmestergrund
Berckerhaven
Christianople
Ahuys
Carlshamn
Carlscroon
the Rocks
Calmar Sound
Mohleby
Oestenby
South Bank
Hamarhaus
Borgholm I.
Sandricyck
Nax
Rottum
Bornholm
Ertholm
Brouwers Rif
Moon I.
Falster I.
Ryoehn I.
Wick
Sagard
Wyck
Kuygh
Oder R.
Camin
Legenort
Colberg
Coslin
Stolpe
R. Stolpe
Rugenwolde
Pepper R.
Gardborg R.
Retfort
Lebe
Pautzke
Oliva
Danzig
Hall
Stromstadt
Oudevalla
Kongel
Turholm
Babus
Gottembourg
Hising
Winder
Kongsbake
Monsterfond
Warberg
Buyhus
Walkenberg
Falkenberg
Harplinge
Halmstat
Laholm
Badstedt
Turkouv
Engelholm
Helsingburg
Elsingborg
Landscroon
Landen
Somerhaven
Malmoe
Drelborck
Kilsted
Roskild
Copenhagen
Elsineur
Helsingor
Lagenes
Hasselin
Skelfor
Nestued
Stroby
Slagen
Waringbourg
Moon I.
Roode Sand
Femeren I.
Grevenbrot
Cysnar
Travemunde
Dobern
Rostock
Wismar
Rhinitze
Bordt
Stralsund
Gripswald
Eldena
Wolgast
Pene R.
Ukersmunde
Stettin
Oder R.
Swinemund
Frayhaven
Southern
Camin
Stettin
Hela R.
Pernau
Sorgholm
Arensburg
Pater Noster
Oseli I.
Reeck
Verder
Hoom Sound
Somneburg
Hondsmyck
Honds Oort
Paden
Hapsal
Castle of Moon Sound
Lehal
Dagoe I.
Dager Oort
Reval
Reval Bay
Wolf Oort
Bricken
Bricklom
Karels
Wrangers
P. Wrangers
Eckholmsgrund
I. Tuttery
Rutzersgrund
Hogeland
Rutzersare
Woesenburg
Tolesburg
High Land of Narva
Narva
Juvagorod
Narva R.
Ruggen
Pernau
Salis, or Lemsael
Querenkaw Cast.
Teydera R.
Dunemund
Riga
Dwna R.
Mytha R.
Lyba
Lyba C.
Upiise R.
Haligaw
Palangen
Memel
Sweenberge
Curish Nerung
Curish Haff
Ruse
Ruse R.
Kauke R.
Labiau
Brusteroort
Lockestee
Frischausen
Koningsberg
Brandeburg
Balty, or Balga
Heiligapeil
Frawerburg
Elbing
Wyck
Abrick
Domesnes
Runen
Kyn
Lyser Oort
Anger munde
Windaw
Wata R.
Doemberg
Kouvernyck
Allemagen Castle
Caveren
Steen Oort
Driaelgrond
Sprabre Oort
Faro Sound or Strait
Varsound
Westergard
Wisby
Gotland I.
Hombory
Bofnick
Po. Karl
No. Bank
Keninge garde
Wiborg
I. Rochel
Biorko I.
Lumalai
Neruo
Ritzart I.
Petersburg
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Castran
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Telling Rock
Rocks of Lugsa
Rocks of Jusoan
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Southern
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Borgo
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Olsby
Fredrics Verlax
Cotsenyst
Lac Ladoga
Wiborg Bay
Lac Saima
Elefsburg
Esbo
Helsinga
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Lugsa
Lugsa R.
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Elkio
Ekenes
Raseborg
Ingo

The HARBOUR of PETERSBURG.

CARELIA
RITZART I.
Croonstat
Croonslot C.
The Road
WASILI OSTEROW
PETERSBURG
Neva
Oranienbaum
Peterhof
INGRIA

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11

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NAPLES

SICILY I.

CORSICA I.

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MINORCA I.

MAJORCA I.

Yvica I.

CATALONIA

LANGUEDOC

VALENCIA

MURCIA

GRANADA

ALGIER

TUNIS

BARBARY

FEZ

MOROCCO

TRIPOLI

Lesser Syrtis

GULF of SIDRA

The GREAT SYRTIS

Straits of Gibraltar

Gibraltar

Ceuta

C. de Gatte

I. Alboran

C. Spartel

Malta

Lampedosa

Pantelaria I.

Lipare Is.

Strombolo

Stromboli

Vulcano

Ustica

Trapani

Marsala

Messina

Augusta

Siracusa

Reggio

Tarento

Brindisi

Otranto

Valona I.

Corfou

Zante I.

Cerigo

Candia

Rhodes

Cyprus

Sicily

Naples

Rome

Genoa

Venice

Tripoli

Tunis

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Morocco

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Corsica

Sardinia

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Genoa

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Naples

Messina

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Tunis

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LEVANT

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POLI

GREECE

MORBA

CANDIA I.

CYPRUS I.

SICILY I.

Lipare Is

Malta

Rhodes I.

BLACK SEA

Constantinople

Nicomedia

Alexandretta or Scanderoon

Aleppo

Tripoly

Jaffa or Joppa

Jerusalem

Gaza

Suez

Damiata

Rosetta

Alexandria

Grand Cairo

Old Tripoli

Tripoli

Tagura

Magra

Barata

Sidra

Cape Matapan

Cape Malea

Cape Spada

Cape Passaro

Cape Bon

Cape Blanco

Cape Serpent

Cape Carmel

Cape Bianco

Cape Rosetto

Cape Salines

Cape Colonne

Cape Sunium

Cape Colonna

Cape Malabar

Cape Sidero

Cape Salomon

Cape Cruz

Cape Passaro

Cape Spartivento

Cape Palinure

Cape Circello

Cape Corso

Cape Bianco

Cape Negro

Cape Zibeleto

Cape Carmel

Cape Blanco

Cape Serpent

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THE WESTERN OCEAN

GALLICIA

ASTURIA

BISCAY

PORTUGAL

ENTRE MINHO DOURO

BEIRA

ESTREMADURA

ALENTEJO

ALGARVE

SPAIN

MADRID

ANDALUSIA

GRANADA

MURCIA

VALENCIA

GULF OF VALENCIA

CARTAGENA

GULF OF CADIZ

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

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FINIS.

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